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THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the Year 1803.

THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR GENERAL REPOSITORY OF

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1803.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

The HISTORY of KNOWLEDGE, LEARNING, and TASTE, in GREAT BRITAIN, during the Reign of King James II.—Part II.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

SOME circumstances, unnecessary to mention, have delayed the appearance of the NEW ANNUAL REGISTER for 1803 somewhat longer than usual. It is now submitted to the Public; and the authors and editors trust that they will be found to have performed their task with their usual fidelity.

A complete and authentic narrative of the late transactions in India, could not be obtained in time for insertion; and indeed the contests there were not concluded at the termination of he year 1803. It was therefore thought better to defer this subject to our next volume; when, from the documents before us, we can promise our readers not only that the events will be related with truth and candour, but that some new light will be reflected on them.

Dec. 29, 1804.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE, AND TASTE,

IN GREAT BRITAIN,

DURING THE REIGN OF JAMES II.

PART II.

THE short and tempestuous reign of James afforded small encouragement to the belles lettres, or the arts. Theology indeed flourished in all its branches; and controversial, devotional, and metaphysical writings filled the libraries. Amongst the non-conformists were some authors of very considerable merit, whose works are now in general neglect; as much from the style of that age, as the taste of this. But though they sub-divide to perplexity, and circumlocute to tediousness, their subtlety of wit, depth of reason, and extent of knowledge, well compensates for defect of language. Ever will their pages be dear to piety and learning, and their lives and sufferings be remembered with honour and veneration! In this class, Richard Baxter stands eminently prominent *.

* Richard Baxter was the most extraordinary instance of weakness of body, and strength of mind; for possessing the deepest sense of religion himself, and exciting it in the profligate and thoughtless; for preaching

Defective as was this reign, however, in taste and entertainment, it was immortalised by the greatest revolution ever made in the world of science. Under James II., sir Isaac Newton published his "Principia,"—a performance affording the most illustrious proof of the powers of the human mind, and remaining the highest instance which ever has, or probably ever will be, given of its exertions and success.

This new system of natural philosophy did not at first receive the honour it was justly destined to command: the pleasing but visionary "Hypothesis of Des Cartes" had then obtained full possession of the public opinion: he addressed himself to the imagination, and was easily understood; but Newton, with an unparalleled penetration, and unexampled strength of intellect, pursued nature to her inmost recesses; demonstrated his sublime theories with that elegant conciseness of the ancients; his consequences flowing with such rapidity from his principles, that the acutest reasoner could not at first comprehend them, and the best mathematicians were long in fathoming the depth of his discoveries; but no sooner were they understood, than the burst of admiration from every voice and every country where science was diffused, became universal. "Does Newton eat, drink, or sleep, like other men?" said

more sermons, engaging in more controversies, and writing more books, than any other non-conformist of his age. He spoke, disputed, and wrote with ease; and discovered the same intrepidity, when he reproved Cromwell and expostulated with Charles II., as when he preached to a congregation, or restrained a mob. His zeal for religion breathed the ardour of primitive times; yet it never prompted him to faction, or transported him to enthusiasm. This champion of the presbyterians was the common butt of men of all other sects, and of those who had no principles at all. But this had no effect upon him: his presence and firmness of mind on no occasion forsook him. He was the same character before he went into a prison, whilst he was in it, and when he came out of it: and maintained this uniformity, so uncommon, to the last gasp of life. This is a very faint sketch of his virtues. His portrait, in full proportion, may be seen in his "Narrative of his own Life and Times," which contains a great variety of memorable things; and is, as far it proceeds, a history of non-conformity. His "Catholic Theology," and his "Saints' Everlasting Rest," are the most considerable of his writings.

the

the marquis de l'Hopital, one of the first genius's of the French nation: "I represent him to myself as totally disengaged from matter."

In the midst of these profound researches, the privileges of the university of Cambridge being attacked by James II., Newton proved himself one of the most zealous defenders of his *alma mater;* and soon after was chosen one of its members in the convention parliament, 1688, in which he sat till it was dissolved. Since he had first discovered the heterogeneous mixture of light, and the production of colours arising thence, much of his time had been employed in perfecting and ascertaining the theory on which his discovery was founded. It seems to have been his favourite invention; and he spent no less than thirty years in verifying his own experiments. At last his "Optics" appeared in 1704; and here he stands unrivaled and alone. In his fluxions, and his principle of gravity, as applied to the solar system, there had been some obscure hints from others; but, in dissecting a ray of light into its primary constituent particles, which then admitted of no further separation; in the discovery of the different refrangibility of these particles when thus separated; and that these constituent rays had each its own peculiar colour inherent in it; that bodies are rendered transparent by the direction of their pores, and not by their magnitude; that a transparent body, by thinness, will become more pervious to the light: in all these, which compose his "Arcana of Optics," he was the original inventor and the finisher.

Of a man whose genius embraced nothing less than the universe, it is difficult to convey an adequate idea: his virtues appear to have been as solid as his understanding, and as extraordinary as his powers; whilst his modesty surpassed that of every other philosopher in ancient or in modern times. "It was greater," says a celebrated writer, "than can easily be imagined or readily believed;" and continued to be the prominent feature in this terrestrial luminary, though all the scientific world conspired by uni-

versal praises to remove it." He declared to a friend, "that, if ever he had produced any thing worthy notice, it was not owing to *superior sagacity*, but to *patient industry of thought*." Such was the estimate of Newton respecting himself!—the estimate of a man, whose invention rendered even memory unnecessary, and all aid from other minds superfluous!

He was of a meek disposition: peace was his element; a sphere in which eminent learning and abilities are never permitted to remain. He was unavoidably drawn into controversy; and though he would have been contented that others should gain the reputation of his discoveries, and with great reluctance was prevailed upon to claim them, he refuted only by publishing a Demonstration of his Propositions.

When the chancellor of the exchequer (Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax) undertook the great work of recoining the money, he fixed upon Newton for his assistant, who quitted his favourite studies and academic bowers to discharge the duties of a public station. He was appointed warden of the mint; and, three years after, raised to be master of it; in which office he rendered signal service to his country, in the depreciated state of the coinage, affording the highest proof of vast and various powers, not to have been disqualified by etherial studies, abstruse investigation, and predominant taste, for a citizen of the world!

In society he had no singularity, but humility: never was he heard to speak well of himself, or ill of others: amiable, candid, and benevolent, it was not in the power of envy or of malice to charge him with a shade of vanity in his life or conversation. Though attached to the church of England, he was strenuously averse to the persecution of the non-conformists. In his enlightened mind the schismatics and the intolerant were the vicious. Thoroughly convinced of the truth of revelation, this able judge of the force of moral certainty, as well as strict demonstration, studied

studied with intense and unwearied diligence the holy scriptures, and declared that he knew no book so well authenticated as the Bible. He was œconomical upon principle. Of his generosity and munificence, however, there are striking instances, when the revenues of his patrimony and a lucrative employment enabled him to display his disposition.

After enjoying a uniform state of health (the result of temperance and regularity), to the advanced period of eighty, he was afflicted with an incurable disease; and under the most violent paroxysms of the stone, the philosopher and the Christian were equally conspicuous: not a murmur was ever heard; not a symptom of impatience was ever seen; and, in the shortest intervals of pain, he conversed with his accustomed cheerfulness.

Nature being at length worn out, in the eighty-fifth year of his age he terminated his mortal existence. His funeral was splendidly attended, and an elegant Latin inscription inscribed upon his monument in Westminster Abbey.

There is a print of him engraved by Bickham, which may be placed as a memorial in this reign: it is a head *radiated like the sun* in the midst of a planetary system. The following lines of Lucretius, which are much better suited to his character than to that of Epicurus, would be appositely affixed to it:

> " Qui genus humanum ingenium superavit, et omnes
> " Perstrinxit stellas, exortus et ætherius sol."

John Locke, who was in metaphysics what Newton was in the higher mathematics, finished his "Essay on Human Understanding" in this æra. He was descended from a genteel family in Somersetshire, which had been considerably reduced. His father originally was bred to the law; but, on the commencement of the war, took up arms in the service of the parliament, and rose to be captain.

He educated his son in great strictness, and sent him to Westminster school, whence he became student of Christ Church, Oxford, and soon distinguished himself in polite literature, and variety of acquirements. Having taken his degree in arts, he studied physic, intending to practise it in that city; but his constitution disqualified him for the profession, and he readily accepted an offer of being secretary to sir William Swan, who was appointed envoy to the court of Brandenburg. This employment was not of long duration, but it had its advantages; and, by affording him a knowledge of the world, opened a way to his better reception in it. Returning to Oxford, with a design of resuming his professional studies, an accident introduced him to lord Ashly, afterwards the famous earl of Shaftsbury. His lordship was advised to drink the mineral waters at Astrop, and sent to a physician at Oxford to procure a quantity of them against his arrival there. The doctor being summoned by other business, delegated the commission to Locke, with his apologies for non-attendance. Lord Ashly was so much pleased with his manners and conversation, that he invited him to his house, and introduced him to the acquaintance of many distinguished persons. By his medical advice, he was instrumental, under Divine Providence, in saving the life of his patron, who never would again allow him to practise physic but in his own family. In this situation of elegance and retirement he remained several years, and was appointed secretary of presentations when lord Ashly was raised to the dignity of chancellor. By his advice Locke applied to the study of state affairs and political subjects. He had taken an early disgust to the method of Aristotle, and the system of metaphysics taught in the schools., In this disposition, he first read Des Cartes' philosophy with pleasure; but finding it, on mature examination, deficient in basis, he formed the plan of his Essay; but, by the nature of his public employment, was prevented from making any considerable progress in it.

When Lord Shaftsbury was deprived of the seals, Locke, who

who had enjoyed his most unreserved confidence, fell into disgrace with him: he was, however, appointed secretary to the board of trade, over which his lordship still presided, and retained it till the commission was dissolved.

About this period he took his bachelor's degree in physic at Oxford; and in the following year went to Montpelier. Here he continued till his noble patron, being recalled into favour, sent for him; but being again disgraced and imprisoned in a few months after, he had no opportunity of serving his friend, but remained firmly attached to him in all circumstances; and followed him, on his prosecution, into Holland. Thus implicated in the charges brought against lord Shaftsbury, Locke became so obnoxious to the court as to be removed from his studentship by a stretch of royal authority — a measure equally irregular and unjust. He remained in exile till the accession of James II., when, by the friendly interference of William Penn the quaker, he was offered a pardon, which, with the spirit of a man conscious of innocence, he rejected, alleging that its acceptance would be an acknowledgement of a crime.

On the duke of Monmouth's invasion, he was again the object of jealousy; and the English envoy at the Hague demanded him to be delivered up. Receiving timely intelligence of this, he absconded, and employed himself on his grand work till the suspicion appeared to be wholly groundless.

At Amsterdam he became a member of a literary society, composed of Limbroch, Le Clerc, and others, who met to discuss subjects of universal learning. In this place he concluded his Essay, the work of nine years, and published an abridgement of it in French;—when, finding the expectation he wished to raise confirmed, he put the entire work to press on his arrival in England with the princess of Orange.

As he was esteemed a sufferer for revolutionary principles, as well as a writer of extraordinary abilities, he might have easily obtained a very considerable post; but so moderate was his ambition, that he was satisfied with the place of commissioner of appeals—worth about 200*l.* a-year.

His health, which had never been uninterrupted, was now in so weak a state, that he pleaded it as the reason for declining the situation of envoy to the elector of Brandenburg, and accepted the offer of sir Francis Masham and his lady, of an apartment in their seat at Oaks in Essex: here he chiefly spent the remainder of his days in a society where he was as much honoured as beloved.

The air restored him to the enjoyment of life; besides which, he found in lady Masham all that was delightful in a companion, and estimable in a friend: she possessed an uncommon understanding, and her knowledge was of the higher kind: she had been accustomed, from her infancy, to deep speculations in theology, metaphysics, and morality; and was so much devoted to Locke, that she adopted his plan of education for her son, and had the great satisfaction of witnessing its success.

His health was so much restored in this tranquil retirement, that he was able to exert all his talents: here he wrote his famous "Treatise upon Government;" one of the best on the subject which any language can afford. His "Letters on Toleration," with a variety of controversial, political, and religious pieces, gained him an increasing celebrity, which literary opponents established.

King William, as a testimony of his public talents, appointed him one of the commissioners of trade and plantations; an office which he retained five years; but an asthma, with which he had been long afflicted, beginning to affect his vital powers, he resigned the place, and employed

ployed his remaining days in studying the sacred scriptures, gaining a deeper and more elevated idea of the Christian system (which he always had reverenced) than he ever had done before. When Mr. King (a relation of his) inquired of him "the shortest and surest way for a young gentleman to attain a true knowledge of Christianity," he answered, "Let him study these—especially the New Testament: therein are contained the words of eternal life: it has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter." The summer before his death he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and spoke of it with the greatest composure. He had been incapable, for a considerable time, of attending public worship, and received the sacrament at home. The last time of his communion, he told the minister that he was in perfect charity towards all men, and in sincere union with the church of Christ, under whatever name distinguished.

The day before his death, he exhorted lady Masham to regard this world only as a state of preparation for a better; adding, that he had lived long enough, and thanked God for having passed his life so happily, but it appeared to him vanity. In a letter to a friend, to be delivered after his decease, he concluded to the same purpose—That it was a scene of vanity which soon passed away, and afforded no solid satisfaction but in the consciousness of acting well, and the hopes of a better. The pseudo-philosophers of that age, resembling those of the present, ridiculed these expressions, which proved him so sincere a Christian.

Such was the close of his virtuous life: such the characteristic piety of a man not only eminent for the possession but the use of great abilities, and no less distinguished by his enlightened views than his generous ardour in defence of civil and religious liberty.

Locke had great knowledge of the world, and of its business:

business: he commanded esteem by his probity. He won the respect of inferiors, the friendship of equals, and the confidence of the most exalted ranks, by his wisdom, his experience, his gentle and obliging manners.

To his natural disposition he applied the line in which Horace describes himself—

"Irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem."

Horace was the poet he most admired of all that lived in the reign of Augustus, not only for his genius (though he justly considered him the wisest of the famed), but for preserving himself uncontaminated by the vices of ambition and avarice, and maintaining his independence, whilst he cultivated the friendship of the greatest men in those times.

He was a warm and steady friend, and therefore felt the strongest indignation at the discovery of treachery. A person with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship in the early part of life betrayed his confidence, and not only absconded with a considerable sum of money, when he knew it must involve Mr. Locke in great difficulties, but had taken every method of privately injuring him in his connexions. Locke was to the last degree surprised and hurt at this baseness, and all intercourse was consequently broken off. Many years after, when he became one of the lords of trade and plantations, a man, in a very mean habit, requested the favour of speaking to him. Locke, with that politeness and urbanity which formed his nature, ordered him immediately to be admitted; and found, to his utter astonishment, that it was his former false friend, reduced, by craft and extravagance to the utmost distress, soliciting his pardon, and imploring his assistance. He looked silently and stedfastly upon him for some time, and then took out a 50*l.* note, with these words—"Though I sincerely forgive your conduct towards

towards me, I never must put it in your power to injure me a second time: take this trifle, not as a mark of my former friendship, but as a relief to your present wants. I consign it to your necessities, without recollecting how little you deserve it. No reply—it is impossible to regain my good opinion; know, that my friendship once injured, is for ever lost."

In conversation, though inclined to the serious, and searching truth in little as well as great objects, Locke was particularly affable and good-humoured; always disposed to talk with all sorts of people on subjects they best understood, instead of displaying his own powers. He took great pleasure in the company of mechanics, whom he elevated in their own esteem by declaring it to be his opinion, that the knowledge of the manual arts contained more true philosophy than all the learned hypotheses in the world.

In all his disquisitions, utility was his aim: he esteemed the employments of men only in proportion to the good they were capable of producing; for which reason he had no great value for critics or mere grammarians

"Those word-catchers, who live on syllables—" POPE.

and waste their existence in comparing phrases, and determining a meaning in a passage which has no importance: still less could he endure those professed disputants who cavil instead of reason, and perplex without enlightening their subject. With persons of this class he was apt to be impatient, unless he was prepared for the meeting; and then he always made a resolution to keep his temper; being, as was observed, naturally warm, and well aware that self-command was as much a duty as an advantage.

Though he was best pleased to converse on instructive topics, he was fond of innocent raillery, anecdote, the sallies

sallies of imagination, and whatever came under the denomination of well-bred wit; though of all the operations of the mind, he gave the preference to judgement.

To his servants he was the kindest of masters; he condescended to instruct them himself, ever treated them with gentleness, and rendered servitude easy.

In his charities he was extensive and discriminating: he sought occasions of doing good; visited the poor at their own habitations, and supplied them with medicines, as well as food and raiment. But his compassion was particularly directed to those industrious persons who had been reduced to poverty; saying, "it was not enough to preserve them from want: they ought to be rendered comfortable, as most valuable members of society:"—and his beneficence effected it.

Newton led mankind to the knowledge of the material world with which they were surrounded, Locke to that of the ideal world within themselves.

Respecting the arts, the religion of James was not of a complexion to exclude ornament; but four years, crowded with insurrections, prosecutions, and innovations, were not likely to inspire the Muses, or make a figure in the history of painting. Several artists, who had resided here in the preceding reign, continued through this. Such as may peculiarly be ascribed to this short period, are soon recapitulated.

William Ferguson, who lived long in Italy and France, painted still life, dead fowl, flowers, &c. He composed two celebrated pictures, when in Italy, representing bas reliefs, antique stones, &c., on which the light was thrown in a surprising manner. He worked very cheap, and died in England.

Jacques

Jacques Rousseau, who had studied in Italy, practised solely in perspective, architectural, and landscape. On his return, he was employed at Marli; but, being a protestant, he quitted his work on the prosecution of his brethren, and retired to Switzerland. Louvois invited him back; he refused, but sent his designs, and recommended a proper person to execute them. He was invited to England by the duke of Montague, to adorn his new house in Bloomsbury-square, where he painted much, and had the supervisal of the building; for which the duke allowed him an annuity of two hundred a-year for his life, instead of 1500*l.*; at which sum he estimated his work. Rousseau only lived two years to receive it. He died in Soho-square, at the age of sixty-eight, and bequeathed most of his possessions to his fellow-sufferers, the refugees.

Charles de la Fosse was also invited to England by the duke of Montague, and painted two admirable ceilings for him, the Apotheosis of Isis, and an Assembly of the Gods: such was his celebrity in France, that he was called *un des plus grandes coloristes de L'Ecole Françoise;* but this panygeric does not imply excellence; as, in colouring, their best masters failed.

Thomas Berniere, a young statuary, who flourished in this reign, was born in England of French parents. His models and small works in marble are much commended. The anatomical figure commonly seen in the shops of apothecaries, was taken from his original model. He carved portraits from life, in marble, for two guineas.

John Sybrecht, of Antwerp, a landscape-painter, who had studied the views on the Rhine, was brought over to this country by the duke of Buckingham, who was pleased with his works, and employed him at Cliveden. He made several views of Chatsworth. At Newstede Abbey are two pieces by his hand, which perpetuate his fame: the first a landscape in the style of Rubens's school: the other, which is still better, a prospect of Longleate, not unlike the manner

manner of Wouverman. Sybrecht died in 1703, aged seventy-three.

Henry Tilson, grandson of the bishop of Elphen, was bred under sir Peter Lely, and esteemed a good painter in oils and crayons; especially in the latter. He was some years in Italy, copying the best masters with diligence and success. He was rising in reputation, when he unfortunately conceived a violent passion for a woman who slighted him:—this disappointment disordered his senses; and, in a fit of phrensy, he shot himself at the age of thirty-five.

William Vande Vende, a celebrated painter of sea-pieces.

Henry Gyles, an ingenious artist of the city of York, excelled in glass-painting for windows, arms, sun-dials, history, landscapes, &c. The window at University College, in Oxford, was painted by him.

It is well known that the art of painting on glass was commonly practised in England before the reformation; and it appears from a series of dates, taken from windows still preserved, that it has been practised in every age since that period. Peter Oliver painted on glass in the reign of Charles II., and the two succeeding reigns: John Langton in the reign of Anne; Price and Rowell about the same time; and the art was latterly successfully practised by W. Peckett of York. Rowell, who was bred a plumber, excelled in it: the beautiful red, so conspicuous in our old windows, was discovered by him; and with him the secret is supposed to have died, in the year 1756. This species of painting is admirably adapted to some scripture histories. Had the glory of the Transfiguration been painted on glass by Raphael, it would have had a much more astonishing effect than the same subject executed by the same hand on an opaque ground.

N. Heude, who painted a stair-case at lord Tyrconnel's, and

and a ceiling at Bulstrode; William de Keisar, who practised miniature-enamel and oil-colours, imitating various manners; Largilliere, who has left some pieces very highly finished; and Fancati, an Italian, who, with an elaborate ingenuity, copied the portraits of James and his queen with a pen; are the only painters in this reign who remain to be enumerated, and are still esteemed by the best artists in the present day *.

* Rapin.—Burnett.—Biographia Britannica.—Grainger.—Lord Orford's Works, &c. &c.

END OF THE HISTORY OF KNOWLEDGE, &c. IN THE REIGN OF JAMES II.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1803.

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CHAPTER I.

General State of Politics at the Commencement of the Year 1803—Melancholy Consequences of the French Revolution—Conduct of France after the Peace of Amiens—Improbability of the Continuance of Peace—Character of the British Ministry—Despard's Conspiracy—detected—Despard and his Accomplices brought to Trial—Constitutional Conduct of the Ministry—Trial, Conviction, and Execution of Despard and his Accomplices—State of Parties at the opening of the Session—Mr. Pitt—Meeting of Parliament—Election of a Speaker—Speech from the Throne—Debates on the Address—in the House of Lords—in the House of Commons—Debate on the Report in the House of Commons.

THE year 1803 will be less interesting to posterity for the immediate events which it produced, than as connected with those which will probably succeed; as the date of a contest which involves in it the fate of the civilised world and the liberties of man. There has been, in the course and progress of the French revolution, something singularly capricious and whimsical. It originated in the apparent but fallacious design of ameliorating the condition of mankind. It was to demolish tyranny, to establish not only the theory but the practice of a pure representative government, equal laws and equal rights at least among the citizens of a vast empire, and institutions which for economy as well as utility were to serve as models for the rest of the world. Our wishes rather than our hopes, we must confess, accompanied the first revolutionists in these benevolent designs; designs not to be accomplished perhaps by human nature, even in its purest state, but certainly much too great to be attempted in a community depraved and corrupted beyond the common standard of European morals. Almost the first rays of hope which dawned upon us were clouded and over-

cast by the atrocities which blackened even the early stages of this revolution; and the French nation was speedily involved in such a vortex of calamity without, and of cruelty and injustice within, that the philanthropist could no longer fix any rational expectation of extensive good upon their ill-concerted endeavours. Yet it was not unreasonable to hope that after a great convulsion, in an enlightened age and in a civilised community, the situation of the people would not be rendered worse than before. It was fair to hope that *some* good might have emanated out of such a mass of evil; that *some* advances towards liberty would have been made; that some few steps might have been gained in the promotion of public and social happiness. It is just to acknowledge that even this expectation, moderate as it was, has been completely disappointed. A tyranny far more extensive and severe than that which was destroyed, has been established in France; and even the conquests of the pretended republicans have served only to widen the scene of human misery, and to extend an iron slavery over countries which before were comparatively free. The friend of liberty, and even the republican, must therefore be no longer the advocate of France: he may, without a violation of principle, wish to see restored that milder form of despotism which existed under an ancient and on the whole illustrious dynasty, and under a government which if not practically the best, was at least legitimated by time and precedent.

In our preceding volume, we assigned some reasons why the peace concluded at Amiens was not likely to be permanent. On the one side ambition was predominant, on the other apprehension and distrust. Little hope of tranquillity could be expected for Europe from a military chieftain, whose renown and character had been acquired by war; who had manifested such striking proofs of an unbounded ambition: and little faith could be placed on the professions of one who had bent every principle to his personal views; who had usurped, equally at the expense of monarchy and democracy, a mighty empire; and who in every treaty which he framed had evinced the most anxious solicitude to extend his territories and enlarge his power. England alone, of all the civilised world, presented a barrier to his vast and aspiring views; and to remove that barrier, either by conquest or by fraud, was naturally the object nearest to the heart of the usurper.

Happily the British nation was at this very critical period under the guidance of a wise, cautious, and temperate administration, which, while it was vigilant in guarding the country against every danger from without, was earnest in conciliating the affections, and assuring the esteem of the people. Unconnected with faction, and studying only the true interest of the nation, this upright ministry gained the hearts of all parties. The hydra of jacobinism, which had withstood the gigantic efforts of the house of Grenville, which appeared to acquire strength by prosecution, melted into air before that polished and constitutional shield which was now opposed to it, and ceased even to be a phantom. The people of England, characteristically honest, placed unbounded confidence in a minister, whose integrity was congenial

genial to their own; while his financial arrangements were so judicious, that instead of feeling an increase of burdens, they anticipated the time when they should look for a diminution of them. Yet in this view the task of the minister was Herculean; and it will hereafter be barely credited even on the stubborn evidence of figures, that the first year after the war Mr. Addington funded no less a sum than *ninety-seven millions sterling*—a mass of arrears bequeathed him by the blunders and extravagance of his predecessors. The vast additional load was, however, by the excellent and equal distribution of the public imposts, not a matter of complaint, and scarcely of observation.

Hence that spirit of unanimity, hence those willing sacrifices on the altar of patriotism, which we shall have hereafter to relate. The nation for the first time during an extended series of years, had a perfect confidence in its government: it felt that the men who were entrusted with this sacred charge had a common interest with themselves; that they were directed by no partial views; that they were influenced by no little, no factious motives; and that the general welfare of the commonwealth was their only concern. They were not only pure but moderate, and their moderation and constitutional conduct conciliated the minds even of those who had been adverse to the government. Faction and party subsided throughout the nation: it was only seen in parliament, where the object is well known and understood.

The British ministry were well informed of the intentions of the tyrant of France: they penetrated through the cloud of professions with which he studied to conceal his malignant hostility, and they determined to anticipate his projects; though it will be seen in the ensuing debates that nothing hostile appeared on our side till the month of March, except an increased naval and military establishment.

An event occurred early in the year, which served to develope the disposition of the enemy, and afforded the ministry a fair opportunity of displaying that constitutional conduct, that moderation united with firmness, which was afterwards their most distinguishing characteristic. It was long understood, though it could not, in some instances, be legally proved, that the disaffected party in England held a secret correspondence with the French government. Among the active and distinguished confederates of this party was colonel Despard; a gentleman who had, in his military career, performed some brilliant exploits, and had been regarded as a meritorious officer. His success was not equal to his ambition; and disappointment at first, aided afterwards by the pernicious principles sanctioned by the French revolution, seems to have produced in him an inveterate hatred for the constitution of his country, and to have induced him to enter into the most profligate designs for its destruction. The government in the year 1797 were said to be apprised of the treasonable practices of colonel Despard, and probably of his connexion with France, but they could not with propriety bring forward evidence for his conviction: he was therefore arrested, during the suspension of the act of Habeas Corpus, and imprisoned in the house of correction in Spa

Fields. On his liberation in 1802, he seems to have been industrious to justify his detention in that prison; for he was scarcely released before he entered into a conspiracy bolder and more violent than any that had been attempted in the course of the present reign. We have been well assured from what we have always considered as unquestionable authority, that a direct communication existed between the French government and this unfortunate man*. We think the assertion highly probable: the proofs we have not yet been able to procure; but at some future season we expect to be able to lay them before our readers.

The plan concerted by Despard was perhaps more feasible than might have been expected from a person of his desperate character; and seems, from the nature of it, to carry with it the refutation of the apology which was offered in his favour, that his intellects were deranged. The plan was to ingratiate himself with the lowest and most profligate of the soldiery, particularly of the guards; and by forming a strong and compact party in this body, to have at his disposal a select corps, accustomed and trained to discipline and command, whom he could bring into immediate action, and prepared for any desperate undertaking.—The active operations of the conspirators commenced as early as the spring of 1802. About the month of March a society was established, professedly for what they most absurdly termed "the extension of liberty;" and at the head of this society two soldiers in the guards were ostensibly placed, of the names of Wood and Francis. They began by administering an oath to every person who was admitted a member of the association; and it was chiefly among the soldiery that they sought for proselytes. Their success appears not to have borne any proportion to their diligence; for the association seems never to have extended beyond the number of thirty or forty obscure individuals, and even some of these became speedily disaffected to the cause.

Among the first converts to the new conspiracy were two soldiers in the guards, of the names of Blaine and Windsor. These men had some knowledge of a Mr. Bonus, an army agent; and to him they very early imparted the plan of the association, and of the oath which had been tendered to them. Mr. Bonus advised them to continue to frequent the association, and to gain a more perfect knowledge of the plans of the conspirators. Through this medium, government was made minutely acquainted with all the proceedings of the conspirators, who were however not interrupted till the evidence which charged them with overt acts of treason was judged to be complete; and on the 16th of November, 1802, at a grand meeting, about thirty of the conspirators were arrested at the Oakley Arms, in South Lambeth, and committed to prison.

The plan was altogether conceived upon military principles, and was not ill-digested. The conspirators were divided into companies of ten men each, to whom

* It was proved in evidence that colonel Despard himself avowed this connexion, and deferred one of his projects because "he waited for news and money from France."

was

was added an eleventh, under the character of captain; these again were united into larger divisions, under officers with still superior titles; and in case of a revolution, all the conspirators were to be invested with high military rank. Their principal object was to secure or murder the king as he returned from parliament, at the opening of the session; and for this purpose it was proposed to load the great gun in the park with long ball or chain shot, and fire at the king's carriage as it passed. In the mean time another party was to seize the Tower, and afterwards the Bank, to destroy the telegraph, and stop the mail-coaches, which last was to be a signal to the disaffected in the country to march to their assistance. Plausible as was this plan in speculation, we must remark that the numbers of the conspirators were not such as to furnish any hope of success; and it reflects honour on the loyalty of Britons that so few could be found even among the lowest and most depraved classes of society, to enter into a direct plot for overturning the constitution of their country, or attempting the life of their sovereign.

The wisdom of the government in permitting the plot to ripen and mature, so as to develope completely the designs and ascertain the guilt of the conspirators, was not more apparent than their moderation and constitutional principles in the conduct of the trials. No signs of alarm were exhibited by ministers on the discovery of the plot; no advantage was taken to enlarge the powers of government, or to suspend the Habeas Corpus. The men were committed for trial by the ordinary process, and every constitutional advantage was afforded them previous to their trials.

On the 7th of February, 1803, colonel Despard was brought up for trial before a special commission at the New Sessions House in the Borough of Southwark. The facts which we have stated, with some corroborations, were fully proved on the evidence of Windsor, Blaine, one Emblyn a watchmaker, and others of the conspirators, who were admitted as evidences for the crown. After a very able defence by his counsel, and a very honourable testimony to his conduct as an officer while in the army, from lord Nelson, sir Allured Clark, and sir Evan Nepean, he was found guilty.

On the 9th the court proceeded to the trial of twelve others of the conspirators; and the same facts being proved against them, nine were found guilty — viz. Wood, Francis, Broughton, Macnamara, Wratten, Graham, Newman, Tyndal, and Lander. Three were acquitted. The first six of these unhappy persons, with colonel Despard, were executed on the 21st of the same month, on a platform erected on the top of the New Gaol in Southwark: the three others received his majesty's pardon.

The state of parties continued nearly the same as at the close of the preceding session of parliament. Mr. Pitt appears still, though reluctantly, to have adhered to his pledge of "constant, active, and zealous support." The Grenvilles continued the same virulent opposition into which they had entered after the signing of the preliminaries. The bonds, however, which had bound the party of Mr. Pitt to the minister, were greatly slackened. The general election was over, and the

Indemnity bill had passed. It was supposed that Mr. Pitt was eager again to return to office; and in fact, not long after the session commenced, an overture was made by Mr. Addington, first to admit Mr. Pitt to an equal share of power with himself, nominating Lord Chatham as the ostensible prime minister; and finding this not satisfactory, it is said, Mr. Addington voluntarily proposed to reinstate Mr. Pitt in his former offices, and to accept himself a subordinate employment. Mr. Pitt, however, it is asserted, declined unless he had a *carte blanche* allowing him the sole nomination of every member of the cabinet; such a proposal was deemed unreasonable by the other party, and the negotiation terminated. We have a little anticipated dates in mentioning this transaction, which did not take place till the month of March or April, 1803. Mr. Addington's motive, we have understood, was to form a strong government in the critical circumstances in which the country was then placed. The proposal did honour to his moderation, and evinced that the desire of place and power was with him a passion subordinate to the wish of serving his country.

The meeting of parliament took place on the 16th of November, 1802; when the commons immediately proceeded to the choice of a speaker, and Mr. Abbot was unanimously chosen.

Both houses then adjourned till the next day, Wednesday, November 17th.—At two o'clock his majesty's commission to approve the choice of a speaker of the house of commons, arrived at the house of lords, when the ceremonies and speeches usual on such occasions having taken place, both houses again adjourned.

The 23d of November was the day appointed for the opening of the new parliament. In the speech from the throne, his majesty congratulated both houses on the internal prosperity of the country, as evidenced in the late abundant harvest, in the flourishing state of manufactures and commerce, in the revenue of his united kingdom, and in the loyalty and attachment manifested to his person and government. In his intercourse with foreign powers, he affirmed that he had been actuated by a sincere disposition for the maintenance of peace: though, he remarked, it was nevertheless impossible for him to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy, by which the interests of other states were connected with his own; and that therefore, he could not be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength. His conduct, he said, would be invariably regulated by a due consideration of the actual situation of Europe, and by a watchful solicitude for the permanent welfare of his people. He expressed his persuasion that parliament would agree with him, in thinking it incumbent upon him to adopt those means of security which are best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving to his subjects the blessings of peace. He contemplated, with the utmost satisfaction, the great and increasing benefits produced by that important measure, which had united the interests and consolidated the resources of Great Britain and Ireland. He reminded both houses, that the great and leading duties they were called upon to discharge, were, to uphold the honour of the

country,

country, to encourage its industry, to improve its resources, and to maintain the true principles of the constitution in church and state; that in the performance of these duties they might be assured of his uniform and cordial support, since it was his earnest wish to cultivate a perfect harmony and confidence between himself and his parliament, and to promote to his utmost, the welfare of his faithful subjects, whose interests and happiness he should ever consider as inseparable from his own.

In his address to the commons, he stated merely, that he had ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before them, and that he relied on their zeal and liberality in providing for the various branches of the public service; which, he said, it was a great satisfaction to him to think might be fully accomplished without any considerable addition to the burdens of his people.

Lord Arden moved the address in the house of peers, which recapitulated and adopted the leading sentiments contained in the speech.

Lord viscount Nelson seconded the motion, and declared his complete approbation of the noble lord's opinion. He was satisfied every noble lord in the house would think with his lordship, that the executive government of the country was now entitled to speak in a firm, unequivocal tone; which his lordship urged in very strong terms. No man was more for peace than he was; but he deprecated having it on dishonourable terms, and it was purchased at too high a price with a particle of our honour.

The marquis of Abercorn impressed the house with the necessity of attending with more than ordinary vigilance to the awful and critical situation of the country, a situation more awful and critical than any in which it had been placed since the foundation of the monarchy. We had now a rival more successfully busy in time of peace, than ever he had been in war; a rival whose hand was eternally placed on his sword, and whose foot was placed in every little state around him. His lordship adverted to the extraordinary aggrandisement of our ambitious, our natural, and our determined and inveterate enemy; and to the danger that might befall this country, if such measures were not promptly pursued and stedfastly maintained, as were best calculated to turn aside every mischievous attempt to undermine our power and lessen our greatness by checking our commerce and destroying our trade. The marquis begged their lordships to reflect, that it was not the views of ambition, the acquirements of territory, and the increase of national power, that he was desirous of recommending to their attention; but a more rational and a more moderate object, the preservation of the united empire of Great Britain, such as it then was. It was true, he continued, we had our religion, our laws, and our liberties, whole and entire, as they were handed down to us by our ancestors. Still there were many things to complain of: millions upon millions of money had been sent out of the country; every branch and function of the state had been surrendered into the hands of administration; immense weight and power were shifted from their proper place; and the old and respectable aristocracy of the country was overwhelmed by a new aristocracy, which went by the name of the monied interest. With respect to the

the peace that had been concluded, he never thought that the ostentatious preparations made by France to invade this country afforded a sufficient reason for giving as the price of peace, those things which, if retained, might still now have been a pledge for its continuance. Between the signing of the preliminary and definitive treaties, there were every day fresh proofs of the hostility of France. Since that time, there were repeated instances of hostility; and therefore the question was, whether we should make preparation for war, or throw ourselves upon the will of that person who ruled over the fate of France? After a great deal of general reasoning, all calculated to advise precaution, vigilance, and energy to ministers, the marquis concluded with declaring a hope that the unanimity of the house that night would convince all Europe of the unanimous determination of the people of the united kingdom, to support and maintain their weight and importance in the scale of nations.

The earl of Carlisle reminded the house, that when the present administration came into office he had risen in his place, and declared he could not lend it his confidence. There appeared to be something in the concoction of it that promised neither firmness nor stability. He at that time prognosticated that an administration so formed, was not likely to produce very beneficial advantages to the country, critically situated as it then was. Unfortunately his predictions had been most seriously verified; but he took no delight in the unfortunate realisation of his prophecies. He affirmed that the present administration was essentially defective and erroneous: it was fundamentally incapable of the functions which it undertook; and he believed that he was the only person who took upon himself to express the opinion which he now held, and to deprecate the evils with which such an administration was pregnant. He had now to congratulate their lordships on a higher and better tone being assumed by ministers. The change was fortunate: but he lamented to say, that it had come, he feared, too late; and he could not but express his astonishment that they had delayed so long to take the step of this day. The intemperate haste which they had shown for peace was their original error, and out of that had sprung all the errors and calamities that had followed. He would offer no amendment to the address; but he must say, that a day must soon come, when the conduct of this administration must be reviewed, and when they must come to a strict examination of the measures which had brought us into our present most critical situation. In the mean time, he gave his most cordial approbation to the address.

The duke of Norfolk declared his entire approbation of the address, but not for the reasons stated by some of the noble lords who had spoken that day. The noble duke said, he was not ready to concur in the sentiment, that if the French should break the engagements they had made with any of the powers of the continent, therefore we should instantly plunge the nation into the horrors of war. With regard to the rumours of plots and conspiracies of a frightful extent which had lately been circulated, and to which some allusion had been made, he sincerely hoped that they did not exist, either in the terrible form or to the extent represented;

sented; but he must take occasion to say, that, whatever suspicions were entertained, or discoveries made, of attacks of a horrible nature being in meditation, or of attempts to seduce soldiers or artizans from their duty, he hoped that the conduct of government would be prompt and just.

No other peer rising to speak, the lord chancellor read the motion; and was proceeding to put the question, when

Lord Grenville rose. He apologised to the noble lord on the woolsack, for giving him the trouble to read the motion for the address; but he had forborne to offer himself to his eye till the last moment, in hopes that some lord would have given to the house more information than they had yet received. He was never more anxious than to know from ministers what was the real state of the world at this moment; and what were the precise circumstances which had induced them to assume a firm and vigorous tone now, instead of the tame, conceding, and languid temper which they had manifested up to this moment. He expressed his astonishment that ministers had not thought it due to that house, and the country, to explain why they had before acquiesced, and why they now resolved to acquiesce no more. His majesty's speech contained three distinct propositions, in every one of which he most cordially acquiesced. In the first of those propositions he most peculiarly concurred, because it included in itself a direct censure of the present administration. Nothing could be more true than that it was the incumbent duty of ministers to have a watchful solicitude over the interests of this country as connected with those of Europe. But it was equally certain, that his majesty's ministers had shown no such watchfulness. He called upon their lordships to pronounce whether they could truly say, that the king's ministers had shown any just vigilance over the interests of the state; and particularly with regard to that which constituted the second proposition in the speech, that his majesty could not view with indifference any material change in the relative condition and strength of the different powers on the continent. Nothing was more just, nothing more certain, than this proposition; but the observation that must arise in every mind upon the subject was,—Did no material change take place in the relative condition and power of the nations on the continent, till the present moment? The answer must be obvious. Between the signature of the preliminaries of peace and the definitive treaty, Louisiana was added to the power of France. Surely ministers saw this with indifference. It was not their present language that he looked to, but their acts. They saw this important change; and yet with arms in their hands, they made no pause in their negotiation, but concluded the definitive treaty. This was not all. The ink was still wet, the wax was not yet cold, with which this treaty was concluded, when Piedmont, the bulwark of Italy, was annexed to the French empire. With a certain knowledge that Russia was adverse to this encroachment, the French artfully concealed their intentions for fear of remonstrance, until our ministers had concluded and ratified that disgraceful treaty. Then, seeing the indifference of the government of Great Britain, they struck the blow by which the ancient ally of the British crown, the faithful

faithful friend, was driven from his seat. It was important to the true understanding of this atrocious proceeding, that they should trace back the disastrous history for a few memorable years. He needed not to recal to their lordships' memory, that the father of the deposed sovereign, seeing the danger by which he was threatened by the French revolution, entered into an alliance with us to prosecute the war. In that alliance he acted faithfully, to the best of his very limited means. He acted well, though unfortunately. He was first stripped of Savoy; then taken prisoner in his own capital; and though according to that incongruous mass of lumber, the ancient law of nations, he might then have been said to become an enemy, because he entered into a treaty with France, yet, in truth, it was to be considered, that he was constrained to make that treaty; and even that any treaty he might have entered into, would have been justifiable. But this was not all: even in that treaty which was directed against Austria, he stipulated for an article, that he should not fight against Great Britain; and this was the ally whom the present ministers had abandoned! This was a strong case; but it was not the whole case. The French drove him away from his capital of Piedmont; but he still remained king of Sardinia. At a time when we were excluded from every port in the Mediterranean except where our arms had taken post, the French required from him that he should exclude not only all our mercantile and armed ships from his ports, but also expel all our agents. This he most positively refused to do. And yet this friendly, honorable power, is annihilated on the continent, his name not even mentioned in the definitive treaty, and his majesty's ministers have seen no material change effected thereby! It did not appear that any remonstrance was made on the measure of his ruin.—Was this enough to rouse them? Let us look back to the progress of events. The treaty was made in the month of March; it was ratified in the month of May; in the month of June, Piedmont was by a formal decree annexed to France; in August, the consular government made a grand sweep and disposal of the entire constitution of Germany, and of the princes and powers in it! Surely, either Germany was not in Europe, or we had no interest in Germany; it was a place unknown to us, or so insignificant or so distant as to be unworthy of notice; or ministers, who put into the king's mouth, that they could not see any material change with indifference, would have taken the alarm at this step. Yet no notice was taken of the outrage, though Germany was the only power upon which we could rely as the means of counteracting the inordinate ambition and strides of the consular government, and though it was a flagrant breach of the treaty of Amiens.—The interests of another ally of Great Britain, were also, in consequence of the strong feeling excited in this country in his favour, to be provided for. The house of Orange was omitted to be mentioned in the preliminaries; notice was taken of it in the debate, and it was promised to be provided for and taken care of in the definitive treaty. Lord Grenville asked, was there now any man in England, who thought that an adequate indemnity had been procured for the house of Orange? What turns out to be the case? That it is not one tenth part

part of his loss; and yet no interference in his favour was perceived. Nay, that was not all. Even the sovereign of Great Britain had suffered in his electoral interests, by their criminal inattention to the fate of nations. Our gracious sovereign had been put off with a pittance altogether inadequate, and unworthy of his claims. He would, he said, forbear to enlarge on this painful and delicate topic, particularly as he saw and felt the impression it made on their lordships: What then must they think of the king's ministers who had seen the measure with indifference, or at least who had taken no perceptible step in consequence of the spoliation? He had a right to say, that they were cool, tranquil, indifferent spectators of all this; that they dismantled ship after ship, reduced regiment after regiment, sent out orders to surrender Martinique and the Cape, and that in this apathy we came down to the end of September. It was not till October then that ministers took alarm. Something new must have occurred, to have driven ministers at length to take this new position, which made the third proposition in his majesty's speech. That proposition had also his most hearty concurrence.—Though expressed in a form to comply with the rules and suited to the language of parliament, yet ministers would agree with him, that it was neither more nor less than that his majesty announced to his parliament, an imperious necessity for an augmentation of the national force; and that they should enable him to do so.—Lord Grenville recalled to the recollection of the house, the only defence which had been made for the dishonorable peace that was concluded the 1st of October 1801; that it was a peace made in the spirit of peace, and likely to be permanent on account of the disposition which animated the chief consul. What had we seen in all this vapour, but the total want of rational foresight and capacity, with which men who aspired to the high station of government ought to be endowed? The country was deluded for a time, but it did not last long. Not a day had elapsed—he might challenge observation on the word—not a single day had elapsed without some act of insult, indignity, or attack upon Great Britain, or her ancient allies, since that time. But what now had occurred? Was it some change in the conduct of France, some new encroachment more violent and more fatal to Europe than all that was past? Was it the attack upon Switzerland? If this were the cause he might ask, was this more injurious than seizing upon Parma by one treaty with Spain, and on Louisiana by another? The acquiescence of ministers up to the interference in the affairs of Switzerland, had shown that our councils were in the hands of men totally unfit and inadequate to the crisis: for now that they had awakened from this stupor, and shown some signs of life, they had done it when they could have no communication, nor any concert, with those powers of the continent who could have made an interference effectual. What should we say of the impotence of those ministers, when they made this explosion of rage at the outrage on Switzerland, at the very moment when Austria was making a declaration of the opposite tendency? Why not have taken the moment when they might have had co-operation? Martinique, the Cape, and Malta, three great commanding

manding posts, were in our hands. Martinique was surrendered. Orders were sent out to surrender the Cape; and it was only a matter of accident that it was not done. Malta, however, was still in our hands; and he rejoiced in the fact. We were indebted for its safety to one of the blunders which had marked their administration. Oh! that all their blunders had been equally fortunate! Every man saw when he read the article concerning Malta, that it was inexecutable; and to that circumstance, and that alone, we owed its having fortunately yet continued in our hands. Lord Grenville concluded his animadversion on ministry, by saying, that a sense of duty to his king and country had compelled him to express his sentiments on their conduct. He added, we must eternally keep in mind this truth,—that though we might be at peace with France, France was artfully at war with England; as much so as if the declaration of war had been actually made. Perhaps she might choose, indeed, to call the speech of this day, a declaration of war. If she did so, it could not make us worse. We must exert ourselves; we must strain every nerve; we must struggle for an existence; but he had no hesitation in saying, that, if we meant to make that struggle effectual, it must not be under the auspices of the present persons in office. No, not under such men. There was but one man in the kingdom to whom every eye was directed, to whom every heart was attracted, as alone equal to rally the national force—as alone equal to weather the storm.

Lord Pelham said, that was not the time to go into a detail of the nature and extent of the intended augmentation of the force of the kingdom; though he declared that no sudden nor great augmentation of the troops was intended, nor did there appear any thing in the state of Europe, that made such an augmentation necessary.

Lord Carysfort gave his hearty assent to the address.

He was followed by lord Hobart, who assured the house, that he would not detain them long; as he by no means thought it necessary to enter into a minute discussion of the various assertions so confidently made by the noble lord over the way, much less to speak in detail of the nature and extent of the troops disbanded. When the subject came fully and regularly before the house, he should be ready to defend the conduct of ministers; for the present, it was sufficient to remind the noble lords, that many of the troops were necessarily disbanded, because the time for which they had engaged to serve was out, and therefore the faith of government would be broken if they were not discharged. What he rose, however, chiefly for, was to complain of the injustice of a noble lord, late one of his majesty's ministers, in censuring the king's present servants on account of the dismemberment of Germany, when he could not but know that the treaty of Luneville was made during the noble lord's administration, and that Germany was brought into its present condition by circumstances which were not subject to the controul of any ministers. It was enough for him to say, that the indemnities in Germany were not considered of sufficient importance to prevent our making peace. With regard to the article of the definitive treaty, respecting Malta, which the noble lord had been pleased to say, was, on the face of it, inexecutable,

entable, their lordships would recollect, that the only difficulty started when the treaty was discussed, was, as to the possibility of procuring a Neapolitan force to garrison Malta: now, so far from that being impracticable, the Neapolitan troops were actually obtained; clearly therefore the article was not, as the noble lord had been pleased to declare, inexecutable. The noble lord had stood up to charge his majesty's servants with incapacity; it did not become him (Lord H.) to say one word in answer to such a charge. He would, however, say, that the present ministers did not seek their situations. They were called upon to take them in a moment of great and accumulated difficulties, difficulties with the nature and extent of which no man was better acquainted than the noble lord opposite to him. While that noble lord was in office, he had to the best of his abilities supported him; but he had thought proper to relinquish his situation. He therefore only desired, as he had done from the first, that the present administration might be judged by its conduct. If France had extended her dominion over the greatest part of the continent, it had been under her power long before the noble lord retired from office; and if that noble lord had not been able to prevent such aggrandisement, he had no right to charge the present ministers with misconduct because they were not able to do away that power, which had been created during that noble lord's administration. But he would tell that noble lord, that he could not charge the present ministers with incapacity, without at the same time criminating himself for having relinquished his post.

The question was then put upon the address, which was agreed to, *nem. con.*

The address, in the house of commons, was moved by the honourable Mr. French, member for Galway. He alluded to the prosperous state of our commerce, manufactures, and revenue—the industry and loyalty of the people—mentioned the augmentation of our resources as arising from the union of Great Britain and Ireland. He spoke also of the advantages which had resulted from the peace; yet he strongly approved the declared policy of ministers, to place the empire in such a situation as should render it superior to the apprehensions of war; and, if that alternative should become necessary for the maintenance of our honour and security, in such a situation as to protect us from the consequences. As to our foreign relations, he did not think it at all necessary to enter into any discussion of our right to interfere in continental concerns; that right was indisputable: but it was another question, and one of a very delicate nature, when we should stand forward to act upon that right. Whatever resolution might be taken, or whatever the event, it was material to preserve our resources; and under the auspices of our present ministers that object had been particularly attended to. If, however, they should be permitted to pursue the pacific line of policy they were disposed to, it was desirable that full provision should be made for such an establishment as should enable them to encounter any obstacle. The honourable member concluded by moving the address, which was, as usual, a mere echo of the speech.

The motion was seconded by Mr.

Mr. Curzon, who was followed by Mr. Cartwright, who touched upon a few of the objects which had already been treated at much greater length by lord Grenville in the lords. He thought ministers highly culpable in so precipitately disarming; and concluded by expressing his regret, that the prodigious talents of the man who wielded the power of France were not met by the exalted abilities of a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who was now unfortunately absent.

Mr. Fox began a very animated speech by observing—Some expressions, which fell from the honourable mover of this address, as well as from two honourable gentlemen under the gallery, made it necessary for him to trouble the house with a few observations, explaining the grounds of the vote he should give, and which would be a vote of direct and cordial approbation to the address. Before he proceeded, he should just say a few words respecting an expression in the address which might appear to stand in need of explanation, consistent with the principles on which he should have the honour of voting on the present occasion. The expression to which he referred was that which pledged the house to make provision for the support of such an establishment as might fully provide for the national security; and, while an ardent desire for peace was cultivated, assured his majesty of cordial co-operation in vindicating the national interests and honour from the attacks of any foreign foe. As he understood the expression, it conveyed to his majesty no pledge which had not his fullest approbation; and it was only in consequence of an observation made by the honourable mover of the address, that he considered it proper to advert to it. The honourable gentleman let fall some hints about the necessity of keeping up a large establishment: but by the vote he should now give, he protested against any such inference; and certainly did not, by agreeing to the address, bind himself to the support of any establishment of this nature. He thought it necessary to say these few words on this point, to prevent any misconception from applying to the opinion which at a future time he might feel it his duty to submit to the house, when the extent of the establishment to be maintained should come regularly under consideration.

With regard to the objections to the address, they would be considered in a different way by different sides of the house. Those who defended the treaty of peace when it was laid before the house, would defend it still on the same principles which originally induced them to give it their approbation, and they would naturally view the objections to the address as frivolous and inconclusive. Those, on the other hand, who contended that they would not have made peace on the terms which the treaty contained, would be anxious to break a peace which they would not have made, and to renew a war which they wished to continue. But it might be said, that war would not now be renewed on the same principles on which it was formerly prosecuted, and that new causes of war had occurred since the treaty of peace was concluded. He could not appeal to the house, for the decision took place in a former parliament: but he could appeal to many

many gentlemen who now heard him, to consider what the principles were on which they approved the peace; and whether any thing had taken place since the treaty was concluded, which would authorise them to give their vote on the present occasion, for breaking the treaty and recommencing hostilities. Supposing for a moment that war was to be renewed, gentlemen would do well to reflect in what manner hostilities would be conducted. On this part of the subject he would not go into detail; but it was obvious, that our means of annoying the enemy would consist simply in retaking the places which, by the treaty, we had agreed to cede, or in retaining those still in our hands. Now, to violate the treaty of peace for such an object as this (and under the present circumstances there was no other object which would be obtained) would be to place the ministers of this country and the members of the last parliament, who had approved of the treaty, in a situation to excite the ridicule of all Europe. The continuance of peace, he contended, was infinitely desirable; he felt its importance in the strongest manner. Adverse, however, as he was to the renewal of hostilities, he did not mean to assert that no circumstances might have followed the peace, which would fully justify ministers for refusing to comply with its provisions. He was not ashamed to avow an opinion for which he had not unfrequently been exposed to ridicule; and now explicitly to declare, that he considered the preservation of national honour to be almost the only legitimate cause of war. This doctrine he held on the plain principle, that honour is directly and inseparably connected with self-defence. If it could be proved to him that the national honour had been insulted, or the national dignity disgraced, he would without hesitation declare his opinion; which was,—this would be a fair and legitimate cause of recommencing hostilities. Though he contended that honour is the only legitimate foundation of war, he did not mean to deny that other circumstances may come in aid of its force. As to the present circumstances of Europe, he saw no ground of war as far as this country was concerned. It was his own firm conviction, that there was on the part of the French people, as well as the French government, a strong desire to restore their commerce to new activity, and their manufactures to new life; and this, he believed, was the field in which, if any contest was to be carried on betwixt the two countries, they wished the dispute to be conducted. Of the result of such a rivalship, we had surely very little room for apprehension. We had got so much the start of them that we must take the lead; and if they had the start of us, our superiority was so great that we could not fail speedily to overtake them. In this contest we should be certain of victory; and every intermediate step in our progress would only afford new facilities for increasing our superiority and augmenting our improvement. It would be absurd indeed to pretend that this fair prospect would not be marred; but of this he was perfectly convinced, that it must be a very strong case which would justify the recommencement of hostilities, instead of employing our resources in cultivating the arts of peace. Was there a man in the house, he asked, or in the country,

who, after the disasters which had been sustained during the progress of a wild and destructive contest, would, without continental support, again renew a contest with France, without any support but that derived from the co-operation of a few German princes, whose troops might be subsidized to engage in our cause? He trusted that so extravagant a project would not again be adopted. If, contrary to every suggestion of expediency, and every dictate of policy, it should be embraced, it required little political sagacity to foresee that the result would be incalculably disastrous. The first and grand object, continued Mr. Fox, which we ought to have in view, is security. But there could be no true security which was not upheld by honour. There could be no true dignity which was not supported by character. An honourable gentleman, however, found a new ground of war in the character of the French government. He was surprised to find it not so friendly or conciliating as he expected at the time the treaty was concluded. Did the honourable gentleman really expect that the French government was henceforth to entertain towards this country no feelings but those of friendship? Did he imagine that we might expect from it every interchange of civility and kindness; that our government would find in it a powerful and disinterested ally? If such were the honourable gentleman's ideas, he confessed himself at a loss to know on what they were grounded. By those high in office, a very different prospect was held out to the house and the country. A noble lord opposite (lord Hawkesbury) made use of a very remarkable expression, when describing the situation in which the peace left us with relation to the other powers of Europe. He said that the continent was in a very "unsatisfactory state,"—a sort of language certainly by no means calculated to suggest any ideas of friendship or cordiality on the part of the French government. The immense aggrandisement of French influence and French power was, doubtless, a subject of deep regret; and no man lamented it more than he did. It must be lamented by every Englishman; and this very aggrandisement was with him a grand cause of accusation against the late ministers, by whose obstinacy and misconduct it was obtained. But, he proceeded, let gentlemen who hold this language reflect, that, with the knowledge of the continent being in the state which the noble lord described, the treaty of peace had received the approbation of the house and the country. There indeed remained a question, how far the state of the continent, in consequence of intermediate events, was more unsatisfactory than at the time when peace was concluded. These acts, whatever their nature might be, were not then before the house, and therefore he should not then speak to them. A great deal had been said about the disposition of the people of this country in favour of a renewal of the war. This he had no hesitation in affirming to be completely false. The origin of this calumny it was not difficult to trace. It arose, he affirmed, from the coalition of some newspapers, which affected to hold out this as the real disposition of the people. Their motives for such representations might be various. They might wish to gratify spleen, or to increase their circulation by contriving some-

something to excite the curiosity of their readers; but if the publishers of newspapers were to be the means of plunging the nation again into a destructive contest, it would be the most base and ignoble cause in which a people was ever engaged. But we were told, that a most considerable body in this country (the commercial interest) were strongly actuated with a desire that the war should be renewed. To this representation he was not disposed to give his assent. If, however, the fact were as gentlemen represented it, if human beings were to perish to gratify any passion of our nature, he should rather that their blood should flow to gratify the romantic ambition of Alexander, than to fill the coffers of a cold calculating body of unfeeling merchants. When there was not a single power ready to second our efforts, let us not, continued Mr. Fox, by a rash step forfeit those blessings which are indispensably and eternally connected with a state of peace. Great enterprises, which, in his opinion, might with much more propriety be styled rash actions, were flattering in prospect, but disastrous in the result—*spe læta, eventu tristia.* We were now in a state of domestic tranquillity, of flattering internal prosperity; and our commerce, as far as the nature of human affairs justifies anticipation, might become daily more extended. —There was one other point on which he should make one or two observations. At the commencement of the late war the house, and he believed he might add, the country, were, as it were, hurried into the contest from the expectation that the struggle was one which would not be arduous during its continuance, or protracted in its duration. Fatal experience had, however, sufficiently demonstrated the fallacy of such anticipations. He hoped we should not again be hurried into any new war, on the expectation of its only lasting one campaign. [Here Mr. Fox looked to the place where lord Hawkesbury was seated.]—With respect to the present administration, he believed, it was almost unnecessary for him to say, that he had no sort of connexion with them. He thanked them for having made peace, and hoped they approved the treaty they formerly concluded. The power of France was unquestionably too great; but it was not increased to such a degree since the peace was concluded, as to justify a rupture. The interference of France in the German indemnities was a subject of complaint. Did ministers not know that an interference was naturally to be expected? By not being parties to the treaty of Luneville, did we not know that France would interfere in the subject of the German indemnities; and what reasonable ground of complaint now existed? The language of the late ministers was explicit. They told us, that it was not for the interests of this country to treat in conjunction with Austria. She had consulted her separate interests, and we were freed from our engagements. As we were unwilling to share in the advantages, we had no right to complain of consequences easily foreseen, and of effects easily anticipated. France, as might have been expected, did interfere in the arrangement of the German indemnities, and Russia had been induced to join in the same object. He did not mean to go into any minute illustration on that subject. He would content himself with a

general observation—which was, that this interference was in some points of view not unfavourable to the interests of this country, as they might be collaterally affected. He had only to conclude with expressing his ardent hope, that peace was the first object of the government, as he was convinced it was the strongest wish of the people. He declared he would give the address his cordial support.

Mr. Canning succeeded. He was a friend to the address, on the principle that it recommended a system of vigour, which seemed to have been too long wanting in our national councils. He reprobated at some length the conduct of ministers in respect to Switzerland; afterwards, he proceeded to observe, that much had been said at different times of the desperate state of public affairs when his majesty's present ministers were entrusted with their management. This observation, often repeated, he had at all times most strongly controverted. He was ready to go into a detail on every point; and to prove that, in every particular, it was unfounded. What were the circumstances under which ministers undertook a situation represented as hazardous beyond all former example? They had left to them a war with France, and the neutral question in such a state as to afford no prospect of accommodation without an appeal to the sword. But what were the means they were furnished with to meet these objects? For enforcing our right on the neutral question, they had a fleet prepared to strike an immediate and effectual blow. To finish the war with France, they had the Egyptian expedition in readiness for immediate service. They, to all the advantages arising from success, did not unite any of the dangers connected with responsibility. They were entrusted with the government of a country in a state of complete repose. Treason in Ireland was destroyed, domestic sedition was repressed, commerce extended beyond all example, manufactures active, finances unimpaired, were the prominent circumstances in the situation of the country when they were first called to his majesty's councils; and certainly, though these duties were arduous, their facilities of performance were numerous and striking. Mr. Canning then stated the hostile views of the French government to this country. The destruction of our independence and glory was the object never lost sight of for a moment. There was, he said, an invincible spirit of rancour, which only waited for a favourable opportunity to display itself in action. The enemy was making great preparations along the coast; could any one doubt that we should do the same? He had succeeded in making himself master of a greater and richer extent of territory than had changed hands for centuries in Europe. He was not speaking, nor was it his wish to speak, the language of alarm and trepidation; but if the person, who is at the head of the government of France, persisted in the measures calculated to excite apprehension, we were called upon to meet every exigency, by looking at his objects as he looked at them himself. He certainly had a great grasp of mind, and it became, of course, the duty of his majesty's ministers to be proportionally vigilant. It was not, he said, because he wished to meet any particular exigency that he voted for the address; it was not because he perceived

ceived dangerous results from Switzerland and Malta; but because he could not help seeing them throughout Europe; because he was convinced there existed in the ruler of France a rooted and inveterate hatred to the English government; and because there were undoubted proofs of a constant activity employed and directed against us and our interests.

Lord Hawkesbury rose after Mr. Canning. Although, he said, he agreed with the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Fox) in many of the observations that had fallen from him, yet there were others in which he could not acquiesce. The aspect of affairs, at the time the definitive treaty was concluded, might widely differ from that of the present moment. He would say, and fairly maintain, that it was right to conclude peace, and close, as it were, the account of war, on the terms and conditions it was then in the power of his majesty's ministers to obtain. His right honourable friend (Mr. Canning) had asked, upon what system ministers now intended to act, and whether they had altered the system upon which they had hitherto acted? He did not hesitate to say, in answer, that they acted now on the same system and principle which guided them in negotiating the definitive treaty of peace. At that time he contended, and still was ready to contend, that the treaty of peace, as far as it respected the separate interests of Great Britain, was right; inasmuch as it secured the integrity of the British dominions, and even added new acquisitions to them: but that, as far as the continent was concerned, it left its situation *unsatisfactory*, and such as might call perhaps for a stronger expression. This state of the continent, unsatisfactory as it was, there were then no hopes of improving; for how, he asked, could continental prospects be followed up without the concurrence of continental support? It was also observed by them (ministers), that it was better to take the chances of peace than the chances of war; that it was wise to husband our resources, and reserve them for future and more successful exertion, especially as it was admitted on all sides that there were then scarcely any hopes of any successes on the continent. With these views, and on this principle, he said, ministers then acted. On the same did they now continue to act; on the same they rested the justification of their conduct.—But now, as to the circumstances of the present moment, what part wise ministers should take, had in it, perhaps, more of delicacy than difficulty to say. Their conduct, under all the considerations of the case, must be regulated by the importance of continuing the peace, while the continent was in its present situation and disposition. For he would ask any general observer, what object he thought could now be accomplished by a renewal of the war, when there was no probability of any effectual support on the continent. This point might indeed give rise to a variety of considerations. But he had no difficulty in saying, that after such a war as that in which we had been engaged, the continuance of peace, under all circumstances, was to be wished for. Yet he should rejoice, that, by some wise, temperate, and conciliatory plan, a barrier might be put to all farther encroachments.

Lord Hawkesbury then proceeded to reply to the animadversions thrown upon ministers by two of

the gentlemen who spoke after the mover and seconder of the address, and who more than insinuated the insufficiency of the present administration. These gentlemen accompanied their observations with a studied panegyric upon Mr. Pitt. In the praise of his abilities, and in the acknowledgement of the signal services rendered by him to the country, no man could join more cordially than he did. He was also ready to approve the measures of his administration: but the events which closed that administration proved that no abilities, however powerful, could command success. When he recollected these events, what must be his surprise to hear that the close of that administration was a period the most flourishing, the most prosperous either for war or peace, that could well be imagined, and the best calculated to tempt any man conscious of talent or actuated by ambition, to take upon him the guidance of public affairs; yet, what was the situation of the country at that period! Was not all Europe combined against us but the cabinet of Vienna, and that power not able to support us even by words? Did ever such a feeling of dismay pervade the country, as when the present administration entered into office? Was the neutral question then decided; was it even decided by the battle of Copenhagen? After the issue of that battle, and even after the death of the emperor Paul, was it not well known that several persons who composed the government of Russia still adhered to the system of the neutral question, and that the decision of it was attended with the greatest difficulties? As to the expedition against Egypt, no one more approved and applauded it than he did. Our forces at that time could not have been better employed, and the success they at length obtained materially contributed to the attainment of peace. But if the military men employed in that expedition were consulted, would they say that nothing obstructed, that nothing had rendered doubtful, its ultimate success? The gentlemen he had already alluded to, and also his right honourable friend, had alluded to the state of our public establishments. Never, he would venture to affirm, were our public establishments, especially that of the navy, more considerable; never was the navy of France more reduced. But these gentlemen would not look to the terms of peace in discussing its merits; they confined themselves to the *animus* manifested by the French government. If, he remarked, they never would make peace while the *animus* they alluded to continued, they would never have been at peace either with new or old France. For if that *animus* referred to the plans of ambition and aggrandisement which France has and had always in view, they would find that the three last treaties with the French government had ever in contemplation the renewal of hostilities; and if the *animus* be objected to in that sense, we should never be at peace at all. A doubt had also been expressed of the prosperous state of our commerce and manufactures. He would now only observe, that, when the accounts relative to this subject should be laid before the house, they would have the satisfaction to see that those important branches were never so flourishing as at the present moment. To preserve, therefore, and maintain that peace which the present administration had concluded, and thereby to give oppor-

opportunities to internal resources to fructify and accumulate, would be their invariable policy: but while they looked to that policy as the foundation of their power, they would be prepared for what events might call for; always determined to resist every unjust demand, and that in the first instance. While it was thus their object to make peace, they would not lose sight of what the circumstances of Europe might demand. They were sensible that the influence of the French revolution had produced a great convulsion in many of the continental states: but while they regretted the operation of that influence (which, however, it was to be lamented, could not altogether be now repressed), they trusted their conduct would satisfy their country; as while they were eager to preserve the blessings of peace, they would be less watchful to maintain the character and dignity of the country, and every thing that had been held sacred by its wisest and most enlightened statesmen.

Mr. Windham followed: and said, that if this country were really in the state depicted by the speeches of lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Fox, and it was necessary to pause till such time as those honourable members had contended it was, before any decisive measures were adopted relative to the question of war or peace; if destruction were falling on the country in the way it seemed to be; then was it, he feared, lost and gone for ever. He then took notice of what had been stated by Mr. Fox; who seemed, he said, to have lost his feelings when he spoke of the French revolution. At some particular periods he had described it as an event which astonished the world, but which was at once splendid and harmless. Instead of looking on it as a tremendous evil that had crushed palaces and kingdoms, he had always viewed it in the light of as innocent a thing as ever came into the world; leave it alone and it would do no harm. After having conquered Spain, Portugal, Holland; and added the Italian republic, Piedmont, and Parma, to the territories of France; there was nothing now remaining between us, according to the honourable gentleman's doctrine, but a peaceful rivalry of commerce. He should be glad to know how it was to go on in this amicable way. Nothing, he contended, was to be done, by pure rivalry: for the first consul had placed things in such a train, as could not fail to distress us in the most effectual manner. He would trade with Holland, Russia, Denmark, Sweden; in short, with all but us.

Mr. Windham denied the foundation of the principles of Mr. Fox's argument relative to the treaty of Amiens; for whatever their love of domination might be as to other countries, their whole and sole wishes, aims, and views, were invariably bent on the total destruction of this country, whose trade and wealth they envied, and both which they were taught to believe had been employed to bring upon them all the difficulties and evils they had been forced to encounter. It was well known that France, since the signing of the preliminary articles, had built eighteen ships of the line. There had in that period been shipped from the Baltic for France upwards of 10,000 tons of hemp; and what was most to be wondered at was, that all this had been shipped in British bottoms. The expedition that was

first sent out to St. Domingo, was fitted out in a less space of time than had ever been known on any former occasion, at a moment when the French navy and trade were said to be at the very lowest ebb. But, strange to tell! the provisions that had been sent out to St. Domingo, were all sent out on British credit, and were even guaranteed by our merchants. What was still more alarming was, that the next convoy of provisions was to be sent out by the Dutch, and conveyed in American bottoms; thus strengthening the power of those two navies, to the detriment of ours: and, hereafter, when we were pleasing ourselves with the idea that credit begets capital, and capital ensures commerce, we should find that from the overgrown power of France, when our commerce was most successful, it would be liable, from her combinations, to kick our credit to the devil. He ridiculed the idea of the violent disposition which, all of a sudden, the first consul had shown in favour of a system of peace, and of his assuming the title of pacificator of Europe. He proceeded to caution ministers to weigh well the situation this country would be in when war came, which he thought could not be far off. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) had stated his principle to be the point of honour. He wished his point had been lower, and his principle higher; for his part, he put the point of honour out of the case, for he deemed the national honour neither more nor less than the national interest. He would not make war for mere convenience; but there was another little thing, called safety, for which he would immediately make war. He admonished ministers to sacrifice a dangerous economy to the vigorous measures it might be necessary to adopt for our safety: and concluded by saying, for the reasons which he had adduced, he did not think himself at liberty to give a silent vote to the address; to which, however, he should propose no amendment.

Mr. Fox rose in explanation, and said, with considerable warmth, the right honourable gentleman had, throughout his speech, misrepresented his meaning; and as he did not quote his words, he had not an opportunity of pointing out the particular instances of misrepresentation. He must believe that the right honourable gentleman did not wilfully misrepresent him; but, as he so often imputed to him sentiments he did not entertain, and opinions he never uttered, it was necessary for him to say a few words in explanation. He never said that the power of France was not formidable; on the contrary, he said that no man in England could feel more strongly, or regretted more, that aggrandisement. He did feel it; and he charged that aggrandisement upon the right honourable gentleman and his colleagues, as a calamity for which they were gravely responsible to their country. That right honourable gentleman, he said, and his colleagues, had contributed more to augment the power of France than any member of the house of Bourbon, or any general of the French republic. He did not say that he was for peace on any terms, and purchased by any submission. He recommended peace as most consonant to the true honour and to the true interests of the nation.

Mr. Windham replied, that he certainly did not intend to misrepresent

present the honourable gentleman. He did not quote his words; he spoke of the general tenor of his speech, and tendency of his opinions. The house, which heard the speech and his remarks upon it, would judge of the fairness with which he stated the honourable gentleman.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that though such persons as thought with the honourable gentleman, that the conclusion of peace was pregnant with the destruction of the country, might now agree with him in the lamentable picture he had drawn of our situation and prospects, yet he could not believe that views so discouraging to all spirit of enterprise, so inconsistent with all public confidence and private comfort, would meet with the approbation of impartial men in that house, or in the nation. The honourable gentleman spoke as if he thought that ministers in concluding peace would feel that they had sins to expiate; while, on the other hand, the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Fox) expressed a hope, that ministers did not repent of the part they had acted in bringing the war to a termination. He must state, then, to the house, that he did not appear before them as an apologist for his conduct in that affair. If he were a delinquent, he was a hardened one: for he never reflected upon the share he had in that event without inward satisfaction; nay, if any new aggression, if any fresh insult upon the country, were to render a renewal of the war inevitable, he should not alter his sentiments or change that satisfaction into repentance, as he could declare with truth, that the part he acted was dictated by a sense of duty, guided by the best of his judgement. No man lamented more than he did the aggrandisement of France; yet it seemed to him very shallow reasoning to say, that the magnitude of her power was in proportion to the extent of that aggrandisement. But supposing the right honourable gentleman's alarm of French power to be just, how did he justify the policy of an immediate war? He surely then had not examined the question with sufficient attention, or he could not have so completely laid out of sight every consideration of prudence. Several gentlemen had alluded to the naval and military establishments, as being excessively and prematurely reduced. Upon a matter in which, by proper inquiries, accurate information might have been obtained, it was surprising that they should have so greatly erred. The fact was, that with regard to our military establishment, it was double what it was in the year 1784, at the same period from the conclusion of the treaty. No reduction whatever had taken place in the infantry, except in the disembodying the militia, those whose period of service was limited, and those unfit for duty. There had been a reduction in the cavalry; but still it was double what it was in the year 1784. As to the navy, in 1786 we had 115 vessels in commission; we had now 207. In 1792, the year preceding the war, we had 18,000 seamen; at present we had 46,000. So much for the reduction of our naval and military establishments. It was with the utmost satisfaction, likewise, that he was able to convert into certainty, what was stated as conjecture, respecting the increase of our commerce, manufactures, and revenue. He was the more gratified in being able to do so, when he recollected the

the gloomy presages on this subject which were held out by those who disapproved of the peace. In the year ending October 1801, the exports of British manufactures amounted to between 23 and 24 millions. In the year ending October 1802, he had the pleasure of stating, that the exports amounted to no less than 27,500,000*l.* During the last year, also, the amount of the revenue had been unexampled. Many thought that he was too sanguine last year in taking the surplus of the consolidated fund at 4,500,000*l.* for the current year; but, for two quarters from the 5th of April, the amount of the surplus had already been upwards of three millions. The floating debt of every kind, which was estimated at upwards of twenty millions, would, in January next, amount to no more than fourteen millions; notwithstanding the unusual efforts which had been made during the year, and the extensive establishment that had been kept up. The house, he was sure, would be happy in being thus relieved from the anxiety respecting our situation and prospects, which unfounded conjectures had spread, and to see errors on so important a subject corrected from the most authentic documents. The right honourable gentleman seemed to think that all the dangers which he saw in our situation arose from a state of peace; but he did not show in what respect war would remedy the evil. After the experience of the events of the war, how could he prove that peace was more favourable than war to the aggrandisement of France? that a perseverance in the contest, or its renewal, would tend to give relief or security to those parts of the continent in which we were peculiarly interested? The principles on which ministers concluded peace were, that our single efforts could be of no avail to repair what was amiss in the state of the continent; and that, therefore, our honour being saved, it was wise to spare our resources for occasions when, if peace could not be preserved with safety and dignity, we might go to war with the co-operation of allies, or be enabled to assist and animate their returning energies. When Austria retired from the contest, all wise and impartial men thought that we should likewise give up the conflict, if terms of peace compatible with our interest could be obtained. In such circumstances we did put an end to the war, our honour entire, our constitution preserved, our best interests secured; and if the renewal of the war should, by any aggression or any insult on the part of France, be rendered necessary, it would not be renewed on grounds different from those on which its discontinuance had been justified. The right honourable gentleman had insinuated a suspicion that the tone which ministers might have assumed in any discussions with the government of France had been inconsistent with the dignity of the nation. He hoped that his assertion would be received in opposition to a mere insinuation. He asserted then, most positively, that in no one instance had the honour and interests of the country been committed by ministers; and this was all that it would be proper for him to say upon such a subject. The right honourable gentleman said, that the public opinion was recovering: for his own part, he was satisfied that the public opinion was that the country wished for peace, but was not afraid of war; that it wished what was best,

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but was determined to be prepared for what was worst. It would submit to no base dishonourable compromise of its rights and of its dignities; but would not be misled, by any exaggerated statements of danger, to overlook all considerations of prudence. In that house, and in the country, there would be no disposition to prostrate the honour of the nation; but he was aware that there was in some individuals a disposition,—originating, no doubt, in the most laudable feelings,—a disposition to rouse the passions, to alarm the fears, to pique the pride of the country, in order to force us back into war, without any adequate motive. Nevertheless, he was convinced that the great body of reflecting men in the commons would give a zealous and steady support to ministers, while they showed themselves determined to watch over the true honour and interests of the state; but, at the same time, not to be led away, by feelings which they felt it their duty not unfrequently to moderate, into a fruitless and premature contest. Not only from feelings which pronounce war to be the greatest of evils, but from the conviction of his cool judgement, he was desirous to avoid it: but dreadful as it was, it was not so dreadful as dishonour; and if ever the alternative were presented, he should not hesitate in the choice. After the eloquent speech of his noble friend, he should not enter into many of the topics on which he should otherwise have dwelt; but content himself with expressing his concurrence in the reasons he gave for the conduct of the ministers in concluding peace, and their motives in employing every effort to preserve it.

Mr. T. Grenville concurred in the address, on the principles laid down by Mr. Windham. He rejoiced to hear that the revenue was in so flourishing a state; but to show that the revenue was flourishing was no answer to his right honourable friend, who had shown that the whole state was exposed to such imminent danger. Mr. Grenville adverted to the address moved by lord Hawkesbury, on the definitive treaty last May; in which the house relied upon his majesty to prevent any encroachment on the sources of our wealth, greatness, and naval power. He asked how this had been followed up? Much stress, he observed, had been laid by the noble secretary of state, in defending the preliminary treaty, on the tone and temper in which it was concluded. It appeared, however, that the noble lord himself had begun to distrust the temper of France; by recommending, by the address on the definitive treaty, an increased vigilance in regard to the measures of France. But had there been any vigilance or increased vigour in opposing encroachments? Those, then, who approved the treaty, relying upon the tone and temper in which it had been concluded—or on the increased vigilance to be exercised, to supply what was doubtful in the temper of Bonaparte—might, consistently, blame the conduct of ministers, by whom they had been deceived. He proceeded to ask, if any attempts had been made to renew foreign alliances? the want of which was, as alleged, the cause why the war could not be carried on, or the aggrandisement of France on the continent be opposed with success. In the debates on the preliminaries and treaty, the noble secretary of state stated that all hope of foreign alliances was at an end.

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Was such a declaration an encouragement to foreign princes to form alliances with us? Was our treatment of allies such as to induce them to make common cause with us? The noble secretary of state said that night, that we were to resist the unjust demands of any foreign power; but as that was confined to ourselves, and to our naval power, there was no reason to imagine that any encroachments of France on the continent would meet with any resistance. He concluded with repeating, that as the tone and temper of the peace had not corresponded with what had been held out by ministers, and as their promises of watching the farther encroachments of France had not been realised, they did not merit the confidence of those who approved the peace, far less of those who considered our present situation as dangerous.

Lord Castlereagh repeated the reasons which had induced him to approve the peace. He contended, that Mr. Grenville had mistaken the passage of the address he had quoted, which referred to the sources of our naval greatness. If the relative situation of France were so materially changed as to affect these, it would be necessary to oppose her encroachments; but it did not follow that we were to resist every measure of France on the continent, when we had no direct interest and no co-operation of other powers. He contended that, even if it were necessary to go to war to resist any new encroachment, it would be of the utmost advantage to be able to carry the country along with it, by showing that it was a point of necessity, not of choice; whereas before the peace, it would have been impossible to make them co-operate with spirit in supporting it. He observed, that the remarks of Mr. Grenville, on the words of lord Hawkesbury, that we should resist all unjust demands of a foreign power, related to those which affected us. As to what regarded the continent, it would not depend upon us so much as others more immediately interested, what opposition might, consistently with prudence, be given to the encroachments of France?

Lord Hawkesbury explained. He said, that he had observed the house would be prepared to defend our honour and essential interests, if attacked; but, as to interference with the continent, it must depend on the consideration of many circumstances, upon the support we should receive, and the chance of success. He observed, that he had not spoken of the temper of the treaty; but of the tone, the time, and the terms. By the tone was meant the tone of equality which should prevail between independent states, and absence of revolting and degrading conditions, besides the terms.

Mr. Whitbread concurred in the address, with the explanations given by Mr. Fox. He lamented that ministers, particularly lords Hawkesbury and Castlereagh, had rather imprudently, he thought, talked too much, as if there were doubts of the permanence of peace; by that means damping enterprise, and keeping the country in suspense. He approved of the peace, and trusted it would be lasting. He saw no new grounds of war. France was in real possession of Piedmont and Switzerland when the treaty was concluded. He admitted that Mr. Grenville, having opposed the peace, was consistent in wishing to renew the war, which

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was clearly the object at which he and his friends pointed. He also noticed the inconsistency of Mr. Windham in continuing a member of a cabinet, which, in a preceding negotiation, had offered to give up all our foreign conquests, while he had protested against any of them being given up. He showed that France had not been aggrandised more by peace than war. He referred to former negotiations, after which, and particularly after the refusal of Bonaparte's overtures, France was so rapidly aggrandised. For all this the late ministry were answerable. On the subject of the peace establishment, he said he saw no reason why it should be larger now than was intended when the treaty was concluded.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the honourable gentleman had totally misunderstood both him and his noble friends. General arguments had been stated, but nothing had been said which indicated that ministers looked to the renewal of hostilities.

Mr. Whitbread said, that with this explanation he should go home much easier than before receiving it.

The address was then voted without a division.

On the 24th of November, the lords presented their address to his majesty. On the same day, in the commons, Mr. French brought up the report of the committee appointed to prepare the address. It was read a first time; and, on the motion that it be read a second time,

Mr. Wilberforce rose, from a wish to explain some sentiments which he entertained on the expediency of continental connexions. Whatever his sentiments on this very important subject, he could assure the house that they were not lightly taken up; that they were the result of very serious and long investigation of the history and politics of this country. The language in which the address was couched, precisely suited his ideas; which were, that the government ought to look with a jealous eye to the state of affairs on the continent, and to lose no opportunity of taking such measures as the conduct of foreign powers might render necessary for our security. If there were any thing in the address which was calculated in some measure to excite suspicion in his mind, it was the expression by which the house was pledged to support what was styled the standing policy of the country with regard to foreign relations. He was sensible, indeed, and it had often formed a subject of lamentation, that the house and the country had shown, at various periods, too great an eagerness to engage in continental contests. Our national blood and treasures had been too often wasted in the pursuit of objects but very remotely connected with our national interests; and public burdens had been accumulated only to afford facilities to continental ambition, or to hold out temptations to continental rapacity. It had been asserted that he had contended, that at no time, and under no circumstances, was it expedient or politic in this country to interfere in continental affairs, or to connect itself with continental alliances. He begged leave unequivocally to disclaim this as a fair statement of his sentiments. Extended as the relations of this country were, any man who should lay down such a proposition would affirm what was monstrous and absurd. What he contended was, that in the present circumstances of this

this country and of Europe, it was not politic to form such connexions without due deliberation. If this truth were not clearly admitted, the experience of the last ten years, which had been so dearly purchased, was sadly thrown away. It was true that France, our constant rival and frequent enemy, was so formidable, both by land and sea, that it was a matter of prudence and policy that such continental connexions should exist at the breaking out of the war, as might furnish employment for those troops which would otherwise be engaged in annoying us, either in our foreign possessions, or in attempts to effect an invasion on our native coasts. This, he said, was a principle of continental connexion which every sound principle authorised. But the doctrine was pushed to a much greater, and in his opinion a much more than justifiable length, by the supporters of the standing policy of England respecting foreign relations. A speech of a noble friend of his (lord Hawkesbury) had, at an early period of the last war, contained such an extensive definition of the right of interference in the affairs of other states, and the policy of augmenting our foreign alliances, that not a single state on the continent could have been in the slightest degree convulsed or distracted, without affording to this country the fair right of interfering in its internal arrangements. The impolicy of any system of external relations, founded on these principles, was abundantly proved by the history of all ages. An expression of his on a late occasion (his address to his constituents), that the people of this country were too honest to have any thing to do with the continent, had been thought by a right honourable gentleman (Mr. Canning) to be a fair subject for pleasantry and ridicule. He did not now mean to make any apology for the expression. On the contrary, he was ready to re-affirm that the people of England were too honest for continental connexions. Was it not, he asked, notorious that in all the coalitions which had ever been formed by this country with continental powers, those powers had adhered honestly to their engagements only so long as a show of fidelity was advantageous?—Of this continental perfidy, Mr. Wilberforce adduced several strong and incontrovertible instances.—He proceeded. When all these things were duly considered, he trusted that the house would hear nothing more of renewing the war from a speculation of success; since such a step could not be called a speculation, but had been reduced to a fatal and destructive experience. There were a variety of other considerations which powerfully demonstrated the impolicy of extending our connexions on the continent under the present circumstances. We could not, he contended, expect to form any arrangements, for the permanence of which we could have the smallest security. France, in his opinion, possessed such means of influence over the leading powers of the continent, that she could, without difficulty, counteract any alliances which we might form, or at least might render them of very trifling utility for any great national purpose. In illustration of this idea, the honourable member called the attention of the house to the present state of the relations between Turkey and France. It was obvious to the most careless observer, that that country was completely at the mercy of the French govern-

government. It was not difficult to understand what was meant by the boasted guarantee of the integrity of the Turkish dominions. It was neither more nor less than that the French government should decide the fate of that empire, whenever such a measure should appear necessary for the furtherance of its views. With such influence, it did not require much penetration to foresee that France could, at all times, hold out to the cupidity of Russia or Austria a division of the Turkish empire; and it was not difficult to see that would at all times be employed as a powerful engine of alienating those powers from the interests of this country. With regard to Russia, the argument applied with peculiar force. It was well known that Russia had long entertained a design on the Turkish empire. On these principles he must argue that to form continental connexions, under the present circumstances, or to enter into engagements for the stability of which we had no security on the part of foreign powers, was unwise, impolitic, and inexpedient. On these principles he was anxious that the attention of government should be principally directed to our internal situation, and the improvement of the resources which the country contained within its own bosom. They were to keep an eye on the continent, but they ought to turn their special regards to domestic affairs. He then proceeded, at some length, to dissuade from a war in strong and decisive terms. He also ridiculed the remarks of Mr. Canning, respecting the situation of the country at the time his majesty's present ministers assumed the management of affairs; and complimented them highly on their talents, their rectitude of intention, their perfect disinterestedness, and their zeal for the public service. He concluded by expressing his confidence in their future exertions for the general interests of the empire; and conjured them, as they loved their country, as they valued the confidence of the house, as they respected the attachment of the people, to persevere, unmoved by the clamour of party, in their desire to preserve the blessings of peace.

General Gascoigne did not oppose the address.

Mr. Elliot, who succeeded him, drew a most alarming picture of the situation of this country in respect to France. His arguments, however, for the most part, have been already detailed in other speeches. He quoted the following passage from the official journal of the French government:—"What is the interest of France? It is to have none but good neighbours and sure friends. In the south, the king of Spain, the ally of France from inclination, as well as from interest; and the Italian and Ligurian republic, which enter into her federative system. Switzerland, the duke of Bavaria, the *good* prince of Baden, the king of Prussia, Holland, to the north and the east." It then went on to state, "that this situation of France is the result of ten years of triumph, of hazards, and labours, and immense sacrifices. The peace of Luneville, the preliminaries of London, and the peace of Amiens, far from having changed it, have consolidated it!" On this passage Mr. Elliot remarked, without any other comment on this production, it might suffice to observe, that ministers, by signing the treaty of Amiens, had signed and sealed the consolidation of the French conquests.

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He proceeded to ridicule the idea of the extinction of jacobinism, which had been adduced as a reason for consolation under our disappointments. He asked, did the first consul meditate no hostile designs against this country? Was he incapable of fomenting discord and discontent in Ireland? Had he shown no tenderness for Napper Tandy, a foul and convicted traitor? Was there not an English paper called "The Argus," set up in Paris, under the controul, like the other journals, and perhaps under the protection, of the French government? Its columns were filled with dull sedition; and one of the numbers plainly told Ireland that she owed no allegiance to the king of Great Britain. So much, continued he, for the extinction of jacobinism. He adverted, finally, to the defenceless state of this country and of Ireland; and declared, that as to the question of peace or war, he had only to say that we should keep arms in our hands, and retain possession of what was not yet ceded to France: we were fully justified in assuming that attitude; for with the succession of power and resources which France had received, he asked, was there any thing like a rational hope of peace?

Sir Francis Burdett admitted, that the honourable gentleman who had just sat down, had depicted, with great truth, the melancholy state of the country, arising out of the gigantic aggrandisement and accumulating resources of France. But at the same time that he confessed this, should he not be permitted to observe, how extraordinary it was, that those who had accumulated against us this mountain of dangers and difficulties, should be the most forward to exaggerate them? that they should be the loudest in stating the result of their own conduct and counsels; and the most studious in detailing the perils with which their imprudence, their obstinacy, or their infatuation, had encompassed the country. He went on to ask—but after all, what was the blame now imputed to ministers? That they made peace without foreseeing what advantages France would derive from peace: and that they did not now hold a bold and blustering language; while it was confessed that, if they again tried the chances of war, there would be scarcely any hope of their doing any thing effectual. Would to God that no greater faults could be imputed to the present or to the late administration! The honourable baronet next proceeded to state his more particular objections to the proposed address. It stated, that we should look with watchfulness to the state of Europe; and seemed to intimate that we should catch at an opportunity of renewing hostilities. Such an expression he could not but consider as imprudent: for it argued an inclination, without a consciousness of ability, to give it effect: in such language there was little of wisdom or of dignity. The other passage he had to object to was that which alluded to the advantages of the union with Ireland. Ireland had reaped no advantages from what had been commonly called the union; but which, in truth, should be called her subjugation: if any advantage were derived from it, it was experienced only by ministers, who drew from it an additional phalanx to strengthen their ranks in that house. He proceeded, if it were really the wish of ministers to rally and unite all honest men in defence of the constitution and country, let them hold

forth

forth some principle for which they would fight; a principle that would win their hearts, and gain the sanction of their understanding. For his part, he believed the principle of reform would have great weight with the people to that effect; and under the present circumstances of our situation, he did not see that any other principle would enable the country to cope with France, and rise above the difficulties with which it was now threatened. As to the question of war or peace, he would congratulate the country on the impossibility we were in to attempt the former. Such an attempt in the present state of Europe, would betray not a spirit of hostility, but of insanity. But as that topic had already been so much discussed, he should not dwell upon it; but content himself with concurring in the address, as far as it went to encourage and maintain the continuance of peace.

Lord Dillon said a few words.

Mr. Johnstone approved of the conduct of ministers in endeavouring to maintain peace.

Lord Temple severely animadverted on a part of the speech of an honourable baronet, sir Francis Burdett, where the present power of France was ascribed to the attempts of a confederacy of despots. But he principally rose to notice a phrase which was used on both sides of the house, viz. that he and his friends wished for war at any rate, in preference to peace on any terms. To such an assertion he must give a flat denial. They had no wish for war; they saw all its dangers in the present state of the country, and were ready to confess the almost impossibility of success under the present circumstances. [*A cry of hear! hear!*] His lordship then affirmed the insufficiency of ministers; and that the army and navy had been diminished according as the power of France had increased—assertions which had been already combated and disproved by the statements of the chancellor of the exchequer.

General Maitland stated, from his own knowledge, that we had 48,000 seamen on board that fleet which was said to be wholly dismantled. Many of our seamen had, no doubt, been suffered to return to their homes; but considering the privations to which these brave fellows had been subjected during the war, this indulgence was surely not a matter of blame. If seamen were wanted, he had no doubt that the summons of the able and gallant lord St. Vincent would procure them faster than the ships could put to sea. It was surprising to him to find that the minds of certain gentlemen were evidently bent on war; when in fact, were all the French colonies retaken, and were the sea swept of all but British and neutrals, we should not be one jot nearer to our object, in our attempt on continental France.

The secretary at war confessed that he was glad to hear the speech of the noble lord (Temple); because, till he had heard him speak, he was at a loss to come to any practical conclusion upon the arguments of the gentlemen who had taken the same course. From the speech of a right honourable member (Mr. Windham) the preceding day, he thought then that their object was to renew the war; but he now found, from the speech of the noble lord, that their object was the dismissal of his majesty's ministers. It was manly in the noble lord to avow it; thinking as he did, that himself and his friend

could fill their places much better. This then being the noble lord's opinion, why not bring the question before the house, and put it fairly at issue; instead of drawing a gloomy picture of our affairs, and exaggerating the dangers of the country with a view to make it discontented with the present administration? They did not come into office, he said, by cabal or intrigue. Whatever might be their deficiencies, it would at least be said of them, that they gave peace to the country, and that it had suffered no dishonour or calamity in their hands.

Mr. Fox also felt the most sincere pleasure, that the noble lord had so frankly confessed the views and objects of the gentlemen with whom he acted. It was rather uncandid, however, in the noble lord's friends, to call in to their aid every popular topic, every subject likely to inflame the popular feelings, when they had nothing in contemplation but their own advancement. If they felt that the present ministers had misconducted the public affairs, let a fair appeal be made to the public opinion, to the judgement of that house; every patriot would go impartially to the discussion: but let not charges be thus indirectly advanced. Though he was not disposed to join the noble lord's friends in their censure of the present ministers, yet, if these ministers were, as report stated, introduced into office in order to stand in the way of a great act of justice to the majority of the Irish people, and to a large proportion of the inhabitants of England, most undoubtedly they deserved censure; but if such were the ground of the noble lord's abuse, why not avow it? The mode by which ministers got into power was certainly mysterious; it was not yet explained. If it were such as he had already alluded to, the noble lord's proposition would not be ill received, though ministers might plead the peace they had concluded as a set-off against this charge. He could not help expressing his surprise at the dreary picture which the noble lord and his friends had drawn of the state of this country, compared with that of France; and his regret for the terms in which they were in the habit of speaking of the French people and their government. It was not becoming the dignity or policy of this country to use such language, nor was the comparison consistent with justice. Nothing but the spirit of exaggeration or consummate blindness could imagine it. Mr. Fox then discussed, at some length, most of the topics which had already been urged as arguments for the recommencement of hostilities; and showed, that such a conclusion was not fairly deducible from any one of them, or from all together. He was afraid that ministers indulged a rivalry, bordering on hatred, against the French: and fancied all should join in their alarms; without considering that the fears of many of the states of Europe were as much directed against our ascendency by sea, as against the extraordinary power of France on the continent: and he had no doubt, that were there an assembly in France of the same nature as that house, the formidable power of our navy would be as much the subject of jealous remark and apprehension, as the continental strength of France was now to us. He recommended the avoidance of those unmanly libels, which both in and out of parliament were

too frequently levelled at the French government. He noticed the war of words which existed between the newspapers of this country and of France: but, said he, let the *Moniteur* and the *Morning Post*, the *Times* and the *Argus*, go on in their hostile language; it was easier to be endured than a war of bayonets. He should decline supporting the extended establishment which was thought necessary; because he considered a large standing army, independent of considerations of expense, to be the most dangerous instrument of influence in the hands of the crown. The apprehension that French industry would injure our commerce, was a subject for ridicule. If the first consul should order Genoa to rival London, Amsterdam to rival Liverpool, as commercial orders were always obeyed, the circumstance would be very alarming; but would war remedy the evil *(a laugh)*, or would not greater evils arise out of it? To go to war on principles of commercial rivalship, would be an act of madness and folly.

Mr. Windham commended the brilliancy of Mr. Fox's speech; though it was a brilliancy without force, as almost every thing the speech contained was fallacious. The war of France was not a paper war; it was a war of measures, of deeds, most calamitous to Europe. With respect to what had been said of the "aggressions" of France, he believed the word aggressions had not been used, at least in the sense given to it by the honourable gentleman. Without actual aggressions, there might be acts committed by another state which might justify war. It was said too, that the acts complained of on the part of the French government had existed at the time of the treaty; but even admitting that to be true, the argument founded on them, if it did not apply to ministers now, would still apply to the dangerous situation of the country owing to the peace. It was asked, what was the cure even for the danger, if admitted?—was it war? He would say that, in the comparison of war, as the cure, with peace, it might fairly be contended, that every thing we should not lose would be gain. It was to prevent, not to cure, that he wished. In comparing the war with peace as a cure, he contended, that peace had enlarged the sphere of Bonaparte's ambition, by allowing it to extend to every quarter of the globe, while war had confined it to Europe. As to the advantages of peace for commerce, the question was, what security had we for that commerce and the wealth it gave? If poverty were a security against robbery, surely wealth was in itself a bad protection against the robber. After pursuing the comparison of the safety of peace with the safety of war to a considerable length, from which he inferred that war would have enabled us to secure more than peace gave us a chance of securing, he adverted with severity to the language which had been held as to continental connexions; that we were too honest to deal with the princes of the continent, &c. It was not true that Austria abandoned us. She gave up the contest, not yielding, but as it were driven out of the line.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the purpose of the arguments of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) was to establish the proposition that, upon the whole, war was more desirable than peace. The

right honourable gentleman spoke of the evils which would have been averted, had the country remained in the former situation; that the French would not at present be in possession of Louisiana or St. Domingo, and that the British fleet would retain the superiority in the Mediterranean. But he contended, that the true question for the consideration of the house was, whether upon the whole it were better for the sake of averting those comparatively lesser evils, to plunge the country again into the calamities of war? The effect of the right honourable gentleman's arguments was not to renew, but to render the war perpetual; namely, that it should be prosecuted till it so operated upon the power of France, as to produce, on her part, an incapacity of further hostilities. It had been asserted by a noble lord (Temple), that it was impossible hostilities should be renewed. To this proposition he would ever oppose a decided negative. On the first discussion of the question of peace, the house would do him the justice to recollect that he had expressly stated, that the war was not discontinued on account of any deficiency in the means of carrying it on. He therefore would have no hesitation in asserting, that were the honour of the country touched, or its security in danger, it would not only be *possible* to renew hostilities, but it possessed the means of supporting a contest of seven or eight years duration, without imposing any burdens upon the people, but such as would, under all the circumstances of the case, be borne with cheerfulness. He then proceeded to repel the imputation of a want of vigour in the measures of ministers. He could with confidence defy the noble lord (Temple) to point out a single instance where the conduct of ministers betrayed a want of promptitude or vigour. He hoped the noble lord would condescend expressly to state the grounds upon which he brought the charge he had asserted. With respect to what had fallen from an honourable gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Fox), relative to the language which had lately appeared in the public prints of the respective countries, he concurred in all his observations. At the same time he wished not to be understood to say, that a finger should be laid upon the British press upon that account; God forbid! as the worst consequences the imprudence of news writers could produce, were light and insignificant, compared to the effect of such an outrage! However, language not less reprehensible proceeded from the other side of the water than what issued from the press of this country. He had, on a former occasion, stated his apprehensions from the language of those whose exaggerated statements went to place the country in a state of warfare; on the other hand, apprehensions were to be entertained from the line of conduct recommended by those who would make any compromise for the preservation of peace. It was the duty and intention of those who administered his majesty's government, to steer between both extremes; and to observe a line of moderation founded upon those principles in which they deemed the honour and security of the country to consist. In pursuing that course, they relied upon the approbation of their country, and the support of that house; and from such a course they would not be diverted. On the great and salutary objects they had in view, they

they would endeavour steadily to fix their eyes, and not to suffer any part of their conduct to subject them to those unjust imputations which had been thrown out; or in any wise to militate against the honour of their sovereign, or the true interests of their country.

Lord Temple said, he never had stated the renewal of the war to be impossible. He had only said, it was impossible that the present ministers could ever call forth with effect the spirit and resources of the country.

Mr. Addington rose, and observed that he had intended to state, that the peace expenditure, allowing for all the establishments deemed necessary, would be twenty-five millions a-year.

The report of the address was finally read, and agreed to, *nem. con.*

CHAP. II.

Finances.—Navy Estimates.—Debate on that Subject.—Debate on the Army Estimates.—Budget.—Army Extraordinaries.—Debates on these Subjects in the House of Commons.—Debate on the Malt Bill in the House of Lords.

THE house having resolved into a committee of supply (Dec. 1st.), Mr. Stephens moved, that 50,000 seamen, including 12,000 marines, be granted for the service of his majesty's navy, for the year 1803. On the consideration of the report of the committee the following day,

Mr. T. Grenville rose, and expressed his astonishment at the mode of proceeding which was now proposed; a mode which placed the house of commons in quite a new situation. The minister, he said, demanded an extraordinary supply of seamen, without condescending to give the least explanation of the reasons which induced the necessity, or the purposes to which he meant to apply them. He could not hesitate to observe, that the conduct of the ministers whose duty it was to give this explanation, was novel, unprecedented, and unconstitutional; was disrespectful to that house; and that house would subscribe to its own disgrace, if it should assent to that proposition until the necessary explanation should be given. He asked, had this vote reference to a peace or war establishment? If to the former, parliament and the country might think it excessive; if to the latter, such force might be deemed inadequate. At present, that house was incompetent to judge; and before they submitted to the obloquy of assenting to the proposition then under discussion, he trusted the minister would be compelled to present such materials for their consideration, as might fully qualify them to decide that question. The question upon which they were to determine was this—what was the danger that threatened us; and was the state of our resources and preparations equal to

resist it? Among the dangers that threatened us, should be considered the maritime state of Europe. He then adverted to the partiality of Russia, at least for some time back, towards the views of France; though from the moderate character of the present emperor, and some late circumstances, there might be a little reason to hope that our former relations of cordial friendship with that cabinet would be re-established. In Holland, no one could be ignorant that great and unparalleled exertions were making to restore their navy; and still greater efforts were making to recruit the fleets of France. It ought to be considered too, that when we spoke of the navy of France, we spoke of the navy of Europe. In the event of a war, the influence she had established on the continent, would be sufficient utterly to exclude us: for what assistance could be hoped from Portugal? The subserviency of Spain also to France was indubitable; as likewise, the endeavours of France to exclude us from every port in the Mediterranean. She had deprived us of all except Malta. He desired to know of ministers, why that was retained; and if it were designed to be given up, upon what conditions? indeed, he had no hesitation in saying, that it was incumbent upon ministers to retain all the places covenanted by treaty to be given up, which were still in our possession. In the present circumstances of Europe, and from the conduct of France since the peace, he maintained, that such a proceeding would be consistent with justice and equity, and it was evidently called for by every principle of policy. He then adverted to the state of the West and East Indies. There was danger to be apprehended to our colonies, particularly Jamaica, from the force in St. Domingo; which danger was aggravated from a consideration of the force at Louisiana, and the recent cession of Martinique. He understood that France was immediately to take possession of Cochin in the East Indies; a place of consequence, not for its commerce, but because it was a strong place, and would afford opportunities of negotiating with the native powers. In such a state of our affairs in every quarter of the world, he would ask, could the house confirm the resolution of the committee of supply, without explanation from ministers whether we were to be at war or peace?

The chancellor of the exchequer replied.—After the expectations of providing for our security which his majesty's speech was calculated to excite, Mr. Addington asked—was not the proposition of a considerable force naturally to be expected? Such, he said, was the object of the speech, such its legitimate meaning, and such, according to the right hon. gentleman's own statement, the country looked for. He appealed to the house whether ministers had, upon any occasion, indicated the least wish to evade the investigation of any measure they proposed, or to give the most satisfactory explanation. Did gentlemen mean to support their proposition, that ministers lost sight of their duty because they declined to enter into an explanation of a necessity which all men admitted, and which they themselves were particularly anxious to dilate upon, and too often forward to exaggerate? Could it be necessary to trespass on the house of commons by a dissertation on the state of Europe, in order

der to prove that we should provide for our own defence? If the right hon. gentleman and his friends believed in their own descriptions, the force he (Mr. Addington) proposed required no justification, to them at least. With regard to the manner in which this number of seamen was to be engaged, he begged to remark, that our fleet in the West Indies, which must be occasionally relieved, and which could not prudently for some time be reduced, would require a great proportion of this force; but he wished to rest the justification of this vote on a broader principle, the opinion of expediency—the propriety of adopting defensive measures on such a scale as to be prepared for every emergency, and to afford the country the fairest prospect of the continuance of peace. He proceeded. The right hon. gentleman was in error, when he stated, that the navy of France and the navy of Europe were synonimous terms. He certainly was not justified in connecting the navies of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, with that of France. The right honourable gentleman had taken a view of our external dangers and internal strength: he should follow him; but would be more minute, and he hoped more satisfactory to the house, in his detail. The fleets of France, Spain, and Holland, stood thus at the beginning of the war; France 105 sail of the line, Spain 79, and Holland 27: What was the result of the war which covered this country with so much glory? Why, that those fleets which consisted of 200 sail of the line at the beginning of the war, were reduced to 123, and a comparatively greater reduction took place among their frigates and small craft. Their actual state at the conclusion of the war, was what he had stated: France 39, Spain 68, and Holland 16. What addition could there have been made by building new ships to such a force, to excite the slightest alarm in the breast of an Englishman, when he stated, that we had at present 192 sail of the line, 209 frigates, 129 sloops, and 243 smaller craft; in all, 773 ships of war? What apprehension could be felt for our safety, when it was known, that by the prudent and wise conduct of the first lord of the admiralty, such arrangements were made, that in case of the renewal of hostilities, fifty sail of the line could be prepared for sea within a month, and even a larger number should the exigency be pressing? Whether this state of preparation proved inertness, inactivity, and lethargic torpor—proved that want of vigour and energy on the part of administration, which the right hon. gentleman and his friends would attribute to them—he should leave to the house and the country to determine; and whether they deserved the foul opprobrious epithets, and the false accusations, which were frequently pointed at them. Lest the hon. gentleman and his friends should suppose that the force proposed was with any view to a war establishment, he begged to undeceive them; for their (ministers') only object was to be enabled, on any sudden emergency, to put forth such a fleet as might be sufficient to avert all danger; to show our power and might, if necessary, and to keep that power on such a solid foundation as should never be shaken.

Sir Sydney Smith, in his maiden speech, expressed his cordial approbation of the proposition then before the house.

Sir Robert Laurie required an explicit answer from ministers relative to the real prospects of this country with respect to war or peace; and also an explanation in respect of Malta and Switzerland.

Lord Hawkesbury replied to the objections urged, not against the proposition, but against ministers, for the mode in which it had been introduced to the house. It certainly was not usual, he contended, to introduce the votes for the service of the army and navy by any specific explanation of the circumstances which appeared to render such an establishment necessary. There was a passage in his majesty's speech where a hope was expressed, that such an establishment would be kept up, as would be fully adequate to the security of the country. Most gentlemen, he was convinced, understood from the passage, that there was, on the part of his majesty's ministers, an intention to propose to the house the maintenance of a large naval and military establishment, as the best means of accomplishing the object which his majesty had graciously recommended to their attention. Ministers might fairly contend that in the present circumstances of Europe, such an increased establishment was necessary. They did not wish, however, to rest the proposition on such a foundation. Without saying any thing about private negotiations which might exist, without drawing any inferences from events which could not be explained, without even hinting at arrangements which could not be disclosed without material injury to the public service, he then put it to the house, whether there did not exist in Europe, at this moment, such known circumstances, as, independent of any other consideration, fully justified ministers in proposing that large naval establishment which was then offered for the adoption of the house?

Mr. Canning said, he had heard his noble friend that night with very great pleasure: and if the speech which he had delivered, had preceded that which gave rise to that debate, he believed the debate itself would have been rendered unnecessary: for it had given him, upon most of the topics it embraced, perfect satisfaction. His noble friend had stated it was not usual, in moving for the navy and army estimates, to precede such motion by a speech from any of his majesty's ministers. Undoubtedly, when the army or navy estimates were only of the usual size, such was the practice; but when a large augmentation was proposed, it must have been expected that some explanation should accompany the motion. He might venture to affirm, it was entirely without precedent to propose such an augmentation as the present, without any explanation whatever. He then proceeded to state, that the proposal for the augmentation was originally for 3 months—the vote of that night proposed it for the year. Now he should wish to ask, wherefore should the vote be continued for the year? He admitted that the present moment was full of care and anxiety to this country, with respect to the affairs of Europe, and that parliament could not do better than assent to a large establishment. Yet, if any change had taken place since the time of the original proposal, it must have been since the discussion of the king's speech in that house. Mr. Canning then adverted to the affairs of Switzerland; with respect to which, the speech

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of his noble friend had not given him any satisfaction whatever. He thought the house was entitled to expect some explanation upon that matter, which had hitherto been passed over with a studious silence. What he wished to know was, whether the credit and honour of the country were in any way committed upon that question; and if committed, how and in what manner had the pledge been redeemed? Upon that subject, he trusted that either then, or at some future period, an explanation would be given.

The attorney-general observed, that the course which that debate had taken, was so extraordinary, that he felt great difficulty in offering himself to the house. A compliment was expressed by the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, to his majesty's ministers, for the vote which they proposed then to the house; and yet he censured them for observing a perfect silence and reserve, or rather concealment of the reason they had for proposing such vote, which reason when given was that which was perfectly notorious; so that ministers were censured for being silent on what had been already spoken, reserved on what had been already communicated, and for concealing that which was already notorious, namely, that they proposed this vote on the state of things as known already to every man in the country. This was certainly very curious. The complaint too came from those who agreed in the vote, and thought it came at the present time with peculiar propriety. Nay, truly, the measure now before the house was just what they themselves (Mr. Canning and friends) would have proposed, if they had had an opportunity; which proved to his mind, that, if they had an opportunity of proposing it, the house would not have heard of their opposition. It was not then to the proposal they objected, but to the man who proposed. The great ground of objection with those gentlemen was, that they had nothing to object to. Indeed, it had been stated with great candour that night, that if ministers were removed, every thing would go on very well; so that after that there was no mystery in gentlemen appearing to censure ministers, though in their consciences they were bound to applaud their measures. Ministers said, "we do not think it adviseable to commence hostilities at this time." "So do I," said the right hon. gentleman.—Ministers said, "but it is proper we should be prepared for the alternative, if hostilities should become unavoidable." "So do I," said the right hon. gentleman—and yet by his manner, one would suppose he held a contrary opinion. The learned gentleman concluded with expressing a wish, that while the votes of gentlemen were for administration, their manner should not appear to be hostile.

Dr. Lawrence considered that it was grossly insulting the house, for any ministers to propose an increased military and naval establishment, without deigning to inform them why that measure was proposed. Perhaps the parliament, when informed of the situation of the country, might think it necessary to keep up a much larger establishment. Bonaparte had been in no hurry to disband or weaken his force. If, indeed, he discharged 50,000 of the oldest men in his army, he had raised by a conscription 160,000 young men. As to his navy, had ministers heard that he had dismantled a single ship? No: on the contrary, he was building

building more, and had been busied in filling his dock-yards, his magazines, and arsenals, with every thing necessary for fitting out his navy with the greatest celerity. He concluded by vindicating his friends from the charge, that they acted from no other motive but the design of getting the present ministers removed, and taking their places; and expressing his opinion in favour of a larger establishment than that proposed.

The question was then loudly called for, and the resolution agreed to.

On Wednesday, Dec. 8, the house having resolved itself into a committee of supply,

The secretary at war rose, and proposed the army establishment for the ensuing year. Before he stated to the committee the outlines of that establishment, he begged leave to submit a few general observations to their attention. The estimates he then held in his hand, contained the detail of a military establishment, larger, both in the amount of the expenditure it would require, and in the number of men to be maintained, than any former peace establishment in the history of this country; and the grand question for the consideration of the committee was, whether circumstances then existed which rendered such an enlarged establishment necessary? On the decision of that question, would depend the justification of his majesty's ministers in proposing it: for on no other ground than necessity, could so extraordinary an establishment be proposed or vindicated. If that question were resolved in the affirmative, then it was for parliament to determine, whether the plan and the description of that extraordinary establishment was such as would ensure to the country the advantages of protection and security. As proofs of the existing necessity of such an increased establishment, the honourable secretary mentioned the circumstances of Europe, the relative situation of this country and the neighbouring powers, the overgrown power of France, the military character and enterprising spirit of the present French government. Moreover, the committee had to consider that France was complete master of the Netherlands, had Holland wholly under its controul and dominion, and had likewise the undisputed command of the whole course of the Rhine, of the Maese, and the Scheldt, with all the fortresses situated on their banks. The committee were to reflect, that it was the first time they had been called upon to form a peace establishment under such a remarkable change of circumstances; and to make adequate provision against the power of a formidable neighbour, whose resources had been so considerably increased and extended. He was astonished at the language of Mr. Fox, who said, he saw nothing in the circumstances of Europe, to justify a greater military establishment than had been maintained during the last peace. Let gentlemen consider what was the situation in which the country was then placed. During a great part of that peace, Holland was united to us in ties of the strictest friendship; the Netherlands were still in the possession of Austria; and the whole course of the Rhine, from Alsace to the sea, belonged to powers entertaining the most pacific views to this country. Again—what was the peace establishment of France? He had no wish that ours should bear any thing like a proportion to that of France; but unquestionably the force kept up by

by a rival power, was a matter deserving serious attention. (The right hon. member here gave a minute calculation of the present state of the French army; but the statement in round numbers will be sufficient for understanding the argument.) He stated that the number of French regiments of cavalry, was 84; and that their number was upwards of 46,000. The demi-brigades of infantry of the line were 110; which with 30 demi-brigades of light infantry, formed a total of 341,000. There were ten demi-brigades of veterans for garrisons, consisting of upwards of 13,000; and 26,000 formed the number of the artillery, pioneers, and other descriptions of that army. The gross number of the whole army was about 427,910. There were vast numbers of people trained to arms, who could be called into immediate action. These consisted of the gendarmerie, and other classes of irregular troops. These, added to the regular army, would form a total very little under 929,000 men. Having gone through this statement, the right hon. member resumed the course of his argument. There were two objections, he continued, to the plan he had proposed: 1st. The maintenance of a standing army was unconstitutional, and even dangerous to the existence of liberty in a free country. This he admitted, if it were not subject to the controul of parliament; but if it could be shown that, from the relative situation of this country and foreign powers, the support of such an establishment was essential to the preservation of our safety, and the maintenance of our honour, he contended, that the largest standing army might be constitutionally supported. A standing army to a certain extent had been kept up in this country since the æra of the revolution. The circumstances of Europe required it; and the most enlightened statesmen, and the most ardent lovers of liberty, were forced to admit its necessity. The necessity of a standing army to a certain extent was therefore admitted: this extent was to be regulated by circumstances; and if a large establishment were necessary, the same arguments which favoured a small establishment would apply to one much larger with equal force. Necessity was the single ground in both cases for any establishment at all.—2nd. The other objection he had alluded to, was drawn from considerations of œconomy. It was contended, that we must husband our resources, must support public credit, must accumulate wealth during the period of repose which was afforded us by peace. It appeared to him, that public credit would be best supported by holding out to the country the prospect of security founded in a strong system of defensive preparation. How, he asked, was wealth to be accumulated without security? And how was security to be attained with reference to the British empire, without a strong naval and military establishment? The present system of a military establishment would, he trusted, be found adequate to that purpose; while it would appear, as far as possible, consistent with the most rigid system of economy. The right hon. secretary then laid before the committee a statement of the general outlines of the establishment proposed to be kept up for the ensuing year; and as the estimates were in gentlemen's hands, he might be excused from descending to minute particulars.

particulars. It was proposed that three regiments of horse-guards should be kept up; which with 27 regiments of dragoons, would form an establishment in a great measure the same as the establishment of the cavalry at the last peace. The 21st regiment was to be kept up in the room of the 5th regiment, which had been disbanded. The regiments were to consist of eight troops, sixty rank and file; and of this number, ten out of each troop were to be dismounted. By that arrangement, a sum exceeding 50,000*l.* would be saved to the public. The result of this plan was, that of cavalry 17,250 would be the total number. As to the infantry, it was intended to keep the three regiments of guards on their present footing: they would consist of 75 in each company, and their total number would be 6060. The rest of the army would consist of 102 battalions of foot. The regiments were to be kept up as far as the 93d. The 2d battalion of the royals, a corps long distinguished, and the 2nd battalion of the 52nd, a regiment admitted to be one of the finest in the service, were to be retained. The regiments in India were to be kept up on the full complement of 100 men in each company. Of twelve regiments of colour, six had been reduced, and six were to be continued in the service. Those would form companies of 75 men each, and their number would be 4,158. Those regiments had been found of great use in several parts of the service where European troops could not have acted with advantage. Of the foreign corps, only four regiments were to be continued; those were the regiments of Stewart, which behaved with such gallantry in Egypt, and three Swiss regiments, which altogether would not exceed 3,582. No alterations were to be made in the arrangements of the rifle and staff corps, which would continue on the same footing as last year. The whole of the force to be maintained was therefore 128,909, in which he included the troops that were to serve in India. With respect to the general distribution of this force, it would not be expected by the committee that he should speak minutely on the present occasion. He should just observe in general, that 60,000 rank and file, including 15,000 cavalry, were intended for the service of Great Britain and Ireland. For the plantations, 30,000 were destined. In India 18,000 were to be employed. At present, there were in India, of British troops, seventeen battalions; of these three would be sent home, so that the number then would be fourteen battalions, beside cavalry. For the support of this establishment, the sum required was 4,150,000*l.* including the troops acting in India.

[Here Mr. Fox, in a whisper across the table, asked whether in the number of men to be employed for England, the garrison battalions were included.]

The secretary at war resumed his speech:—As a much more advantageous and useful way of employing the out-pensioners of Chelsea-Hospital, it was intended to form seven new garrison battalions. The appellation of invalids he had long considered as an objectionable distinction. According to the proposed plan, those men formerly characterised as invalids would perform a very important duty; while a difference of expense, amounting to about 5000*l.* a-year, would form the whole of the additional burden on the public. By this

this new regulation, a great proportion of the garrison duty would be performed; and a considerable number of the regular troops formerly occupied in this service would be left disposable for any other purpose that might be required. He proceeded. The total expense of the army, for the year 1803, would not exceed the sum of 5,280,000 *l.* In this calculation, only one or two articles were omitted. There was no estimate of the full pay of the retired officers. The expense of the Chelsea pensioners was not brought into the account, because that expense would depend on the expense attending the new establishment of the garrison battalions. There was, besides, the expense of the military college, and the military asylum. When he stated, however, that the whole expense of the army establishment for the next year, would not exceed 5,500,000 *l.* he put the house in possession of a tolerably correct view of what would be the actual expenditure. Taking this as the real amount of the expense, it was less by 2,060,000 *l.* than during the last year, and was less by 10,130,000 *l.* than during the last year of the war: it differed from the army estimates of the last six months, by 65,000 *l.*; for though the number of men maintained was greater by about 8000, yet there had been savings to such an amount in different articles, as to create that difference. There was a difference of 300,000 *l.* in the simple article of the barrack department from the expense of last year. The right hon. member then entered into a statement of particulars relative to the imputed unwarrantable reduction of the public force. From this statement it appeared, that, at that moment, there were upwards of 250,000 men, who could, at a very short notice, be ready to take the field, excluding those in India; which, indeed, speaking of the force applicable to the defence of this country, he had uniformly kept out of view. He hoped he was not demanding too much of the committee, when he asked of them to declare candidly, whether those facts did not satisfactorily exculpate ministers from the charge so frequently, so loudly, and so unjustly, brought against them, of negligence in the conduct of the public service; supineness to such a degree, as to leave the country unprepared for the assertion of its rights, and the maintenance of its honour. The secretary at war concluded by moving, "That 66,000 men be employed for the service of Great Britain and Ireland, for the year 1803."

Sir W. W. Wynne condemned the conduct of ministers, in disbanding such forces as they were not bound to discharge from the terms of their enlistment. Such, he asserted, was the case in many instances; particularly with respect to the second battalions of the 68th and 85th regiments, which were composed of drafts from the Irish militia, who were enlisted originally for general service. He did not approve of the increase of the standing army; and thought it would be better to rely on our militia, as a more constitutional force.

The secretary at war, in explanation, stated, that though the second battalions of the regiments alluded to by the hon. baronet were actually not intitled to their discharge at the conclusion of the war, yet, as such an impression prevailed among the men, it was conceived, that it would be unfair to take advantage of the ignorance under which

which they might originally have enlisted.

Lord Temple observed, that it had been frequently denied that any considerable reduction had for some time taken place in the land forces; but what was the fact? Why, that since June last, when 95,000 men were voted, the cavalry had been reduced not less than one half, the infantry very considerably, the garrison battalions broken, and one half of the West-India regiments disbanded, and that at the time when intelligence was received of the landing of general Leclerc in St. Domingo with a force from which very well grounded apprehensions were entertained as to our own colonies. To these undeniable facts he appealed in contradiction to the very positive assertions of the minister on a former day. He also understood, that this practice of disarming continued even down to October last; and that on the 22d of that month, the very night on which ministers determined to dispatch a remonstrance on the affairs of Switzerland, orders were issued to persevere in the system of disarming. Such were the vigorous means which ministers employed to second that remonstrance. On the 23d of October, Mr. Moore, a gentleman justly high in the confidence of the secretary of state, was sent off in a mysterious manner; and soon after made his appearance at Constance, conferring with the agents of the Swiss insurgents, as the avowed emissary of the British government. It was, notwithstanding, asserted, that ministers did not implicate the honour of the country in that transaction; but for his part he saw no reason to hope, that the honour of the country was at all considered in that interference. He should assent to the motion; and candidly acknowledged, that he and his friends, as had been objected to them, approved of the measures, but disapproved of the men. *(A general laugh.)*

Mr. Sheridan then began a most brilliant, eloquent, and argumentative speech, to which we are sorry our limits will not permit us to do complete justice. Notwithstanding the existing differences of opinion, there was one thing, he observed, in which they all coincided; it was, that the crisis in which we were placed, was so big with tremendous importance, so pregnant with weighty difficulties, so full of apprehensions and dangers, that the house and the country had a right to know what were the intentions and the views of those, by whose exertions we might expect to be extricated from the complication of embarrassments, and snatched from the very brink of destruction. One of the circumstances he most regretted in that debate was, the references that had been made to the characters and abilities of persons supposed to be fit to fill particular offices. He was sorry that his honourable friend near him, made any allusion even to one man, whom of all men upon earth he most loved and respected; because he did view the crisis to be one of such moment and peril, and because, if ever there was a time in which we should prove to the people of England, that we were above all party feelings, that we were above all party distinctions, that we were superior to any petty scramble for places and power, that time was the present.—He adverted to the case of Switzerland. An honourable gentleman had asserted, that we had nothing to do with the case of Switzerland, nothing

thing to do with France; nothing but with her power—as if that were little. He asked, too, where was the great difference of France under the Bourbons, and under her present ruler? Why, an honourable general inferred, from the conduct of France, that with her growing power, she had a growing disposition to mischief. But was that power, demanded the honourable gentleman, greater now than it was last June? Perhaps it was not. But her mischievous disposition was greater; and if he were asked to bring a proof of the truth of his assertion, he must bring the case of Switzerland. If he saw a purposed contempt of the independence of a nation; if he saw a perfidious disregard of the faith of treaties; if he saw a power withdraw her assistance, only to return and entrap a country of freemen with greater certainty; why then, he said, there had been a change, and a great change too, and that such a power we had a right to watch. But, said the honourable gentleman, we have no right to make use of invectives against the first consul of France. He would abstain if he could; he said, if he could, because he felt that even a simple narrative might be construed into invective. With regard to the general question, of a disposition to peace or war, he, for one, declared that he was as strongly and as sincerely for the preservation of peace as any man, and that he did not consider war as any remedy for the evils complained of. If a war spirit were springing up in this country, if a chivalrous disposition were observable, if a sentiment of indignation were rising upon the subject of the treatment of Switzerland, he, for one, should contend that the treatment of Switzerland was no cause of war. He would therefore say, preserve peace, if possible: peace if possible, because the effects of war, always calamitous, might be calamitous indeed; buckling, as we should be forced to do, all our sinews and strength to that power, in a contest with her upon such grounds. He repeated therefore, peace if possible; but, he added, resistance, prompt, resolute, determined resistance, to the first aggression, be the consequences what they may. Influenced by these sentiments, he should vote cordially and cheerfully for that large peace establishment; and it was because he should vote for it, that he thought himself bound to state his reasons.

Mr. Sheridan next proceeded to reply to some objections to the motion, made by the honourable gentleman who spoke second. This honourable gentleman complained that his majesty's ministers did not state our danger precisely. But, said Mr. Sheridan, does he pretend that he does not see and feel it? Can any one look at the map of Europe, and be blind to it? Can any one have a heart to resist apprehended injury, and say that we ought not to be prepared? The next excellent reasoning of the same honourable gentleman against the proposed vote was, that the first year of war, there would be an immense army drawn up on the opposite coast, and therefore now it was not necessary to be prepared. When the army was upon our shores, when the trumpet of the enemy sounded at our gates, then it was time to be prepared. The next argument of the honourable gentleman was, that it was unreasonable to think that the French

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wished to meddle with us. Why, he (Mr. Sheridan) protested, he could not explain. If, as had been said, they had felt our arms, they, who had been every where else successful, could not but view the only power whose arms they had felt, with feelings of warm resentment, and with sentiments of mortified pride. But look at the map of Europe; there, where a great man (who, however, was always wrong on that subject) said, he looked for France, and found nothing but a chasm. Look at that map now, and see nothing but France. It was in our power to measure her territory, to reckon her population; but it was scarcely within the grasp of any man's mind, to measure the ambition of Bonaparte. If then it were true, as he had stated, that his ambition was of that immeasurable nature, there were abundant and obvious reasons why it must be progressive: —reasons much stronger than any that could have existed under the power of the Bourbons. They were ambitious; but it was not so necessary for them to feed their subjects with the spoils and plunder of war. They had the attachment of a long-established family applied to them; they had the effect and advantage of hereditary succession. But he saw in the very situation and composition of the power of Bonaparte, a physical necessity for him to go on in this barter with his subjects; and to promise to make them the masters of the world, if they would consent to be his slaves. If that were the case, must not his most anxious looks be directed to Great Britain? Every thing else was petty and contemptible, compared with it. Russia, if not in his power, was at least in his influence. Prussia was at his beck—Italy was his vassal—Holland was in his grasp—Spain at his nod—Turkey in his toils—Portugal at his foot. When he saw this, could he hesitate in stating his feelings, still less could he hesitate in giving a vote that should put us upon our guard against the machinations and workings of such an ambition? But it had been said, that it was possible he might mean nothing more than rivalry of commerce. Happy should he be, if such an idea entered into his mind at all, much more if it formed part of his plans. But he confessed he could not see that it did. He marked him taking positions calculated to destroy our commerce, but he did not find him doing any thing for the mutual benefit of the trade of the two countries. He saw him anxious to take possession of Louisiana, and to use the ports of Saint Domingo to cut off our West-India and Jamaica trade. He could conceive a possible case, in which such positions might be taken as to force us to surrender our commerce without a stroke. An ignorant observer might see two armies, and say there was no war, because there was no battle; yet one of them might make such movements as to compel the other to surrender, without striking a blow. Of the commercial talents of Bonaparte, he could be supposed to know but little; but bred in camps, it could not be imagined that his commercial knowledge could be very great; and indeed, if he was rightly informed, he was proceeding on the old plan of heavy duties and prohibitions. But he would go a shorter way to work with us. The old country had credit, and capital, and commercial enterprise; and he might think, if he could subjugate us, that he could carry them

off to France, like so many busts and pictures. But he would find himself mistaken; that credit would wither under the gripe of power; that capital would sink into the earth, if trodden upon by the foot of a despot; that commercial enterprise would, he believed, lose all its vigour in the presence of an arbitrary government. No—instead of putting his nation apprentice to commerce, he had other ideas in his head. His (Mr. Sheridan's) humble apprehension was, that though in the tablet and volume of his mind there might be some marginal note about cashiering the king of Etruria, yet that the whole text was occupied with the destruction of this country. This was the first vision that broke upon him through the gleam of the morning; this was his last prayer at night, to whatever deity he addressed it, whether to Jupiter, or to Mahomet; to the god of battles, or to the goddess of reason. An important lesson was to be learnt from the arrogance of Buonaparte. He (Buonaparte) said he was an instrument in the hands of providence—an envoy of God: he said he was an instrument in the hands of providence, to restore Switzerland to happiness, and to elevate Italy to splendour and importance: and he (Mr. Sheridan) thought he was an instrument in the hands of providence, to make the English love their constitution the better; to cling to it with more fondness; to hang round it with truer tenderness. Every man felt, when he returned from France, that he was coming from a dungeon, to enjoy the light and life of British independence. Whatever abuses exist, we should still look with pride and pleasure upon the substantial blessings we still enjoy. He believed too, that he (Buonaparte) was an instrument in the hands of providence, to make us more liberal in our political differences, and to render us determined, with one hand and heart, to oppose any aggressions that might be made upon us. If that aggression were made, his honourable friend would, he was sure, agree with him, that we ought to meet it with a spirit worthy of these islands; that we ought to meet it with a conviction of the truth of this assertion, that the country which had achieved such greatness had no retreat in littleness; that if we could be content to abandon every thing, we should find no safety in poverty, no security in abject submission. Finally, that we ought to meet it with a fixed determination to perish in the same grave with the honour and independence of the country.

Mr. Canning, in a speech of considerable length, indulged in a forcible philippic against ministers. He entered into a statement of particulars, in respect of which he pronounced them deserving of severe censure. In the conclusion of his speech, he repelled the insinuations, that his honourable friend (Mr. Pitt) prompted what he said, and that he (Mr. Pitt) guided, at a distance, in surety and irresponsibility, the measures of government.

He was followed by Mr. Fox, who remarked, relative to the establishment of the army—it might be considered, whether a small or a great army be best suited to the defence of the country. He found it said, that as formerly alliances superseded the necessity of large establishments, now, having no alliances, we should have a large army. Now, he believed the argument in former times to have been directly the reverse. It was

on account of our continental alliances that a standing army was justified. But how did the argument apply? What were the most glorious wars in which this country had been engaged for the last century? They were those that are called the war of succession, and the seven years war. Now it was certain that, previous to these wars, our peace establishment was lower than the peace establishment previous to other wars in which we were less successful. But it might be said that the establishments of France were then proportionably low. If relative proportion were made the rule, it would not be easy to apply it satisfactorily. The truth was, that the power of France was different in its principle from the power of Great Britain; and hence arose a necessary variation in the principle of our offensive and defensive war. It was not a ratio of 30, 40, or 60,000 men, to any given number in France, that would enable us to judge when our establishment was adequate. He proceeded to mention the power of France. Upon this subject, he would maintain that the government of France was less in a situation, than formerly, to make any attempt upon this country. If it were by invasions that we were to be menaced; and if it were against invasion that high establishment was intended; if we considered the state of the French navy, compared with our own, we must see, that for this species of attack there could not, for several years at least, be any well-founded alarm. It was admitted too, that the case of Switzerland did not form an aggression against this country. Why then should it be an argument for adding 20 or 30,000 men to our establishment? Instead of augmenting our army now, might not, upon the old foundation of our army, as many more troops be added in a short space, as any emergency might require? Was the danger of invasion to be feared? Our superiority by sea was unquestionable, and must so continue for at least some time. The French then must evade our fleet. They might perhaps succeed in landing an army, and the possession of Belgium certainly gave new facilities. But then, if an army were landed, all succour would be cut off, and the whole must be either taken or destroyed. Did those who chose to exaggerate the courage, strength, force, genius, or desperation of the French really believe that there was any danger of seeing the tri-coloured flag flying on the tower of London? Was it possible that a people so numerous, however dastardly (and he thought the people of England as brave as any nation in the world), could be subdued by 40,000 men, the greatest number that could be conveyed over to this country in the relative state of the navies of France and England? But an invasion, though it would neither destroy our laws, our government, nor our constitution, might do serious mischief, he confessed. It would perhaps destroy or suspend that credit and that wealth, of which some gentlemen spoke so contemptuously in comparison of guns and bayonets. But if we were not vulnerable by invasion of the soil of Great Britain, there were vulnerable points in our situation. Were we not vulnerable through our finances? Might not the French think that to harass this country by expensive establishments; to divert, in useless and cumbrous forces, the resources that might be employed in accelerating

ruting the extinction of the national debt; was no very unsuccessful way of carrying on war with us? It was lately said, that the greatest part of the population of Ireland was disaffected; but without ascribing great effects to the union, nay, unless we supposed the government outrageously bad, the people of Ireland must, in a few years, be much less disaffected than they then were. Thus, a few years of peace and moderate establishment would enable us to throw off a considerable part of that debt, which in war was called the best ally of France; while peace would equally tend to fortify us in Ireland, a point where it was evident we now were vulnerable. He had already remarked, that the strength of France and England was different; their offensive and defensive systems were different; the credit of this country was a main spring of its greatness and of its wealth. In England, the destruction of credit, though it would not be attended with the loss of the independence of the country—for we might still possess men and arms—yet would spread infinite misery over the land. Let us therefore ward off from our finances, and from our credit, every danger; because, though not fatal to our existence, their overthrow would be fatal to our well-being. High establishments would form no security against the danger which had been held out to us. Wise economy was the resource from which we should draw the means of defending ourselves against every danger. If we had 25,000 men less, we should in return, in a short time, have 25,600,000*l.* more to apply to our defence, and to enable us to repel any aggression. Hitherto he had argued the question upon the ground that war was an event which we might expect in no very distant period; but he did not think that we were to anticipate a speedy war. The question of the navy establishment had been mixed with the consideration of the army; and, he thought, strangely. It seemed to be taken as a matter of course, that you must have a large army because you have 50,000 seamen. Now, it appeared to him, that the conclusion should be directly the reverse. It operated two ways. You need employ fewer soldiers for your defence, said he, because you have augmented your navy; and the additional expense by sea, is an argument for additional economy in the establishment of land forces. He then alluded to the source of influence which the army afforded, for procuring a general support to the measures of administration. The naval establishment was less liable to objection on this ground, while it afforded all the security we could have against danger. There was another view of the subject:—if we were to go to war in a month or two, it would be idle to reduce our establishment. He could judge of ministers only from their words and their actions. The chancellor of the exchequer, if he rightly understood him, said, a few nights ago, that he saw no danger to the peace of Europe at present; and the secretary at war, to-day, spoke out distinctly, candidly, and laudably. As to philippics, sure we must have philippics to keep up the national spirit. He was very willing that they should be taken into the account as provision for our security; but he hoped that 30,000 men would, in lieu of them, be deducted from our establishments.

Mr. Sheridan rose to explain. He said, that a British army kept up in time of peace was certainly a great evil; but a French army hovering round our coasts was a still greater. His honourable friend had said, that the seizure of Switzerland was no reason for increasing our military establishment. To that he would answer in the words of Demosthenes; who, when he was urging the Athenians to declare war against Philip, told them, that that ambitious monarch was over-running and seizing upon every small state immediately within his reach, with the view of ultimately making himself master of Athens and its territory.

Mr. Windham combated the arguments of Mr. Fox in favour of low establishments. The whole question was, he said, which, in case of invasion, would be the best means of defending the country—the troops or the money? Twenty thousand men were far better than any equivalent sum of money in our pockets for such a purpose. *Money*, or *money's* worth, was the question. He preferred the latter.

The chancellor of the exchequer said he should not act fairly by the committee, if he did not candidly state, that since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, circumstances had occurred that furnished additional arguments for increasing the establishment of our army. Taking then into consideration the necessity of having a larger establishment than that which existed at former periods, and adverting to the arguments furnished by the extension of the dominion of France, and the circumstances that had occurred within the last four or five months; he could not help declaring to the committee, it was a duty imposed on him, to recommend the force which had been moved for; and he should think he betrayed his duty, if he were instrumental to the adoption of a less. As to the finances of the country, he had the satisfaction of stating, that such was the flourishing state of the revenue, that it had been more productive for the last two or three quarters than ever it had been known to be, and afforded ample means of providing for that increased establishment which was under the consideration of the committee. He vindicated the proposed large establishment, which had been affirmed to be unconstitutional, on the ground of its necessity only. He then adverted to his royal highness the commander in chief, whom he highly commended for his arrangements relative to the army establishment. In the selection of officers for regiments, his royal highness had not adopted the former course, of giving commissions to new candidates who offered themselves, but he had made choice of those who were on the half-pay list. The effect of this judicious system was, saving the country nearly a million a-year. In the conclusion of his speech, the chancellor of the exchequer totally disclaimed the insinuation that Mr. Pitt at all actuated the measures of government.

The secretary at war rose in explanation of what had been advanced by a noble lord, relative to the army having been reduced. He asserted, and his noble friend could vouch for the fact, that there had been no reduction whatever of the British infantry. That there had been a reduction of the cavalry, he admitted; but there had been no reduction of the infantry, except with respect to invalids, and those who had been engaged

gaged for limited services.—The motion was finally put, and carried without a division.

The report was taken into consideration on the 9th of December, when

Mr. T. Grenville expressed his dissatisfaction with the explanations given by ministers, relative to the necessity of the force voted, and the designed employment of that force.

Lord Hawkesbury denied that government had not given sufficient documents for requiring so large an establishment as the present; and insisted that every information had been given that was necessary. He vindicated the conduct of ministers from the charge of their not having fully discovered the general system of government. He also defended the system of continental alliances at some length; commending, at the same time, the undeviating fidelity of Austria. Let us, said he, avoid the abuse of the principle, but let us not abandon the principle itself. He defended the proposed establishment on principles already stated, and spoke a few words on the subject of the animadversions on ministers.

Sir Francis Burdett agreed with Mr. Grenville, that when, in answer to the objections which had been urged to that unprecedented military establishment, ministers stated that the unprecedented situation of the country called for it; they ought to have brought down some communication from the throne, as to the nature of that situation. He however noticed the inconsistency of such objections, as coming from such a quarter—from one who had acted with the late administration.

Dr. Lawrence, in a speech of considerable length, condemned the system upon which ministers acted; particularly in reducing the navy so much since the peace, and proposing to keep up a large standing army, though the former force was our natural defence, and the latter was ever an object of constitutional jealousy. The doctor expressed an anxious desire to have an explanation of what ideas were meant to be attached to national insults and hostile aggression. He then examined, in detail, the several cases of complaint against France:—the German indemnities—Switzerland—Holland. After dwelling at length on these topics, he called the attention of the house to the treatment which captain D'Auvergne had experienced in Paris, in consequence of orders issued by the French government. What he meant to state, he did not pretend to state on authority. He was compelled to speak on the grounds of public notoriety, when he mentioned that this respectable officer, even under the protection of a British commission and a regular passport, had been arrested, thrown into a dungeon, and subjected to interrogatories of the most insulting kind. Such was the account given by public report; and he would ask whether any thing could be reckoned an attack on our national honour, if such an outrage did not come under that description? There was another topic on which he descanted at some length. He took occasion to allude to a prosecution then instituted against a foreigner (Mr. Peltier, author of L'Ambigu) for a supposed libel on the French government. He did not mean to give any opinion against the propriety of such a prosecution, but was very pointed on articles which had appeared in the French official journal, containing

unbecoming allusions, and very indecent reflections on the character of our sovereign.

The chancellor of the exchequer vindicated himself and friends from the charge, that they had compromised the dignity, and tarnished the honour, of the empire—which seemed to be urged constantly as the systematic opinion of the learned member (Dr. Lawrence) and his friends, on every occasion. He denied that the stipulations for indemnity to the prince of Orange had been abandoned, in the treaty of Amiens. He then noticed the prosecution commenced against the publisher of a libel against the first consul of France. Though the British government were certainly not responsible for the publication which contained that libel; he conceived the first consul was entitled, by the justice of the country, to reparation as well as every other person in such a case. The honourable gentleman next adverted to the affair of captain D'Auvergne. The conduct which took place towards that gentleman, under the police of France, surely could not implicate the government of this country. The moment his situation was made known to his majesty's minister at Paris, a demand was immediately made to the French government for his release, which was instantly obtained.

Mr. Fox, in very spirited terms, alluded to the representation given by Dr. Lawrence, of the treatment which had been experienced by a British officer, from the French government. Admitting this representation to be correct, and allowing that a remonstrance had been made on the subject by ministers, without obtaining satisfaction; he had not the smallest hesitation in saying, agreeably to the ideas of national honour he had often had occasion to express, that he should reckon this an insult of such magnitude, as to form a very legitimate ground of renewing hostilities. If captain D'Auvergne had been actually arrested without the smallest pretext, thrown into a dungeon, and subjected to insulting interrogatories, as had been described; or, if the French government refused to give satisfaction to the honour of the country, wounded in the person of a British officer; this would, in his opinion, be a ten thousand times more justifiable ground of war, than any thing drawn from the conduct of France in the system of German indemnities, in the invasion of Switzerland, or any other act of usurpation on the continent.

Lord Castlereagh's opinion differed from the two extremes which had appeared in the debate. He thought that Mr. Fox under-rated the danger of the country; and that Mr. Windham over-rated it. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox) thought that our military establishment might be lower, since the navy of this country was so much superior to the rest of Europe. He did not think that a mode of defence on which the country ought entirely to rely. To show that an invasion might take place, notwithstanding the superiority of our navy, he instanced the arrival of the French expedition in Bantry bay, when the landing was prevented only by a storm. He blamed the practice of deprecating continental alliances. He did not think that any of the transactions of the French government, since the treaty of Amiens, should form a ground of war.—With regard to the situation of the prince of Orange, an indemnity had

had been assigned to him in the German empire, by the general plan. Captain D'Auvergne was a private traveller in France; and if he were set at liberty upon the application of his majesty's ministers, redress was given. The occasions of irritation between governments would be multiplied, if the transactions of the police were to be regarded in the light his honourable friend wished they should be. This case was very different from that which occurred at Lisbon. There the insult was given to British officers in the execution of their duty. The reparation required in the latter instance was necessarily very different from the former.

Several other members spoke on this occasion. Mr. Banks opposed the measure. Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Calcraft each said a few words; and the following gentlemen spoke in favour of the establishment.: generals Maitland and Tarleton, Mr. Archdale, Sir Eyre Coote, Sir James Pulteney, and Mr. L. H. Browne. The report was also agreed to.

In a committee of supply, on the 10th of December, the chancellor of the exchequer rose, and entered into a view of the financial situation of the country. Before he entered into those statements of which he had given notice, he was desirous of laying before the committee the grounds upon which he requested their attention to two points:—1st, he had apprised the house of his intention to propose that the sum of four millions be voted as the growing produce of the consolidated fund;—2d, he had also stated it as his intention to enter into a view of the financial situation of the country, as far as it could be described and stated at the present period of the year. As to the first of these points, he observed, that in consequence of the rapid increase of the revenue, and of our having a larger sum in the exchequer than that for which credit had been taken, government was unable to apply that redundancy to the public service, without the authority of that house. In the last session of parliament he took credit for the sum of 4,500,000*l.* as the growing produce of the consolidated fund to the 5th of April 1803. On the 5th of October 1802, only two quarters from the 5th of April, the sum of 3,800,000*l.* was actually realised: if, therefore, he had abstained from demanding, as soon as possible, the authority of the house for applying to the public service this surplus, the effect would have been that that sum would have lain dead in the exchequer.—The reason for the second part of the notice he had given was, that as the house had already voted a large part of the supplies of the year, it could not but be material and desirable to them to have such information laid before them as would enable them to know the ways and means by which such supplies were to be raised. It was on these grounds that he submitted to the consideration of the committee, before the recess, the resolution founded upon the growing produce of the consolidated fund, and the statement of the financial situation of the country, as far as it was in his power at present.

Before he adverted to the supplies of the present year, and to the ways and means of raising those supplies, he must ask per-

mission of the committee to advert to the financial measures of the year 1802. It would be recollected, that in the last session of parliament arrangements were made for an additional capital of 97,000,000*l.*, 56,000,000*l.* of which was the amount of the sum for which the income tax had been mortgaged: the amount of the loan was to be added, and the exchequer bills funded at the commencement of the last session, making the whole a capital of 97,000,000*l.* For that sum an interest of 3,100,000*l.* was to be provided. But the taxes proposed for that purpose were confidently expected to produce much beyond the interest of that addition to the funded debt. Those expectations were much more than fulfilled.

He stated that the produce of the taxes proposed last year would not be less than 4,000,000*l.* In the first quarter in which they were productive—he meant here to speak only of the malt and beer tax, and tax on shipping—the produce was 920,000*l.* In that quarter no proportion was received of the tax upon houses and windows, the amount of which he stated at 1,000,000*l.* He might therefore fairly add the sum of 250,000*l.*, the fourth part of that million, to the amount already received upon the beer and shipping tax; thus making the receipt of the whole quarter 1,170,000*l.*

On a former day, he had stated that the effect of the provision, made for the public service last year, was to enable government to reduce the outstanding debt, and to take out of the market eighteen millions. That sum had been redeemed in the course of the year. It also afforded him considerable satisfaction to state that the grants of the last year, with the exception of the credit taken for army extraordinaries, would be found sufficient to provide for all the services of the year. He was sorry to say that there would be an excess on the sum voted for army extraordinaries, amounting to a million; but this excess was to be accounted for from the continuance of the army on foreign stations: yet the whole amount of the army extraordinaries was not more than half what it had been of late years; and the system of economy introduced into the naval department, and the reduction of the navy debt from nine millions to four millions and a half, might be fairly set off against that excess in the army. The unfunded debt at the commencement of last session was 37,377,360*l.* It was now, not taking into the account the exchequer bills authorised to be issued, 19,580,000*l.*, including the 4,500,000*l.* as the amount of the navy debt. When he stated this as the amount of the navy debt, he did not pretend to be quite accurate; it was made up from positive accounts to Michaelmas, and was carried on upon estimates to Christmas. The unfunded debt consisted of fifteen millions in exchequer bills, 900,000*l.* land and malt, and the three millions for which no interest was paid, being the advance made by the bank for the renewal of its charter. Thus the money market had not been embarrassed to that amount. In the year 1793 the exchequer bills outstanding were 9,478,000*l.*, they were now under twelve millions. There was at present no deficiency upon the land and malt, which was not defrayed by the outstanding arrears. He

then

then proceeded to the statement of the supplies, and ways and means, for the service of the current year, as far as it was in his power to state them.

SUPPLIES.

Navy.—50,000 men, at 7*l.* per man, per month	£ 4,550,000	
Ordinary and extraordinary	1,218,238	
Building, &c.	901,140	
		6,669,378
Army	5,500,000	
Extraordinaries, including surplus extraordinaries issued in 1802	2,000,000	
		7,500,000
Ordnance		787,947
Corn bounties		524,573
Miscellaneous—England } Ditto—Ireland }		1,000,000
Irish permanent grants		363,339
Amount of joint charge		£ 16,845,237

ENGLAND'S SEPARATE CHARGES.

To pay off exchequer bills on aids, 1801	2,781,000	
Ditto, ditto, on aids, 1808 (bank)	1,500,000	
Repayment to India company	1,000,000	
Interest on exchequer bills, and discount, &c.	600,000	
Reduction of national debt	100,000	
		5,981,000
Total supplies		£ 22,826,237
Two seventeenths of the above sum of £16,845,237 were to be contributed by Ireland	1,981,792	
Add for Ireland two seventeenths of £1,200,401 for civil list and other charges on the consolidated fund, not relating to the public debt	141,223	
On account of Ireland		2,123,015
On account of England		£ 20,703,227

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and malt	2,750,000
Surplus consolidated fund	6,500,000
Exchequer bills on aids, 1804	11,000,000
Lottery	500,000
	£ 20,750,000

Estimate

Estimate of exchequer bills outstanding on the 31st December 1802		14,180,000
To be funded	£7,000,000	
To be paid off	4,281,000	
		11,281,000
		2,899,000
Proposed to be issued on aids, 1804		11,000,000
		£13,899,000

The supplies for the current year were partly of a temporary nature, and such as gentlemen would see constituted charges that could not be expected to occur in future years: he meant the corn bounties 524,573*l.*, the exchequer bills of 1801, 2,781,000*l.*, due to the bank 1,500,000*l.*, the residue of the three millions, which he should propose, by a resolution on Monday next, to discharge. There was also a repayment to be made to the East-India company, on account of advances in India to the army and navy. It was probable that there was a demand against the public, for those advances, of one million; perhaps more, he feared not less. Those sums made together the sum of 5,805,573*l.* His reason for noticing these occasional charges was, that he thought he expressed the sense of the house and of the country when he said that effectual provision ought to be made for the permanent charges—that they must be provided out of a permanent fund—that we must not compromise our security, by reducing our expenditure to our revenue, but rather raise our revenue to the exigencies of our expenditure. He should, therefore, not be doing what he conceived to be his duty, if he did not ask that house to make up its mind to considerable additions to the permanent charges of the country. He trusted also that no financial operation would be necessary that year, beyond that which would be called for by the necessity of preventing a glut of exchequer bills in the market.

The object of the motion, of which he had given notice, was to take credit for the growing surplus of the consolidated fund, to the amount of 4,000,000*l.* His reasons for doing so were shortly these. On the 10th of October 1802, the surplus in the three quarters was 5,580,000*l.* To this he had a right to add the bounties on corn for half a year, a charge not likely to occur again, 441,000*l.* To this he must add two quarters of the taxes imposed last session, and not included in that sum. The produce was likely to exceed very considerably the four millions he stated it at; but he would not estimate the two quarters at more than two millions. From that total he must deduct the sum of 251,000*l.* received on account of the income tax. These sums produced a total of 7,688,000*l.* The produce of the three quarters it might be candid to take at 5,884,000*l.*; adding to this a third for the year, the total growing produce of the consolidated fund would be 7,845,000*l.* But the committee would observe that he had only taken credit for 6,500,000*l.* They would observe also, in the resolution

resolution he should submit to them, that he only asked them to vote the sum of four millions, which was only two hundred thousand pounds more than was actually realised on the 10th of October. His wish in not proposing to vote more than four millions was, to wait till the 5th of April next, when we should be enabled to make the addition to that sum upon surer grounds. Progressive as the increase in the produce of our taxes had been, the produce of the present year greatly exceeded any year that ever was known. The largest amount was that of the year 1792: the growing produce of the consolidated fund was in that year 4,310,000*l.*—that was the largest year. The estimate of the produce of the present year was nearly double the amount of the year 1792.

It would appear from a paper on the table, that the produce of the permanent taxes for the year ending on the 10th of October 1802, was, of

Old taxes -	£13,853,724
To this we must add the corn bounties	1,680,000
Total of produce of old taxes -	15,488,724
New permanent taxes	11,345,364
Grand total	£26,829,088

The produce of the old permanent taxes in the year was larger than ever was known, with the exception of the year 1799, when they produced 15,700,000*l.*; but it was to be remarked that during a quarter of a year, ending in October 1802, a very important branch of the revenue was unproductive; that the distilleries were stopped. It might fairly therefore be said, that if they had been open, the produce of the old taxes would have much exceeded the produce of the year 1799. This statement with reference to the last year, must, he was sure, be satisfactory; it must be equally so with respect to the present year; and if we chose to look forward, we might look forward with greater satisfaction. We had seen that the revenue had largely and progressively increased. He did therefore, notwithstanding the predictions that had been made with such confidence, venture to look forward himself, and to call upon the house to look forward, with confidence and satisfaction, to what might be expected to be the produce of our taxes in future years.

It had not been possible to make up an exact account of our exports and imports during the last year, but he would state the result of the best information he had been able to obtain on the subject. It appeared upon sundry articles of imports in the year 1801, that the amount of imports was 7,642,751*l.* The amount in the year 1802 was 6,123,723*l.*, a diminution beyond the preceding year; but it would be recollected that during the former of these periods, there were very great imports of grain, which swelled the amount of that year. The whole amount of the official value of the imports ending the 10th of October 1801, was 15,535,527*l.*; yet the official value of the imports in the year ending the 10th of October 1802, was 15,664,685*l.* The point upon which the attention of the committee would be most anxiously fixed, would be the amount of British manufactures exported. The real value of them, not of all, but of all of which an account could be

be obtained, was in the quarter ending the 10th of October 1801, 6,812,825*l*. In the quarter ending the 10th of October 1802, the value was 7,335,885*l*. The official value of the whole exports for the year 1801, was 24,473,000*l*. The official value for the year 1802, was 27,897,297*l*., an increase of nearly 3,000,000*l*. He was justified in stating, from a comparison of the exports with former years, that the actual excess of real value exported was not less than eight millions. The amount of the last year was forty-two millions: the amount in the present year would not be less than fifty millions.

Some gentlemen had alluded to the interest of the shipping trade and of navigation. He was not able to state, at present, the actual amount of the tonnage imported and exported. He should be enabled however to lay such an account, to the 5th of January 1803, before the house, after the recess. He had, at present, an account of the number of British and foreign vessels from the 10th of October 1801, to October 10th 1802. In the first year, to October 10th 1801, there were entered inwards, in the port of London, 1762 ships; the amount of the tonnage was 418,631 tons. In the year ending October 10th 1802, there were entered 2459 ships, and the tonnage was 574,700 tons: the number of men employed in the first of these periods was 23,096—in the last period, 33,743. He did, therefore, conceive that he was fully justified in forming that opinion which he expressed on a former day, that the shipping and navigation interest had not suffered since the peace. *(A question was whispered to Mr. Addington from the opposite side of the house.)* An honourable member on the other side asked him whether he was speaking of British ships. He was obliged to him for the question; for it enabled him to say that he was speaking of British ships alone.

He then proceeded to state the number of foreign ships entered inwards: the number in the year ending the 10th of October 1801, was 3385; in the year ending the 10th of October 1802, 1549; the tonnage in the first period was 452,677 tons; in the second, 214,112 tons. Of British ships cleared outwards, the number was, in the year ending the 10th of October 1801, from the port of London 1331; in the year ending the 10th of October 1802, 1933. The amount of the tonnage in the first of these periods was 350,634, and the number of seamen employed 24,070. The amount of the tonnage in the second period was 419,067, and the number of seamen employed 28,112. The number of foreign ships cleared outwards, for those two years, was nearly in the same proportion. The number in the first year was 3381; in the second year it was reduced to 1688. He was fully aware that it was impossible for him to add any thing to what he had stated to the committee. He would not attempt to strengthen the impression which arose from the statement of plain and incontrovertible facts.

The honourable gentleman next adverted to the sinking fund, the great source of the preservation of our finances, and the means for the liquidation of the national debt. At the establishment of this fund, soon after the conclusion of the war in 1783, the amount of the funded debt of the country was 248,000,000*l*.; the

the means for its discharge were as 1-38th; the charge for interest ten millions, and the means 1-10th. At present, such had been the operation of the system; when the charge was eighteen millions, we had a sum of six millions, constituting not a tenth, but a third of the whole. In this year, therefore, continued he, you have six millions liberated for embarking in new enterprises, for exploring new sources of prosperity, and extending the old. But was it confined to the present year? No; there were six millions let loose every year, for the purpose of increasing our commerce, extending our trade, encouraging our manufactures, improving our agriculture, and diffusing itself in a thousand channels, through the whole body of the country, invigorating its strength, improving its resources, and adding to its prosperity.

Mr. Addington mentioned also the increasing prosperity of Ireland, which he attributed to the union. In August last there was a difference of 920,000*l.*, being an excess of revenue beyond that of any preceding year. It had been doubted whether our finances would be equal to the expenses of our establishment; but it was to be considered that the establishment in question was that of 1788, which was not liable to an increase, but, on the contrary, might admit of many circumstances of diminution. He (Mr. Addington) had not, however, stated that our revenues were adequate to such an establishment, but that an establishment very little short of it might be kept up out of the existing revenues of the country, supposing it to increase in the same proportion as it had done last year. The reason why he stated the adequacy of our means to our establishment, was this: it was intended to reduce one part of it as soon as the whole force should be raised. The part so intended to be reduced consisted of the out-pensioners employed in garrisons; a measure which might be effected without any diminution of our real strength, because this force might be easily re-assembled, if circumstances should render it expedient. He supposed that there would be a reduction, in such case, of our expenses, of one million. He estimated the ordnance at 778,000*l.* being higher than it ever was at any preceding period, except during the late war. He estimated the miscellaneous services at 1,000,000*l.*, and the supposed number of sailors double of what it was at any other period of peace. Under all these circumstances, the joint contribution of Great Britain and Ireland would be 12,000,000*l.*

Deducting then 2-17ths for Ireland -	1,356,000
Deducting also the 2-17ths which she had to pay on the 1,200,000*l.* civil list - -	141,000
There would remain for the contribution of Great Britain	10,503,000
Now to make good the sum, he took land and malt - -	2,750,000
The growing produce of the consolidated fund	7,840,000
Lottery - -	500,000
Making, in the whole, a sum of -	11,090,000

And leaving an excess of nearly five millions beyond the estimate for England, without including the Indian contribution, which he took at 590,000*l.*, and supposing the

the number of sailors to be double of that kept up in any former year of peace. The chancellor of the exchequer concluded by moving, "that, towards raising the supplies, there be granted a sum of 4,000,000*l.* out of the growing produce of the consolidated fund, for the service of the year 1803."

The resolution was carried.

The resolutions also on the report of the committee were agreed to.

The chancellor of the exchequer then moved, that the following sums be granted to his majesty, viz. 1,500,000*l.* of exchequer bills; 524,000*l.* paid for corn bounties, up to the 5th of October 1802; 25,000*l.* to make good bills drawn for the colony of South Wales; 191,584*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* for the suffering clergy of France, the American loyalists, and the St. Domingo sufferers. Also a variety of small sums paid to the different officers and servants of both houses of parliament, pursuant to addresses of that house to his majesty, and which were not as yet made good by parliament.

Mr. Stephens moved the sum of 1,238,000*l.* for the ordinaries of the navy; also the sum of 901,114*l.* for building and repairing ships. These motions were severally agreed to.

In the committee on the 16th the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the sum of 15,000*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.* should be granted to his majesty, to make good advances from the civil list, pursuant to the addresses of the house, and which had not been made good by parliament. The object of this motion was to carry into effect the proceedings of the house in the last and preceding sessions. Agreed to.

The house having again resolved into the committee of supply, on the 2d of March; the chancellor of the exchequer called their attention to the subject of the army extraordinaries. He said, that it would be in the recollection of members that during the last session the sum of 600,000*l.* had been voted, in the first instance, for this branch of the public service, which had been succeeded by another vote to the amount of a million. At that time he had taken occasion to apprise the house, that a further sum would, in all probability, be necessary; and what he had then anticipated was now found to be correct. A very considerable increase had now been ascertained to have accrued. This increase, he had to state to the committee, was to the amount of 1,032,151*l.* He, therefore, concluded with moving, that this sum expended from the 25th of December 1801 to the 24th of December 1802, and not yet provided for by parliament, should be then granted to his majesty for this branch of the public service. The resolution was carried.

On the 23d of the same month, in the committee, the chancellor of the exchequer, after having made an order that certain accounts relating to the disposition of grants to Great Britain, presented on the 23d of February, be referred to the said committee, moved the sum of 990,000*l.*, of which, a sum of 868,923*l.* was to pay the interest on exchequer bills, which were to be paid out of the instalments of the late loan. This interest had been greater than had been at first estimated, because instalments were not paid in at the time expected, and consequently the exchequer bills continued a longer time outstanding. He then moved the last-mentioned sum, and afterwards the following sums:—

sums:—1910*l.*, to make good the like sum advanced to the commissioners for paying off the national debt; 500*l.* to the clerks in the office of the exchequer, for extra trouble in making out the accounts; 23,564*l.* advanced to the bank, as discount on prompt payment of the loan; 22,538*l.* advanced to the bank for civil contributions; 371*l.* to make good American claims; 3600*l.* paid for incidental expenses in the service of the year. All these sums were voted by the committee.—And on the 25th a resolution was carried for settling on sir James Saumarez, bart. K. B. the annual sum of 1200*l.* during his natural life, to be paid out of the consolidated fund, in consideration of his eminent services, and particularly the brilliant victory obtained by him, and the ships under his command, over a superior squadron of Spanish ships, in the Streights of Gibraltar, on the memorable 12th of June 1801.

The same day, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that "towards raising the supply to be granted to his majesty, there be granted a further sum of four millions to be raised by exchequer bills." He prefaced the motion by saying, it must be recollected that, previous to the Christmas recess, he had given notice of his intention to move, in the course of the session, for exchequer bills to the amount of eleven millions. Government had, since that time, received authority to raise four millions more; a great part of which were to enable government to fund other exchequer bills that were outstanding.

The tax bills produced but little discussion. The malt duty bill experienced some opposition, on the second reading in the house of lords, principally from lord Spencer. His lordship reduced what he had to say to these three heads: 1. The mode in which it had been asked; 2. the apportionment of the establishments which were in part to be supported out of it; and, 3. to whom the application of those establishments, naval and military, was to be intrusted. The supplies had been asked without any explicit communication from the throne, in regard to the express necessities and the clear unequivocal designs, to the expenditure of which they were to be applied. That mode had been demonstrated to be unconstitutional, because contrary to all precedents in that course of usage which formed the law of parliament. Of the apportionment of the forces, naval and military, which the supplies were to maintain, he might speak more at length. That 130,000 men, considering our large militia establishment, and that excellent aid the volunteer corps, might possibly be sufficient for the internal defence of the kingdom, he should probably not hesitate to allow; but still it would compose a land force barely adequate to the necessities of the military service, in a peace of which the honour and stability were in no degree uncertain. He should be far from disapproving the magnitude of the proposed land force, were it even greater and more expensive. Of the naval force he should willingly avoid to speak, since he did not then see in his place the noble lord who was at the head of the naval department of the administration; but compelled as he was to overlook that consideration, he could not hesitate to affirm that a naval force of only 50,000 seamen was far from being, in comparison with the

the land force, duly adequate either to the ordinary uses of the naval service, or to any extraordinary necessities which might arise in it: 50,000 seamen were the number now actually employed in the royal navy; of these, a part were in squadrons upon foreign stations, which he believed to be judiciously distributed, and which he did not suppose capable of being, at any early future time, prudently diminished. The rest were in ships of war in our ports, or immediately upon our own coasts. These last were the only part of our naval force on which we could rely for defence against any sudden invasion. Yet they exceeded not the naval force which it would be proper to reserve on the home stations, though no extraordinary danger, no chance of sudden hostilities, were to be provided against. They were not, therefore, on the same scale with the land establishment. They were unfit to meet any sudden emergency. Our means of defence were there the weakest, where the danger and where our natural advantages for operation were the greatest. The third head regarded those in whose hands the application of this augmentation of force was to be intrusted, and the uses to which they meant to put those establishments. The noble and learned lord on the woolsack had informed them, that ministers might consider themselves at liberty to reduce this naval and military force, which they then demanded the means of supporting, without any communication with parliament at the time when they should think proper to make that reduction. A doctrine more novel, more at variance with the practice of the government and the parliament, in their mutual intercourse and relations, he knew not that he ever heard. How should the defence of the country be trusted to persons who might thus disarm at the moment when the danger should be greatest? To what use ask money upon estimates, when it was to be expended without having regard to them? His lordship then animadverted severely upon the general conduct of ministers, at the same time that he extolled the pre-eminently great qualities of Mr. Pitt, the only man, in the estimation of the noble lord, whose talents were commensurate with the exigencies of the times. Upon the considerations he had adduced, he felt himself compelled to resist the commitment of the bill.

The lord chancellor quitted the woolsack, and observed, that the question regularly before their lordships was, whether they would read the order for going into a committee to consider of a bill of supply, which not only went to affect the military establishments, but even the civil existence of the country. It was a bill which, in that house, had been regularly voted without opposition, from year to year; and which, they would bear in mind, not only regarded the naval and military, but the civil establishments of the country. He alluded to the animadversions on ministers; but as the topics on this subject had been already detailed, we shall decline a restatement of them here. His lordship concluded by voting that the bill be committed.

The earl of Carlisle went over nearly the same ground with earl Spencer. The chief object of his speech, which was of considerable length, was to complain that ministers had not been sufficiently explicit

plicit in respect to the necessity for the augmentation of the naval and military force—and to affirm that the administration ought to be entrusted to abler hands.

Lord Clifton (earl Darnley) succeeded, and remarked, that it was generally understood that whatever it might be, in point of strict form, the present discussion was on the proposed establishment of the army and navy, to which, large as it was, he should not hesitate to give his hearty support.

The remaining peers who spoke on this occasion were lords Suffolk, Hobart, Carysfort, duke of Norfolk, lord Grenville, the lord chancellor, lord Pelham, and lord Minto. The question was then put, and carried without a division.

CHAP. III.

Navy Commissioners' Abuse Bill—Debates on that Subject.—Debate in the House of Lords on the State of the National Finances.—Improvement and Consolidation of several Branches of the public Revenue—Debates on that Subject.—Bank Restriction Bill.—First and second East-India Budgets.

THE administration, strongly intent upon the amelioration of the national finances, were consequently attentive to the reformation of abuses. There was no department in a maritime nation with which it was more proper to commence than the naval. We shall not offer any comment on the proceedings of parliament in this instance *at present*, but content ourselves with reporting, that on the 14th of December captain Markham moved the order of the day for the second reading of a bill, which he had brought in the preceding day, for correcting certain irregularities and abuses in the navy; upon which,

Admiral Berkeley said, that the admiralty had already sufficient powers to enforce every thing which it was the object of the bill to effect, without having any recourse to parliamentary interference. He had not before seen the patent of the navy board; but he that day took occasion to examine it, and, from this examination, he found that the admiralty possessed powers to a much greater extent than he had at first imagined, though this was peremptorily denied by a lord of the admiralty.

Mr. Jarvis vindicated the bill; and showed that it was designed to extend the jurisdiction of the board of admiralty over persons whom they were not now empowered to examine on oath. He condemned the speech of the honourable admiral as inconsistent with itself; and contended, that, even allowing the commissioners of the navy board to be in possession of the power alleged, still the bill was a wise and salutary measure, as it subjected them, in common with the meanest person in the naval service, to strict and rigorous responsibility.

The bill was then read a second time, and committed for the next day.

On the 15th of December Mr. Kinnaird rose and took notice of a difference of opinion which occurred in the course of the debate; an honourable admiral on the other side of the house asserting that the admiralty and navy boards had already all the powers which the bill proposed to confer; and an honourable gentleman, connected with the admiralty, flatly denying the statement. He thought it becoming

the

the dignity of the house to ascertain the fact, before they adopted the bill, to which, however, he professed himself friendly. The honourable member concluded with moving for an address to his majesty, praying that copies of the patents of the admiralty and navy boards should be laid before the house. After a little opposition, the motion was carried. Accordingly, on the 16th, Mr. Garthshore brought up copies of the said patents.

On the motion for the third reading of the bill, an amendment was proposed by Mr. Sheridan, in order to guard against the influence of the crown, that in case of any vacancy among the commissioners, from death or resignation, his majesty should not be at liberty to appoint any member of that house to supply their places.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought the object of the honourable gentleman would be answered by leaving out that clause of the bill which allowed the appointment of members of parliament.

Mr. Sheridan replied, with regard to the amendment he proposed, he could not consider the suggestion of the right honourable gentleman sufficient to answer his purpose; for the clause referred to must be expunged, should his amendment be adopted, and he wished to have the jealousy of the house, relative to the influence of the crown, marked on the face of the bill.

After some conversation between the chancellor of the exchequer, sir William Pulteney, the attorney-general, Mr. Kinnaird, and Mr. Dent, Mr. Sheridan's amendment was adopted, and the bill passed, after having encountered far more opposition than might have been expected from its obvious necessity.

The same bill passed the lords on the 24th of the same month, having undergone several amendments.

A more general attention to the finances of the nation was soon after displayed by the ministry; and on the 25th of February, lord Auckland rose in the house of lords to move for certain papers explanatory of the real state of the finances. His lordship then moved for the following accounts:

An account of the net produce of all the permanent taxes, and also of the duties granted annually, adding thereto the payments on account of bounties on corn, and other bounties and drawbacks, for three years, ending the 5th of January 1803, distinguishing each year and each quarter. Also

An account of the duties on sugar remaining on bond on the 5th of January 1801, 1802, and 1803, respectively. Also

An account of the duties on beer and malt, postponed and outstanding on the 5th of January 1803, and which would have been paid at that time, if the ordinary course of payment had taken place.

After a few words from lord Rawdon and lord Grenville, lord Auckland likewise moved for an account of the permanent annual charge on the consolidated fund, existing on the 5th of January 1803, exclusive of the part payable by Ireland, and distinguishing such part as is applicable to the reduction of debt. All these motions were agreed to.

On the 2d of May, his lordship also moved for an account of the net produce of the duties on malt, of the public taxes, and permanent re-

venue, from the 5th of January 1802 to the 5th of April 1803, &c. &c. be laid on the table. His lordship said, this account would prove, beyond all question, that the net amount of the whole revenue was thirty-four millions, and the expense upon that was only seventeen millions five hundred thousand pounds; so that there would remain a surplus of better than sixteen millions applicable to the public service, for the support of the royal family, and for defraying other necessary charges.—The account was ordered, and soon after presented at the bar.

These financial statements were taken into consideration on the 13th of May; when lord King rose, and said, it was a subject highly interesting and important, and of the last consequence, that the erroneous ideas which had been spread among the monied interest of the country, and the public in general, in consequence of the noble lord's statements, should be corrected. With this view, he had for some time been particularly anxious to have this subject discussed, that the situation of the country, with respect to its finances, and the proportion of its revenue to its expenditure, might be clearly ascertained. The noble lord (Auckland) had expressed himself in terms of exultation upon what he was pleased to call the astonishing increase of the revenue of the country. Whether this exultation was well founded was another point, not perhaps so evident as his lordship might imagine. His lordship then entered into a series of calculations, in order to prove the errors of the noble lord's statements respecting the revenue and the charge upon it. The noble lord then stated the total amount of the revenue to be upwards of 33 millions, with such a charge upon it as left a very inconsiderable surplus in the hands of government to the public expenses of the year. It was evident, however, even from the papers on their lordships' table, and from the speech of the chancellor of the exchequer lately published, that this statement was not correct. His lordship then, after a number of calculations to prove his point, contended, that the amount of the revenue was, in fact, no more than somewhat beyond thirty-one millions; which made a difference of about two millions between his calculations and those of the noble lord to whom he alluded. His lordship then adverted to the erroneous statement made by the chancellor of the exchequer, and the fallacious views of the proportion between the revenue and the expenditure of the country, which he had held out to the public. He then turned the attention of the house to the ruinous consequences that must result from the practice of peace loans, and asserted that the only remedy was to equalise the revenue with the expenditure, however great. After some severe animadversions on ministers, for the gross and palpable mistakes which these papers and the statements of ministers betrayed; his lordship concluded by moving, that the financial papers on their lordships' table should be referred to a private committee, who should examine the same, and report their conclusions and opinions respecting them to the house.

Lord Auckland said he conceived that their lordships had ample materials already on their table, and therefore would negative the appoint-

appointment of a committee. He had ventured, on a former occasion, to assert, from some acquaintance with the subject, that the whole actual income of Great Britain, for the current year, was not less than thirty-four millions sterling: certainly a magnificent receipt if it should appear to be accompanied by a general and progressive prosperity. He had stated this at a period when the French writers and journals were most actively employed in decrying our means of exertion, and exhibiting us as sinking rapidly into a gulf of national bankruptcy. It had been his professed and sole object to give a true state of the actual revenue and permanent charge, prepared and verified, and signed by officers of acknowledged accuracy and integrity; by those equally respectable for their public services and private characters. He would now briefly recapitulate the results, which were not matters of debate and dispute, as they rested on the evidence of facts, and the deductions of plain arithmetic. With these views he would confine himself to the abstract of the public income and permanent charge for the year ending the 5th of April 1803. The first article in that abstract showed that the net produce of the permanent taxes for the year had been 29,357,575*l.* The whole of that sum had been received in the exchequer, except about 470,000*l.* which had been paid in bounties on corn and rice, and which might clearly be considered as revenue; for, without too presumptuous reliance on the goodness of Providence, he must observe, that there had been no instance of our paying bounties on corn previous to 1796; and the expediency of ever recurring to such bounties was at least doubtful. The natural demand of the market, aided by the commanding opulence of the country, would, in all instances, best effectuate the supply of provisions from foreign countries. — 2. The next sum, 165,763*l.*, was an increase, within the year, of balances in the hands of the receivers, and evidently a part of the revenue accruing within the year.—3. Beer duties postponed on the 5th of April 1803, in consequence of the credit given by law to the brewers, 245,871*l.*— 4. Land-tax unredeemed, and annual malt, 2,000,000*l.*; to which must be added 125,611*l.* paid *in transitu* by the country receivers, for the militia and other purposes, making together 2,125,611*l.* — 5. The arrears outstanding on the beer and malt duties imposed in 1802, being 557,493*l.* — 6. The amount of the new additional assessed taxes, according to the assessments actually made, though not yet received, 835,646*l.*—7. The further produce of the new duties imposed in 1802, of which three quarters only were yet received. The accounts on the table stated the fourth quarter at 1,052,116*l.*

These several sums	29,357,575
	165,763
	245,871
	2,125,611
	557,493
	835,646
	1,052,116
Formed a total of	£. 34,340,069

He must also add the annual profit of the lottery, which was stated at 370,000*l.* making altogether an income of 34,710,000*l.* And here he must observe that he had taken no credit, either for the progressive increase of every branch of the revenue, nor for the East-

India contribution. He would next proceed to state the permanent charge on the revenue, in doing which he would take no credit for the reduction of interest in a period of peace, nor for annuities to the amount of 450,000*l.* which would expire within the next five years.

Permanent charge on the unredeemed debt - - -	£. 17,674,794
Actual amount of the sinking fund - - - -	5,806,121
Civil list and parliamentary annuities - - -	1,151,016
	£. 24,631,931

He had not included the imperial loan, because as yet it made no part of the permanent charge, and rested on the good faith of the court of Vienna, which we had no reason to doubt. On the other hand, however, he had not taken credit for any casual receipts, which, under the various heads of repayments of loans and imposts, balances, arrears of taxes, &c. were very considerable. Deducting the permanent charge 24,631,000*l.* from the total income 34,710,000*l.* the balance, being 10,069,000*l.*, would be the sum applicable to the annual expense of the army, navy, ordnance, and miscellaneous services. And we had this large sum exclusive of what was paid for the civil list; and exclusive also of the 5,800,000*l.* applying itself to the daily reduction of the debt: by the excellent operation of which system, the debt was gradually converting itself into revenue. He would next show that the great increase of our revenue had gone hand in hand with the augmented prosperity of our trade and manufactures; he might add, with our agriculture and population, and with every circumstance that constituted national strength. It would be found in the papers before the house, that in the 20 years from 1784 to 1803, the annual produce of the old permanent taxes had increased from eleven millions to sixteen millions. And with respect to the commerce, that the total annual value of the British exports and imports, taken on the same scale of valuation, was nearly doubled since 1793, and trebled since 1783. The total real value of British produce and manufactures exported in the year 1802, had been 48,500,000*l.* The revenue applicable in 1792 to the army, navy, ordnance, and miscellaneous services, was 4,700,000*l.* In the present year it was 10,069,000*l.* He was again aware that he should be told, that great as this revenue might be, it was three or four millions below the expenditure of the year. If it were meant by that insinuation, that the budget of the year ought to have brought forward additional taxes to that amount, he could not hesitate to say, that such a proposition, if it had been made by the chancellor of the exchequer in November last, would have been treated with disregard and derision. He trusted, that he was as desirous as any man living to avoid the creation of new debt, and to resist any system that might counteract the gradual discharge of the old debt. But surely we could not be considered as having attained a peace establishment. From the treaty of Amiens to the present hour, the person who directed the councils of France had done every thing possible to destroy

stroy the blessings of peace, of which he talked so much. He had uniformly acted as if his government could not subsist and be maintained except in a state of agitation and convulsion. We had borne this treatment till the cup of provocation was filled to the very brim. Such a state of things must now resolve itself, said he, into settled peace or open war. He concluded by saying, he should negative the motion.

The earl of Moira considered the papers moved for by the noble lord, voluminous as they were, together with the inferences he drew from them, as tending to form a delusive representation to the eye of the public. He could not but recall to the attention of the noble lords one gross error in a paper laid upon the table, whereby an over-statement appeared, amounting to 900,000*l.* on the annual revenue. The noble lord had, however, properly rejected the erroneous paper, and moved for a vast variety of other accounts, into which he should not for the present enter at any length. His lordship then went into several statements and arguments, founded upon lord Auckland's speech, in which he endeavoured to show the fallacy of that noble lord's reasoning. He observed, that the noble lord had only brought forward, by his own statement, nine millions, to meet an expense of thirteen millions. There was therefore a deficit of four millions—a glaring deficit indeed, more especially when we compared it attentively with the awful circumstances of the present times. But what could be more preposterous and improper than to make our comparison between the state of our finances now and in 1787? He knew, and the public at large knew well, that they had greatly increased since that period. And what had been the fruits of this great and unnatural increase of the expenses of the country? What was our position as a state, after all this vast expenditure of public money? Had it produced any real peace or tranquillity, any real solid security, any hope even of rest or repose, after the agitation we had experienced? In what sort of state had it really left us at last? In his (lord Moira's) calculation and statement, he had not included any thing relative to the present irritation and consequent armament; which, however, might and would add so much to our expenses. But the noble lord himself had told them, that he had not seen, since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the signs of the spirit of conciliation. Why then, he would take the liberty of asking him, how he could think of preserving peace? What rational grounds could he have for his calculations? What solid reason for indulging hopes of the diminution of the peace establishment? But still, he (lord Auckland) considered the increase of revenue as consolatory: in one respect, he did so too. It was consolatory to him, it was a matter of rejoicing to him, to see that the wonderful and unceasing industry and skill of this great country carried on our manufactories, and pushed forward our trade and commerce, in spite of all the burthens that had been imposed upon them. This was, indeed, a consolatory and noble view of public affairs. It peculiarly characterised the country, and made us hope for every thing. But to such a people he would use a different tone. He would not talk to them in triumphant lan-

guage of the increase of the national revenue, arising on increase of taxation, which they must pressingly feel. He would not hold out that increase as a proof of our prosperity, and the just source of our pride and glory. No: he would address them otherwise; but not so as to impede their alacrity in the public service, or to damp their zeal in the national cause! He would speak to them with consideration and honesty. He would tell them distinctly what their situation was, and what an imperious rival, envious of their prosperity, might shortly cause it to be. He would tell them, that their situation was such as to require of them new privations and additional sacrifices. That they were perhaps about to be called upon to undergo more than they had yet known, for the preservation of all they esteemed and venerated. That the new offerings they were to make to their country, were not rendered necessary merely on the calculation of a bloody and expensive war, but by the impossibility of parting with that system of defensive armament, even in time of what was called peace, which the disposition of our neighbours compelled us to maintain. But what was he to say to the noble lord, and those who thought with him, in saying, that they had never seen a spirit of conciliation on the part of France since the treaty of Amiens, and yet had never made a single declaration before then upon that subject? He would say to them — "If you thought so, what have you been doing? What! are you now squabbling or negotiating about *Malta*, when not *Malta merely*, but *every place* you have given up to France, or her allies, should have been retained, except upon a clear and distinct explanation, or a sufficient security?" Do not, said he, practise an imposture upon the public. He did not mean to charge the noble lord as an impostor, for nothing could be farther from his character; but an unsound statement of the public affairs was the same to the public as an imposture. But while he repelled exaggerated and inflated statements of our means, no man, he could boldly say, had a higher opinion of our real resources; no man despaired less than he did of the sure defiance, and of the sure and exemplary punishment of the daring aggressor, whose rashness and inveterate enmity might lead him to come here as a foe. But he contended that parliament ought to satisfy the public, and to act towards them upon free and frank grounds. Let him (lord Auckland) carry his calculations as far as he could, he would still find a deficiency of four millions, likely to continue, and with no probable means of putting an end to it. His lordship, after a variety of observations on lord Auckland's calculations, concluded.

Lord Grenville, in support of the observations which he then took the liberty of submitting to their lordships, said he should have very little more to do than to refer to the official papers of the chancellor of the exchequer, sanctioned by the noble lord (Auckland), and published to the world by their authority. Ministers had very unfortunately acted upon these fallacious *data*, and thence endangered the nation and disgraced themselves. After some observations, chiefly directed against the ministry, his lordship proceeded—this official statement, instead of exhibiting a real

a real and solid surplus of a million sterling, exhibited a gross deficit of upwards of three millions; but, including certain deductions of annual income, it would exceed four millions; and the total difference between the supposed and actual state of our finances, according to the official documents, amounted to no less a sum than 5,313,000*l.* ! ! ! Lord Grenville then, in refutation of the financial account of the chancellor of the exchequer, so warmly supported by lord Auckland, produced the following statement:

STATEMENT OF THE REVENUE.—MR. ADDINGTON'S SUPPOSED PERMANENT ESTABLISHMENT.

Army		£.5,000,000
Navy		4,230,000
Ordnance		800,000
Miscellaneous services		1,300,000
Total joint contribution of England and Ireland		11,530,000
Deduct two seventeenths for Irish proportion of these charges	1,356,000	1,497,000
Also for Irish proportion of charges on the consolidated fund	141,000	
Remains British proportion		10,033,000
Add for England's separate charges		500,000
Total expenditure as stated by Mr. Addington on his supposed establishments		10,533,000
To which on any supposition must be added for the English proportion of extra buildings in the navy (which article was wholly omitted by Mr. Addington) at the least*		700,000
And thus, even if it were practicable immediately to reduce our army and navy to the numbers supposed by Mr. Addington, the real expense of that establishment so reduced must be		11,233,000
Instead of the supposed amount stated by Mr. Addington, viz.		10,533,000

* This article had cost 900,000*l.* in the present year, and on an average of the nine years of the last peace, cost near 500,000*l.* annually, though our navy was then considerably less than it now is, both in the number and size of our ships; and though materials and labour were both much cheaper than at present. It was certain, that the very same repairs which then cost 400,000*l.* could not now be done for 700,000*l.*

INCOME

INCOME (SUPPOSED).—WAYS AND MEANS AS STATED BY MR. ADDINGTON.

Annual taxes		£.2,752,000
Surplus of consolidated fund		7,845,000
Total free revenue		10,595,000
Add lottery, as stated by Mr. Addington	500,000	1,000,000
Expected Indian contribution	500,000	
Total ways and means as supposed by Mr. Addington		11,595,000
Deduct expenditure as supposed by Mr. Addington		10,533,000
Surplus as estimated by Mr. Addington		1,062,000

EXPENDITURE (ACTUAL).

In order to arrive at the supposed expenditure above-stated, Mr. Addington assumed that the army and navy, as stated in November last, would be farther reduced below that vote, and in the following proportions, viz.

Army to be farther reduced (equal to disbanding about 25,000 troops)	* 800,000	
Navy to be farther reduced (equal to reducing about 18,000 seamen)	1,540,000	
Total supposed reduction below the vote of November last (equal to about 43,000 men)	2,340,000	
Deduct Irish proportion of this sum	137,000	
Leaving the British proportion	2,203,000	
But as no part of these deductions was yet effected, nor any probable period assigned when they were expected to commence, it became necessary to compare our actual peace income with our actual peace expenditure, such as it then was, and might continue for an indefinite period. For this purpose, Lord G. asserted, we must add to Mr. Addington's supposed expenditure of		10,533,000
the following sums, viz.		
By error (as above) for building in the navy, omitted	700,000	
By supposed reductions not effected	2,203,000	
Total actual expenditure on the establishment voted in November last, and wholly exclusive of the subsequent armament		13,436,000

* This sum Mr. Addington stated, p. 29, at one million.

INCOME

INCOME (ACTUAL).—WAYS AND MEANS AS APPEARING BY LORD AUCKLAND'S ACCOUNTS.

Total revenue - - - - - - - - -	£.33,444,000
Deduct permanent charges - - - - - -	24,632,000
Total free revenue -	8,812,000
Add lottery, which Mr. Addington took at 500,000*l.* but which should be taken, as stated by Mr. Vansittart, only at - - - - - 370,000	
Expected Indian contribution not yet realised, but say - - - - - - - - 500,000	870,000
Total of these articles -	9,682,000
Deduct for interest, &c. on the Austrian loan, charged on the consolidated fund, but omitted in lord Auckland's accounts - - - - - - - - - -	497,000
Total actual ways and means, as appearing by lord Auckland's accounts - - - - - - - -	9,185,000

N. B. Nothing was here allowed for the excess of drawbacks and bounties on sugar, or for excess of sugar bonded. These articles were very properly omitted by Mr. Vansittart, in adding up the total of the revenue. Taken together, they might readily warrant an inference of future diminution in the revenue of this article, rather than any conclusion of its actual increase. But all such speculations were too vague for matters of account.

RESULTS.

Real expense of Mr. Addington's supposed establishments	11,238,000
Deduct actual income, as by lord Auckland's account -	9,185,000
Actual deficiency of income, below Mr. Addington's supposed establishments - - - - -	2,048,000
Add surplus, as estimated by Mr. Addington above the same - - - - - - -	1,062,000
Total error, even supposing that Mr. Addington's reductions had been effected - - - -	3,110,000
But till these reductions should take place, of which no immediate prospect was held out, the actual expense of the establishments as voted on Mr. Addington's recommendation in November last, was - -	13,436,000
Deduct actual income as above - -	9,185,000
Actual deficiency -	4,251,000
Add estimated surplus as above	1,062,000
Total difference between the supposed and actual state of our finances - - - - - - - -	5,313,000

But

But as some articles of receipt to the amount of 150,000*l.* appeared (said lord Grenville) to be omitted in the noble lord's (Auckland's) accounts; and as it seemed doubtful whether he ought not to have taken credit for the sum annually paid to replace the malt deficiency, which might be about 130,000*l.* more, it might be more accurate to take the real difference at no more than an annual sum of 5,000,000*l.* This might certainly be varied in future years by some possible increase of revenue, or diminution of expense; but sound policy required that no credit should be taken for such circumstances, until it could be ascertained that they had really occurred. The only sure mode of avoiding the recurrence of peace loans, was by equalising our actual income with our actual expenditure; and reserving it to parliament to judge hereafter whether any increase in our comparative income (whenever it did take place) should be applied in diminution of taxes, or in accelerating the reduction of debt. As to the expected contribution from India, if it depended upon the noble marquis's exertion, now at the head of our government in that quarter of the world, he would entertain no doubt of seeing it fully realised. His lordship's knowledge of finance was as well known as his great address in many other departments of government. There were, however, two facts on which this expected contribution very much depended. The first was the maintenance of peace in India; the second, the maintenance of peace in Europe. The maintenance of peace, however, in one part of our dominions, was not necessary to command it in the other: for although we might enjoy peace in Europe, it could not always follow, that we should have peace at the same time in India; and *vice versâ*.

Lord Westmorland entered into a detailed defence of many parts of the calculations contained in the papers on their lordships' table; and pointed out, in some instances, what clearly appeared to have been erroneous conclusions in the speech of the noble lord (Grenville). He opposed going into the committee, as no practical advantage was proposed, and as the change of circumstances which had taken place would prevent the ascertainment of which of the calculations was correct; as one would argue, that, had circumstances continued the same, the result would have been favourable, the other party the contrary. The first observation on the paper moved for by the noble lord (Moira), was the surplus of the consolidated fund, which seemed in no way to ascertain the object, as it contained many sums, to the amount of millions, as the payment of arrears of income tax, and the payment of corn bounties, which could not happen again, and therefore formed no ground of judging of the national revenue; that those sums were put there necessarily, in consequence of the order to the officers of revenue, as they formed part of the consolidated fund; and the bounties were necessarily added, not for the purpose of swelling the account, but as the form by which Ireland was to pay her proportion of that expenditure. To the observation, that the chancellor of the exchequer had acted unwisely in estimating the surplus of the consolidated fund for the whole year, upon the three quarters, his lordship observed, that, previous to the war, the surplus of that fund for Christmas quarter, was

was larger than the other three, and therefore no complaint could be made on that ground.

A comparison of the surplus of the consolidated fund, in the quarter ending 5th of January, with the average surplus of the other quarters in the three last years of peace.

SURPLUS.

3 Quarters to 10th of Oct.	Average of 3 quarters to 10th October	Surplus 5th of January.	Quarter ending 5th January more than 3 preceding quarters.
1790—2,090,810	696,603	1791— 752,762	29,159
1791—3,086,789	1,023,929	1792—1,223,274	194,345
1792—2,374,046	782,349	1793— 824,755	42,406

Without pretending to very accurate knowledge of the subject, it appeared to him, that the revenue for the year seemed to answer the estimate that had been given. He considered the supplies to have been thus proposed:

To be funded	£.7,000,000
For various	3,800,000
India	1,000,000
Extraordinaries of the army	1,000,000
Corn bounties	
Establishment	13,100,000

PROPOSED BY MR. ADDINGTON.

Surplus of consolidated fund	6,500,000
Land and malt	2,700,000
Lottery	500,000
	9,700,000
Deficiency to equal estimate	3,400,000
	13,100,000

How did it turn out?

Produce of taxes 5th of January 1803	33,444,292
Charge on consolidated fund	24,631,931
	8,812,361
Lottery	500,000
	9,312,361
Produce of taxes 5th of April 1803	34,214,469
Charge on consolidated fund	24,631,931
	9,582,538
Lottery	500,000
	10,082,538
	Surplus

Surplus of estimate - - - - - - -	£.320,000
And adding -	500,000
For India company, made a surplus of - - - -	10,000,000

That the accounts were accurate, little doubt had been entertained. There could be no pretence for deducting the corn bounties, as the bounties on the importation of corn had not been granted during the century, till the year 1796; and much question was entertained on the policy—at least an act of the legislature must pass before a bounty could be given. Every part of the account was an actual receipt, except the estimate on the new taxes, which was taken at 4,800,000*l.*; and more than 3,800,000*l.* being either received or in charge, the next quarter was less to make up the account, than the average of the other quarters. If the produce of the present year should bear out the expectations formed of it, he had at least reason to expect a more favourable result in future.

The produce of the old taxes to the 5th of January 1802, was - - - - - - - - - -	22,000,000
Deducting the taxes of 1801-2, the amount to the 5th of January 1803, was - - - - - - - - -	24,500,000

Which being an increase of two millions five hundred thousand pounds, on a receipt of twenty-two millions, supposing a proportionate rise in another year, on the whole product of the taxes, viz. about thirty-two millions, the increase would amount to nearly four millions. With full acquiescence that many causes operated to the increase of the revenue for the present year, such as a plentiful harvest after a famine, the commencement of peace, still a consideration of the produce of the old taxes gave a most flattering expectation for succeeding years. His lordship admitted the expediency of the financial principle laid down by the noble lord (Grenville)—that the revenue of a country should be made equal to its expenditure; but contended, a minister of finance had a right to calculate on a prospect of increasing revenue, and was not bound to take into account contingent future establishments. Many of the expenses now commented on were wholly unforeseen, and dependent on accidents not in the power of his majesty's ministers to control. For example, it would not have been in the power of any peace, which even the noble lord (Grenville) himself could have made, to prevent the French attempting to recover St. Domingo. This attempt on their part necessarily produced an accidental increase of establishment on ours; for arming in that quarter was proportionally augmented; and as the French, for want of merchant-ships, sent out their forces in ships of war, an increase of naval establishment also became necessary. Though he admitted the principle, he thought it unfair to expect, that, in the first year of the peace, revenue and expenditure should find their exact level. There was to be considered the great increase in the prices of all articles relating to providing stores, building of ships, and finding of men. The establishment at present was considerably higher than at any former period. That of 1803 was at least three times as high as that of 1786. He submitted, whether, with a revenue uncertain in its produce and uncertain in its expenditure,

diture, having funded last year 96,000,000*l.* and raised nearly five millions of taxes, it was not better to wait one year, to see what was likely to be the result in both instances, than to lay on heavy taxes that might be unnecessary, and cramp the sources of revenue and injure trade, were there no ground to hope for an increase of revenue. As to establishments, the reduction must be uncertain; but the amount could not be considered as permanent, from various causes—the success of the French in St. Domingo—their failure—continental wars—disturbances in France, or a more pacific system. In contemplating this, the noble lord must have the same satisfaction as himself, in observing the effects of the plans of the late chancellor of the exchequer; that as to the present chancellor of the exchequer, he could have neither praise nor blame, as he had only repealed temporary taxes to the amount of about six millions, and laid permanent ones to the amount of about five millions. In this view of the subject, take a calculation of the state of the revenue from the committees, during the last peace.

	ESTIMATE of 1786.	1791.	1803.
Army - - -	1,600,000	1,748,812	6,500,000
Ordnance - -	948,000	375,000	787,000
Navy - - -	1,600,000	2,000,000	6,669,000
	3,548,000	4,323,812	
Add increase of expense of similar establishments.	700,000	700,000	Making deductions for Ireland, about
	4,248,000	5,023,812	13,000,000

The establishment of 1803 was therefore three times as great as that of 1786, and more than double that of 1791.

	1786.	1791.	1803.
Discharge of debt -	1,000,000	1,000,000	6,000,000
Surplus of revenue, including lottery		1803,—10,000,000	
Ditto - - -		1786,— 4,288,000	
		5,712,000	
Add sinking fund - - - -		6,000,000	
With the same establishment would discharge nearly - - - - -		12,000,000	
Establishment 1781 - - - -		5,023,000	
Surplus -		4,977,000	
Add sinking fund - - - - -		6,000,000	
Would discharge per annum - -		10,977,000	

And that not merely the revenue was increased, but the other sources of our strength—shipping, seamen, exports, imports, he had the satisfaction to say were increased nearly one-third, and in some instances much more.—If, continued his lordship, we should have peace, our ministers may soon bring the revenue to that state they flattered

flattered themselves it was capable of; but if, as was too likely, it should be otherwise, it ought to be recollected, that, during the last war, this country advanced in prosperity, in every means of strength and riches, in a much greater degree than at any former period of peace. After a little more debate, which took place between lords Pelham, Grenville, and Auckland, the subject was closed by the bishop of St. Asaph (Dr. Horsley), who observed that little had been said in depreciation of the papers on their lordships' table. Most of the objections, doubtless, applied to what had been delivered in another place, or was contained in the pamphlet so often alluded to. If the papers, then the subject of debate, were thought to be erroneous, the more proper way of proceeding appeared to him, to refer the papers to a proper course of examination, and if found to be erroneous, then to have them corrected. A question, however, occurred to his mind—was this the fit moment for the house to employ itself in such minute examination, when the next day they met they might have to consider objects of the greatest national magnitude, namely, how the union of all parties could be effected, and how we should be enabled to resist the mad ambition, and chastise the bad faith, of him, who, not yet our enemy, he must call him but our *detestable friend?* —The lord chancellor then put the question, which was negatived without a division.

The improvements of the finances were, however, not confined by administration to speculative plans. It is one of the best features of Mr. Addington's administration, that *practical* means were adopted on every occasion for rendering the national resources more productive; and though little fame at the moment attended the exertion, the good effects will long be experienced of his consummate knowledge and judicious direction of the public revenue. On the 21st of April, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for going into a committee, to consider of the propriety of consolidating a variety of acts relative to the public revenue, with a view of securing its more easy and regular collection, and giving greater facilities to trade. The motion being put from the chair,

General Gascoyne had strong objections to the motion. By a paper which had fallen into his hands, it appeared to him, that the lords commissioners of the treasury had it in contemplation to increase the duties of commerce. Now, though the ostensible object of the measure now proposed, was merely to consolidate the existing duties; yet, from the paper alluded to, there were several cases where 3½ per cent. was added to the duties now in existence. In other cases, there was an addition of no less than sixteen per cent. on established rates. These were very strong objections to the measure which the right honourable gentleman had proposed. But, independent of these considerations, there was another which weighed very powerfully on his mind. By this measure the tonnage duty, which had been the subject of so much opposition, against which the table of the house was then loaded with petitions, and which had hitherto been considered merely as a matter of experiment, was proposed to be rendered a permanent tax. It was not his intention to oppose the principle of the measure; but being ignorant of the full effect of the

the different alterations to be introduced, and not having received full instructions from his constituents on the subject, he thought it his duty to press on the candour of the right honourable gentleman the propriety of not precipitating the measure at the present moment.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, the honourable gentleman, in the course of his observations, had fallen into some mistake, which he judged it necessary to correct. He said that, throughout the whole of the schedule, the object of the measure which he was about to propose was to increase the existing duties. In this idea he was totally mistaken. The object of the proposition was to simplify, to consolidate the revenues arising from the custom-house duties, and introduce such arrangements in the mode of their collection as might in their consequences create some addition to the general revenue of the country. The course pursued would be similar to the plan formed in 1787, at a time when the public mind was not agitated by the question of peace or war.

The question being, at length, put from the chair, was carried without a division, and the house accordingly resolved itself into the committee.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose, and shortly stated the nature of the proposition he meant to submit to the committee. He wished it to be clearly understood, that this was only a part of a general system for consolidating, simplifying, and amending the mode of collecting every branch of the public revenue; for removing obstacles which embarrassed its regular and easy collection at present; for laying down such clear and precise regulations as would be equally useful to those collecting the revenue, and convenient to those by whom it was paid. The right honourable gentleman stated that, in 1787, all the revenue acts, from the time of William, were consolidated, including particular taxes appropriated to the payment of the interests of loans, contracted in different years. After this consolidation and appropriation had taken place, the whole of the revenue so consolidated and appropriated received the designation of the consolidated fund. To this fund, the public creditor looked for his security; and after his claims were provided for, the surplus was applied to other parts of the public service. With the advantage of the example of that wise measure, it only remained for him to form the proposition, which he was about to submit to the committee on the principle. The object of the proposition was to consolidate all the duties raised under 170 acts. After the consolidation had taken place, it was proposed that the fractional parts should be raised to integral sums in some cases, and diminished to integral sums in others. In the book of rates, it was intended that considerable alterations should take place. Some duties, which were at present levied *ad valorem*, were, by the new schedule, to be levied at a precise rate; others, which were now rated, were henceforth to be *ad valorem*. It was also intended, that, with the view of securing the regular payment of interest, certain articles which were at present duty free should be submitted to a duty of a very inconsiderable pressure. As to the details of the measure, he did not wish at present to trouble the committee. The schedule would be printed, and members would have an opportunity

portunity of examining the different articles, with the respective duties. Till this opportunity had been granted, he called for nothing farther from the committee than their mere acquiescence in the principle of the measure, respecting which he believed there would be no difference of opinion. He would state generally, that articles entirely of East-India produce would, with the exception of sugar, remain on their present footing; and that, agreeably to the long established policy of the country, West-India produce would receive what might be called an indicative mark; but not such a mark as would affect the prosperity of other branches of the trade of the country. Regulations would also be introduced to check the practice of contraband commerce. There was a variety of articles of import on which a high duty might be imposed, and still the fair trader would be put into a situation to counteract the views of the smuggler, without presenting any discouragement to the cultivation of articles of internal produce and manufacture. The present measure he wished to be considered as preparatory to another proposition for extending the system of bonding to a variety of articles which at present were not included in that system. It was unnecessary for him to dilate on the importance of the present measure, accompanied, as it would be, by that to which he had referred, in giving facilities to the trade of the country. The right honourable gentleman concluded with a motion, that certain duties on wares, goods, and merchandises, granted under a variety of acts of parliament, do cease and determine; and that other duties, specified in the schedule to which he had alluded in his speech, do cease and determine.

Mr. Vansittart stated that the only difference between the present and former schedule was, an alteration in four articles; namely, an increase of duty on pimento, from 4*d.* to 6*d.* per pound, which was rated as a warehousing duty; an increase of the duty on East-India sugar, from 20*s.* to 23*s.* the cwt.; and some abatement of the duties payable on the raw materials for the manufactures of this country.

In a committee on the 17th of May, the object of which was to consider of the best means of affording accommodation to the mercantile and shipping interest of the country, the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that he had on a former day stated to the house the general principles of the measure he now meant to bring forward, and he should therefore content himself, at present, with calling the attention of the house to certain parts of the schedule of duties. Many alterations were to be made in the duties. In some instances the duties on articles were to be augmented, and in others diminished. For instance, he proposed to make an alteration in the duties on port wine. At present all port wine imported into London paid a duty of 1*l.* 10*s.* a pipe more than was paid in any other port of Great Britain. From the improved state, however, of the other ports, and the increased means of conveyance from them into the interior of the country, they were as well able to bear that duty as the city of London; and therefore it was intended that the duty should be the same throughout every part of the kingdom. A regulation was intended to be made in the duty upon skins. It was meant

meant to extend the duties on all articles of wood, except that which was to be used for the building of ships. The duties were to be increased on chemical oils, and spices imported into this country. A duty was also to be laid on precious stones. Such an alteration should take place in the duties on China ware imported into this country, as should give greater encouragement to our own earthenware manufactures. The duties on indigo, from the British plantations, were to be reduced. That which was to afford the greatest accommodation of all, would be the disallowance of the drawback on exportation. He should propose to reduce the duty on cotton-wool to 1*d.* per *lb.*, and the duty on cotton to 1½*d.* per *lb.* As one great object of the present measure was to counteract the practice of smuggling, he should reduce the duties, and make other regulations with regard to lace and Bandana handkerchiefs, of which there was a large clandestine importation: the fair trader should have an opportunity of manufacturing the handkerchiefs here. The smuggler could at any time ensure the delivery of these at 14 per cent. and it was meant to propose a duty of 25 per cent. upon them. It was intended to reduce the duty on hemp coming from America and the West Indies. Also to reduce the duties on Italian wines, so as to make the duties the same as those paid upon port wine. His object in making this alteration, was to give encouragement to the Mediterranean trade. He should propose to take off part of the duty on coarse linen yarn imported from Germany. With regard to the duty on the tonnage of shipping, the duty had not hitherto any of those discouraging effects which had been attributed to it. During the existence of that duty, the navigation of the country was highly improved. Every year the British shipping had experienced an increase, while there was a decrease in foreign shipping and tonnage in our ports. The increase was great and progressive, both in time of war and peace. He now spoke from positive information, which he had been at some pains to obtain. He had thus thought proper to give the committee a sort of outline of the plan he intended to lay before the house, and to state some of the principal alterations that were to take place in the duties. It was intended that a schedule of all these duties should be translated into all the European languages, and posted up in every language at the Custom-house; and at the end of every session of parliament to print a new schedule, containing the alterations that may have been made in any of the duties. He then concluded, with moving a resolution pursuant to his statement. Agreed to.

On the first of June, the lord mayor of London presented a petition from the silk manufacturers of London, praying to be heard by counsel, at the bar of the house, against that part of the consolidation-duty act which regarded the importation of Bandana handkerchiefs, which was ordered to lie on the table. Sir William Curtis wished to draw the attention of the house to the situation of the working silk-weavers of 'Spital-fields, a most valuable and industrious body of men, who were exceedingly alarmed at the encouragement which was about to be given to the importation of manufactured silk handkerchiefs from India. He

presented a petition on their behalf, which set forth that there were no less than about 5,000 manufacturers (who with their families, at an average, employed about 10,000 looms), all of whom were likely to be materially injured by the importation of such articles; and that they could prove, to the satisfaction of the house, that they paid a more considerable duty on handkerchiefs of their own manufacture, than what the intended bill could possibly produce to the revenue. This petition was ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Wilbraham Bootle observed, that a great majority of the manufacturers in the kingdom, he had reason to know, were kept perfectly ignorant of the nature of this bill; otherwise, a great number of other petitions would have been presented. He himself had several observations to make concerning this bill; and more particularly as it respected the interests of the British potteries, many of which had been brought to most considerable perfection under the operation of a protecting duty on foreign china, which was far excelled, in excellence and beauty, in many of the British manufactories of Derbyshire and other counties. This manufacture of British porcelain was still in a progressive state of improvement, because men of very considerable capital were induced to embark in it, under the faith of a protecting duty against foreign china. One whom he knew had lately embarked above 30,000*l.*; another a still greater sum. These, however, were but two instances out of a very considerable number of individuals, who had advanced capital, some smaller, and others considerably greater, in the business of this as yet infant manufacture. He insisted that the decrease proposed by this bill of the protecting duty on foreign china, from 105 to 50 per cent., would operate as a most injurious discouragement to those British manufacturers, who vested their large capitals, their talents, and their industry, in bringing this fabric to such singular perfection. Some of the principal manufacturers were not more than a week past apprised of the alteration. A very considerable number were not acquainted with it even yet. His wish therefore was, that the second reading of the bill should be deferred for a few days, that time might be given for those whose interests would be likely to suffer so severely by its operation, to consult together, and petition against the bill, if they should think fit.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that it was only in the committee on the bill, that these observations could be productive of effect; the only matter for present consideration being, the propriety or impropriety of consolidating the duties. He observed that great pains had been taken to promote the circulation of the schedule to every part of the country; and if those concerned were not fully apprised, the fault was not his. He should move that day for the second reading of the bill; but had no objection to postpone the committal of it till the Tuesday following; (this being Wednesday.)

On the 7th of the same month, the house having resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, Mr. Vansittart submitted to it the following propositions: viz. "That there should be a small duty laid on horse-hair (amounting to the value of 20*l.*) imported into this country; that the drawback on the exportation of that article should

should cease and determine;—a duty of 4*s.* to be charged on every yard of thread lace, exceeding the value of 20*s.*, imported into Great Britain; a duty of 1*s.* 3*d.* on every square yard of damask table cloth, imported into Great Britain from Germany, in order to give encouragement to the British manufactures, and particularly to those in Ireland; a drawback of 10*d.* on damask table cloths exported from Great Britain; a duty of 6*s.* 6*d.* on every hundred-weight of foreign barley imported; 1*s.* 6*d.* on every hundred-weight of pearl barley imported; 2*s.* 6*d.* on every 120lb. of stock-fish imported; 64*l.* 1*s.* on every ton of Hungary wines imported; 54*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* of drawback on every ton of the like wines exported; 68*l.* 5*s.* on every ton containing 250 gallons of Rhenish wines imported; a drawback of 59*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* on ditto exported from Great Britain to any of the British West-India plantations." After demonstrating to the committee the great advantages which would accrue to the commercial intercourse of the country by these alterations in the duties on such articles, the chairman of the committee (Mr. Hobhouse) reported progress, and the report was ordered to be received the next day. The report was accordingly brought up, and the resolutions agreed to.

On the order of the day for the house to go into a committee on the bill, on the 10th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer rose, and said, that, before the motion for the speaker to leave the chair, he begged to make a few observations, which he doubted not would considerably save the time of the house, as he would shortly state to the house the several alterations proposed to be made in the bill. Several petitions, he said, had been presented from the thread-lace manufacturers of the counties of Buckingham, Bedford, Northampton, &c. &c. complaining of the duties intended to be laid on goods of that description, proposed to be allowed to be imported. The intention of this was, as much as possible, to assist the fair trader, and to counteract, as far as could be done, the designs and schemes of the smuggler. He imagined that in this article there was to the amount of 400,000*l.* brought into the country, of which not more than 20,000*l.* paid duty. Some alteration therefore was absolutely necessary. The attempt to prohibit it entirely, would positively be nugatory and ineffectual, the article being to be brought into the country in so small a compass. It was proposed, on this account, to lay a duty *ad valorem;* and it had been determined to fix on a sum that should discountenance the smuggler, and give every possible advantage to the fair trader. He had found, from the best information he had been able to procure, that the smuggler could ensure his profits in time of peace at 10 per cent., and in time of war at 15 per cent. He therefore proposed the *ad valorem* duty should be fixed at 20 per cent., which he thought would be such a medium or average as would not fail to secure the fair trader. The only difficulty he thought would be, to steer clear of fixing the duty so high as to endanger the interest of the manufacturer, or so low as to injure competition at home. Under the present circumstances of the country, he thought there was no reason to fear for our home manufactures, as during the continuance of the war our thread-lace manufacture

had greatly flourished, and since the peace it had considerably fallen off. In general it had been found, that immediately after, and indeed for some considerable time subsequent to the making of peace, contraband trade was best and most effectually suppressed by fixing a low duty, which took away the inducement the smuggler had to make exertions and run risks, when his profits would be little or nothing; and if at any time afterwards it should be found necessary, a higher duty might be laid on; but there was no principle more clear than this, that a contraband trade cannot be demolished all at once. Another respectable description of persons, he said, had been considerably alarmed at the permission that was to be given to the importation of foreign porcelain. The duty upon this had been 105 per cent., and it was proposed to reduce it to 50 per cent., which he thought would have been a complete protecting duty. It was not, however, considered to be so by the manufacturers of this article in this country, who had urged in the strongest terms their apprehension that this manufacture would be greatly injured, if this alteration in the duty were to take place. Under these circumstances, he had undertaken to recommend it to the house to increase the duty from 50*l.* to 80*l.* per cent., and if that should not be found sufficient, to increase the duty still more, and make it higher, as the nature of the case might be found to require. The third point he had to notice, he said, was the petitions from persons in the silk trade. It was well known that the importation of manufactured silk from Bengal was altogether prohibited. All precautions to prohibit it entirely had been found ineffectual; but he thought that by a duty of 25 per cent. on that article, the trade of the smuggler would soon be entirely demolished. He had proposed that the importation of silk handkerchiefs should be confined to the average on the sales of the East-India company for the last seven years; but he now recommended that the prohibition should be renewed during the war, with the power of suspending it afterwards, as the house may think proper. He said, he thought he should not be doing justice to those respectable persons who had presented petitions, as well as those who had waited on him on the occasion, if he did not say that he believed they had not the smallest wish or intention in what they had done, or in the further steps they intended to pursue, to embarrass his majesty's ministers in the execution of the present measure; but that they had acted purely from the just cause of alarm they thought they were bound to maintain, for the interest of the different important manufactures in which they were severally engaged. He believed however they were all so perfectly satisfied with the modifications and alterations proposed to be made in the bill, that they would decline giving the house the trouble of hearing counsel on their behalf.

Lord Temple, lord G. L. Gower, Mr. Macnamara, and Mr. alderman Coombe, all expressed their satisfaction at those modifications and alterations, and declared they should now withhold all further opposition to the bill. At length the house resolved itself into a committee, when the bill was distinctly canvassed. In the committee, on the following day, Mr. Vansittart observed, that there were

were certain articles which could be regulated by the committee on the bill, without a previous committee. At present he should trouble them only with two articles, which related to imports from the East Indies; the one was china-ware, and the other opium. It was proposed to augment the duties upon those articles. With regard to opium, it was suspected that it began to be used for the purpose of adulterating beer. It was even said, that, in consequence of the prohibition of opium in China, it was likely to become an article of speculation in this country. He proposed an additional duty of 80*l.* on every 100*l.* of real value of china-ware imported into this country by the East-India company; and on every pound of opium imported, an additional duty of 5*s.* with a drawback of 6*s.* on exportation; and a duty of 12*s.* 6*d.* on every pound of opium imported from the Levant, not the place of its natural growth, with a drawback of 7*s.* on exportation. He added, that, in the bill which had passed last year, relative to brewers, every possible care had been taken to prevent the adulteration of that necessary article. It was provided that every brewer in whose possession any opium should be found, should pay a penalty of 500*l.* The resolutions were agreed to.

On the question for going into the committee on the 17th, general Gascoyne objected to the additional duty on sugar. He said that the West-India merchants of Liverpool had, in 1793, applied to parliament for relief against the old duties, whilst the house was going to lay on new duties. He insisted it was a losing trade. He did not ask for any exemption or diminution of the duty, but only a suspension of it, till some out-port on the continent should be open to us. At present we had not one; and therefore could have no export. He said that while parliament was laying 4*s.* a cwt. duty on sugar, it was falling in price to the same amount; and if the duties were continued to be so laid on, those concerned in the trade must withdraw from it. He concluded by moving—"That it be an instruction to the committee to insert a clause in the bill, to empower his majesty's council to suspend the said duties on sugar, whenever and for such period of time as it should appear to them necessary so to do." This motion was rejected as irregular, and the house immediately went into the committee; when general Gascoyne moved a clause to the same effect. On the question, that the clause be read a second time, Mr. Vansittart rose, and denied the assertions of the honourable general, as to the home consumption; and insisted, that, notwithstanding the duties, the consumption during the last war increased no less than 700,000 cwt. It was the same as to the exports: for we were not now excluded from any ports of the continent from which we were not shut out during last war, except Hamburg; and it was remarkable, that, in the year during which we were excluded from that port, our exports were far greater than during any other year of the war. The conversation was continued to a considerable length. In the end, however, general Gascoyne, conceiving it to be the sense of the committee, withdrew his motion.

When the bill for consolidating the custom duties was read a third time—Mr. Vansittart moved a new clause, for permitting the removal

of wine, from the out-ports to the port of London, without a certificate from the collectors of the customs at such out-ports, which was brought up, read and agreed to, added to the bill, and the bill then passed.

A bill also passed the house on the 11th of July for consolidating the assessed taxes. The chief object of this bill, as stated by the chancellor of the exchequer, was to facilitate the collection of the taxes; to prevent any man from suffering by error; that the magistrates might clearly understand their duty, and that the system of justice under this bill should be the same in one county as another. We do not think it of consequence, however, to enter into farther detail with regard to this bill.

The extension of commerce, and the exhaustion occasioned by a long war, and by large remittances of specie to the continent, rendered necessary (as a financial arrangement) to extend the period in which the bank of England should be indulged in refusing payment to its creditors in specie.

Lord Hawkesbury, therefore, gave notice, on Thursday the 3d of February, that the chancellor of the exchequer would on the Monday following move for leave to bring in a bill to continue the restriction on the bank, from making issues of payment in specie, for a time to be limited. And the next day, Mr. Vansittart moved, "That there be laid before the house an account of the amount of notes of the bank of England in circulation on the 1st of October and the 1st of December 1802, and on the 1st of February 1803, distinguishing those under *5l.*" On which occasion Mr. Tierney said, that, if the motion of the hon. member had reference to the question announced by a noble lord last night, respecting the further restriction of cash issues from the bank, he thought the returns then moved for by no means minute nor extensive enough. It was very generally understood, that, upon some sudden events of a public nature transpiring, the issues of notes from the bank of England, within the last two months, had been to a most considerable and unusual amount; a circumstance which materially concerned all persons interested in extensive money transactions. If the fact were so, it might become necessary to ascertain the cause of this unusual liberality. He was desirous, therefore, that the accounts should be made out from month to month, as fully as they were before the committee of the house to whom it was referred to inquire into the geral concerns of the bank. He thought, too, the accounts ought to be brought down to the present period. He further desired to be informed, whether he was to understand that the paper now moved for was to be the only ground for the renewal of the restriction with regard to the payments of the bank in specie.—The motion was put in an amended state, thus: "That there should be laid before the house an account of the notes of the governor and company of the bank of England, in circulation on the 1st of June 1802, the 1st of December 1802, and the 1st of February 1803, distinguishing the amount of those below the value of *5l.*"

Accordingly, on the 7th of February, Mr. Walton from the bank of England, presented at the bar "An account of the amount of bank of England notes in circulation on the 1st of June, 1st of August,

gust, 1st of October, 1st of December, 1802, and 1st of February, 1803" which was ordered to lie on the table.

On the same day also, the chancellor of the exchequer brought his promised motion before the house, namely, "to continue still longer, for a time to be limited, the restrictions on the bank of England from issuing specie in payment of their notes."—The right hon. gentleman said he made this motion with considerable reluctance, tho' he had the pleasure to assure the house and the country that the measure by no means arose from any incapacity or disinclination of the bank to pay in specie. The state of exchange between this country and the rest of Europe, though it had considerably improved in our favour since even the last session of parliament, had not however improved so far as to warrant the discontinuance of the restriction. It was then nearly at par with Hamburg, and still more in our favour with Amsterdam. There was not, at present, any great likelihood of receiving much money from Hamburg, nor was there yet any influx of bullion from abroad; and when the house recollected, that, in its wisdom, it had thought fit to authorise the country banks to issue notes to a very considerable amount, it must naturally occur, that the moment the removal of the restriction should enable the bank to issue gold in payment of its notes, similar demands would be made upon the country banks. The result would be, a rapid and general run upon the bank of England, from all those in the country; which, at a time when there was no supply of bullion from abroad, might be productive of very considerable and embarrassing inconvenience. Besides, three years of the most unparallelled scarcity had but just elapsed, during which period upwards of twenty millions in specie had been sent out of the country, for the purchase of grain to supply the deficiencies of our national produce for the sustenance of the people. A drain so enormous must materially exhaust the current specie of the kingdom. There was also another most considerable drain for the pay of our armies and navy in foreign situations; and those drains, even the flourishing state of our commerce had not yet time to bring back. It might possibly be objected by some gentlemen not favourably disposed to the measure, that the proposition ought to be preceded by an inquiry into the ground of necessity for its adoption; but to such an objection he would anticipate an answer—that, with respect to the ample competence of the bank to discharge at any time the whole of its existing debts, the fullest proof had already been adduced, to the satisfaction of a committee of that house purposely instituted for the minutest inquiry: all then that would remain for a committee to inquire into, would be the state of exchange; but, for information on that head, there was no responsible office or officer to apply to. The consideration of the competency of the bank to answer all demands, taken together with that which he had before mentioned with respect to the country banks, would, he doubted not, have sufficient influence upon the wisdom of the house to warrant and indeed call for the continuance of the restriction for a short time longer. He should

should therefore trespass no longer on their attention than by first moving, "that the former acts of his majesty's reign, for imposing restrictions on the bank, be read;" and then, "that leave be given to bring in the bill."

Mr. Tierney objected to the motion of the right hon. gentleman, without some previous inquiry respecting the bank, and particularly upon the grounds stated. If the sentiments of the house should seem to coincide with his own, his proposal would be to pass the bill for two months, and to appoint a committee in the interim, to consider how far it would be proper to continue the restriction farther, or to discontinue it altogether. But the right honourable gentleman seemed to think that the report of a committee six years ago was quite sufficient, though the house had had no account whatever of the proceedings of the bank ever since. No one appeared to care whether the bank had sufficient provision to answer its demands, or even whether the restriction had been actually profitable or injurious to its interests, whether it had diminished or increased the security of public credit. All these things ought to be known, but all was mystery. No other ground was laid for the motion, but that the exchange with Hamburg was at par; and upon that naked fact it was proposed to do away that which scarcely any circumstance could warrant, namely, the right of the public creditor to convert bank notes into cash. He trusted the house would not adopt this monstrous bill, at a time when there was even no plausible pretext for it, when no money was likely to go out of the country, when no alarm prevailed in either domestic or foreign politics, when no fear of any sudden press on the bank could be entertained. All that was mentioned in the shape of a reason, was, that the exchange was not at par. Then of course no money would go out of the country. Were not these considerations sufficiently strong to urge the house to agree to an inquiry? Was it not material to show the country what the bank was doing; that it was preparing to open and pay in specie; that it was ready to do so when parliament should permit? He would wish the bank directors to compliment the public even as they did in 1797, when the original restriction took place, and when they published a resolution, that they were ready, if political considerations permitted, to pay cash for their notes. This resolution did not precede the bill which sanctioned the order of council, and surely it would be but decent to give the country something like the same evidence on this occasion. According to the report of the committee of 1797, the proportion of cash and bullion in the bank amounted to one million when the order of council was issued, and that some short time afterwards this sum was increased to six millions. Was it not then a fit subject for inquiry, what had become of these six millions; if they were forthcoming to meet any exigency? And if they were, why should the bank hesitate to resume their operation? They could not be afraid of a run upon them, for who could then think of any material advantage from hoarding gold? But the right honourable gentleman objected to their payment in cash, because the exchange was at par. If the right honourable gentleman

tleman resolved to restrain the bank while the exchange was at par, there were men of the highest intelligence and character who were of opinion that the exchange would be kept up. But why should the right hon. gentleman indulge these fears? His late financial statement ought to sustain his confidence. He there described the surplus revenue of the present year at one million, and that of the next year at two millions. Was not that sufficient to protect the bank and public credit in any suitable emergency? If the rate of exchange, as it then stood, were really to be made an argument for the stoppage of the bank, it would leave a very dangerous impression in the country; and recollecting the circumstances, the people, upon the probable recurrence of such an exchange at a future day, would be apt to make such a run upon the bank as might be productive of very serious consequences indeed. The public had a right to say to the bank directors, "You have been for the last six years reaping a productive harvest from our inconvenience—we only ask of you now to convert into cash the notes for which we have given you credit so long," and the bank ought to be provided to answer this reasonable request. They could have no apology for declining it, unless incapacity, and he did not suppose that to be the case. The hon. member concluded with observing that he did not wish the bank doors to be at once thrown open, without due deliberation. His desire was, that a committee should be appointed, composed of such intelligent persons as formed the original committee on that subject, many of whom were then in the house, and who would be able to give such a mass of useful information to the country as would satisfy the public of the justice and policy of any measure founded upon it. If such a proceeding were not adopted, he was convinced the people would very naturally think the measure proposed by the right honourable gentleman rather an act of convenience than of necessity. The bank would be condemned, if they should lose the opportunity of that committee to vindicate their conduct, and the house would be set down rather as the blind followers, or suspected accomplices of the bank, than as the faithful guardians of the public interest.

Mr. Fox said, if necessity, or a strong propriety, called for the adoption of the proposition, he was not disposed to urge any objection to it. At the same time, he should feel more satisfaction if there were laid before him sufficient grounds to justify his assent. Was it to be understood, that whenever the state of the exchange was so unfavourable as to leave no room to expect the importation of bullion, that a restriction should be put on the cash payments of the bank? Such a mode of reasoning would, on the face of it, seem to go to establish it as a general axiom, that, in all such cases, the cash payments of the bank should be suspended. To these reasons were added the great exportation of specie for corn, and on account of other circumstances connected with the war. If these additional reasons had any force, then the propriety of further continuing the restriction should not be made to depend so entirely on the state of the exchange. Perhaps even it might happen, that the unfavourable turn of the exchange against this country might be owing to the very restriction on the

the bank; and as on this head doubts were entertained, that with him was a strong reason for recommending an inquiry, because a proposition for such an inquiry might, when under discussion, bring forth many opinions on the subject—(it was opinions rather than facts he was anxious the inquiry should produce)—more especially of commercial men, and of the directors of the bank, whose pursuits and occupations enabled them to throw most light upon such subjects. For his part, he could not pretend to much information on them, particularly on the causes which might influence the fluctuations of the rate of exchange between different countries. It was not into the conduct of the directors of the bank that the house should be anxious to inquire. They professed themselves ready to renew their payments in specie, if government had no political reasons for preventing their doing so. They were ready even then to resume their cash payments; and if they, as bankers, saw no danger or inconvenience in resuming them, was it not incumbent upon the house to inquire into the grounds of the political objection that was opposed to that resumption? For his part, he could not conceive a possible case where the restriction could be necessary or useful when the directors of the bank declared themselves to be able and willing to pay in specie. If such a case existed, it should be made out, and for that reason he acquiesced with the hon. gentleman (Mr. Tierney) in the propriety of some inquiry being instituted. His mind was far from harbouring any suspicions prejudicial to the directors of the bank; but the house must surely recollect how closely the credit of the bank was connected with the credit of the country, and how much it therefore must depend upon the management of the bank. The credit of the country was not likely before to be so much affected by that management; for while the bank continued to pay in specie, if the directors chanced to act improperly, the public were able to discover the impropriety of their conduct, in the consequences to which it must have given rise; but now, as there was not the same check of honour upon them as that by which other bankers were bound, the public had no longer the same security, and the whole of the credit of the country was made to depend upon the administration of men whose conduct was under the control of government, and who owed no responsibility to the country. When the public credit was so endangered, it was not surprising that an impatience should be expressed by the right hon. gentleman to get rid of the restriction. At all events he must hope, that a short bill only would then be proposed, and that time would be allowed to examine how far it should be prolonged. It might also be proper to inquire how far the state of exchange should be admitted as a criterion whether the bank should pay in specie or not. Allowing also, that there might be some danger in taking off the restriction altogether, still might not some arrangement be adopted, for paying a small part of the dividends and notes in cash? By adopting a gradual system of that kind, all danger from a sudden run might be avoided. But it was said, if the bank renew its cash payments, the specie will be sent out of the country. That was very probable; but as long as there was a strong temptation to send guineas abroad, the

most

most rigorous laws, even when most vigilantly enforced, would prove inadequate to prevent it. Neither could it be expected that the bank directors would serve the public at their own loss. They would not buy bullion that the public might have money. They would not lose in purchasing it, that others might gain by sending it out of the country. But with regard to the fluctuations in the state of the exchange between this country and others, there was a circumstance which then occurred to his mind, if he rightly recollected it, which tended to show, that the state of the exchange did not always depend on the circumstances which were then supposed almost solely to affect it. In the year 1773 or 1772, when there was a great quantity of bad money in the country, the course of exchange was then also much against us; but he was informed, that when, in the room of this adulterated money, good gold was substituted, the consequence was that the exchange turned almost immediately in our favour. As long as our currency continued bad, the exchange was against us; so was it then, because paper was not much better than bad gold, or it was attended with the same inconveniences. Might it not therefore be expected, that, as in the former case, when our currency was meliorated the course of exchange turned in our favour; so also, if the bank then resumed its cash payments, the same favourable circumstances might attend the change? This at least was a matter that well deserved to be inquired into. There were many other points to which an inquiry might be usefully directed, and he should not be sorry to see a motion made for instituting one.

Lord Hawkesbury wished to set both the hon. gentlemen right (Mr. Tierney and Mr. Fox) who spoke immediately after his right honourable friend, as to what had been advanced by him respecting the course of exchange. The ground on which his right hon. friend put the question was this, having imposed a restriction that had continued for several years, without any inconvenience having resulted from it, and without any being felt at the present moment, was it not wise to pause before such a restriction were taken off, and till a more favourable opportunity offered of doing it away? His right honourable friend had by no means said that the restriction ought to be continued solely on account of the exchange; he had only asked, what, his lordship said, he thought it necessary to repeat to the house, that the point might be fully and fairly understood; "Would you take a period of an unfavourable state of exchange as that which was most proper to begin once more to revert to the ancient system of paying in cash at the bank?" No such idea ever entered into the mind of his right honourable friend, as the inference drawn by the hon. gentleman under the gallery (Mr. Tierney), that, at any future period, the payments in cash by the bank should depend on, or be regulated by, the course of exchange. With regard to the appointment of a committee of inquiry, he objected to it, because he was of opinion that it would only create alarm both at home and abroad, when altogether unnecessary. The house now knew, by the paper on the table, to what amount notes had been issued, and whether the bank directors had abused the power with which they had been entrusted.

His

Hislordship afterwards adverted to Mr. Fox's observations respecting the course of exchange at the period when the coinage was bad, and agreed with that hon. gentleman, as to the fact of the course of exchange being then supposed to be against this country; but he had the greatest reason to believe, from every information he had been able to collect, that, from the defective state of our coinage, the course of exchange appeared to be against us, when, in fact, it was really the reverse. If the house would look to the course of exchange for three years past, and compare it with that of the last twelve months, it would be clearly seen, that it was owing to the causes stated by his right hon. friend; and he had not the smallest doubt but that, in a short time, it would once more be in our favour.

Sir Francis Baring said, that, in his opinion, the house should not consider the present continuance of the restriction as a circumstance arising out of common causes, but as growing out of unforeseen and irresistible events. There had been a great convulsion in political affairs, in every quarter of the globe, and that convulsion had operated very great and very important changes. The course of exchange between this country and all others had varied as well as other matters. It would at present admit the importation of silver, but not of gold. Silver had lately fallen ten per cent. Gold had continued at much the same price as before. These circumstances, he repeated, did not arise from common causes, but from the various efforts and exertions of foreign countries to gain advantages over this. The convulsion extended and affected them all in a greater or less degree, and prudence ought to dictate to us, to wait with patience till the effects of the storm subsided.

The chancellor of the exchequer, adverting to the suggestion of Mr. Fox respecting the propriety of opening the cash payments of the bank with some restriction, said, no doubt that honourable gentleman was aware, that in the former bill a power was given to the bank to make partial payments of the dividends in specie, upon giving due notice of such payments to the house of commons.—That hon. gentleman was also of opinion, that the bank should not be restrained in paying small notes in specie; but did he bear in mind, that, if the small notes were to be paid in specie, then the larger notes would be changed into small ones, and presented for payment in specie? By which means, the whole effect of the restriction would be completely done away: for the one restriction must unavoidably frustrate the other. It had also been observed, that the bank was ready and disposed to pay. Whether that were the case or not, what he proposed was not in compliance with, or in opposition to, any thing the bank might wish for, as he had, on the present occasion, no communication whatever with the bank. All he took their opinion upon, was the state of the course of exchange. Indeed, the bank had expressed no wish or opinion to him. It was then his intention to insert a clause in the bill which he wished to bring in, leaving a power to alter it during the course of the present session, should circumstances favour its alteration or repeal, or to continue it in force for six weeks after the meeting of parliament next session.

He

He was averse to a committee. He saw no necessity for it. More important occasions had occurred, where no committee was moved for. The charter of the bank had been renewed without any committee having been appointed to inquire into the state of its affairs. If any new grounds were adduced to show the necessity for an inquiry, he was ready to listen to them; but he was aware of none that would not be liable to inconvenience. It might be proper, during the interval of the suspension, to take a wide, comprehensive view of the paper credit of the country; and not permit bad paper to be issued, without any responsibility on the part of those who issued it. Such a revision might or might not be deemed adviseable. He did not pledge himself to any measure of the sort; yet if it were to take place, it should have no connexion with, or reference to, the present state of the bank; neither should it be then attempted; but at a period more favourable, and during the intervening time. He had then only to repeat, that it was with reluctance and regret he proposed the present measure; but circumstances imposed it upon him as a duty, and that duty, however painful, he must endeavour to discharge.

Mr. Vansittart enumerated a variety of causes that at different times affected the course of exchange, as it regarded this country, and observed, that the difficulty which the Spaniards experienced during the war, in getting home the produce of their mines, was one of the principal reasons why we were in want of bullion. The obstructions then no longer prevented the conveyance of those treasures into Spain; and it was natural to expect, that a great quantity of them would shortly find their way into this country.—After some explanation between Mr. Tierney and Mr. Vansittart, leave was given to bring in the bill.

On the 11th of February, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the order of the day for going into a committee on the bill, upon which the attorney-general rose to move it as an instruction to the committee, that they should have power to alter the bill in one particular. Some difficulties had arisen in the courts of justice upon the clause in the former bill respecting tenders being made in bank-notes, on account of the impossibility of making exact tenders in bank-notes of a debt in which there was a fraction of a pound. The amendment he meant to propose was, that, where a person applied to be discharged upon common bail, he should make an affidavit of his having tendered the amount of the debt. The motion was agreed to. The house having then resolved itself into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer said, there was in the bill a clause to enable parliament to repeal or alter it during the present session. He then proposed to fill up the blank with regard to its duration with these words, "Six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament."

Mr. Banks suggested the propriety of proposing a shorter duration to the bill; and in doing so he begged not to be understood as entertaining an opinion that the bank ought then to resume its cash payments; nor did he mean to say that the right honourable gentleman's motion might not, upon investigation, be perfectly proper; but the ground of his complaint was, that there had not been sufficient

cient ground laid before the house to enable them to decide upon the question. There had been but two reasons assigned for the present measure; the one was, that the course of exchange was not in favour of this country; and the other, that there was a great number of small notes in circulation, both of the bank of England and of country banks. With respect to the course of exchange, he had already offered some observations to the house. With regard to the quantity of small notes in circulation, he begged to ask, whether that objection would not always continue until the restriction was taken off? because, until cash was put into circulation, its place must be supplied by paper.—Again, if the government and the bank were to agree together to keep up the restriction longer than was necessary, a fictitious capital might be created to an almost unlimited extent, which would undoubtedly endanger, if not destroy, the public credit. With respect to the inquiry he should wish to have instituted, he confessed he should not be sorry if it were made upon a very enlarged scale, and embraced not merely the subject in question, but the state of our trade. He was aware that such an inquiry could not be instituted on the present occasion, because there was not sufficient time for it. He therefore should move, that the bill now proposed should continue to the 1st of May, instead of the time which had been suggested by his right honourable friend.

Mr. Prinsep had listened with attention to all that had then fallen from the honourable mover of the amendment, and from those who had opposed the original motion, without hearing any instance stated of positive loss or inconvenience from the continuance of the restriction—and none had resulted from it after the first shock in 1797. The stoppage of the bank had shown the British merchants in their true character; rallying on the instant at the Mansion-house, and unanimously agreeing to pass bank paper at par, and to pay in no other manner. He then alluded to the distress of the Scotch banks from having allowed cash accounts, and issued their notes on landed security, and contrasted these errors with the good management of the bank of England for many years back. The bank of England had, it was true, lent the greater part of its capital to government, without suffering from it as another great trading company had done. The cases were different; the loans to government in 1797, though considerable, were necessary and justifiable under the circumstances of those calamitous times. That neither loss nor inconvenience had resulted from the restriction he might support by appealing to all the orders of society. Bank-notes would at all times purchase provisions, luxuries, estates, stock in the funds—and *bullion for exportation!* What more could coined bullion produce? It seemed to him that the distinctions were frequently overlooked between coin and bullion, the trading and the monied interest; as well as this circumstance, that coin of a country being exported to another country, became mere bullion on its arrival there. The influx of bullion depended on the natural course of trade, which would very soon turn in our favour. He did not allow the vibration of exchange to be the criterion for deciding upon the period for taking off the present

present restriction: for it did not appear that the imposing or continuance of it had produced any effects on the exchange one way or other. Another important benefit he had forgotten to enumerate, which was, that the restraint had ascertained that this country could bear a circulating paper of fifty millions*: for bank notes and exchequer bills to that amount, it appeared, had been afloat last year. Indeed, the distinction between one and the other was merely that the one carried interest, and the other saved interest, and was therefore preferable to coin. He concluded by giving his support to the original motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer remarked, that his honourable friend (Mr. Banks) said he was ready to continue the restriction till the first of May, upon condition that, in the mean time, an inquiry by a committee should take place. His (Mr. Addington's) wish was, that parliament should not put it out of their power to repeal the bill; but foreseeing, as he did, the little probability of its being able with safety to do so in the course of the present session, he looked forward to that power which might be exercised by the next. If therefore he were to adopt the terms of his hon. friend's motion, he should raise delusive expectations in the minds of the country bankers, that parliament would by that time be able to repeal the act altogether. This would oblige them to make preparations, which in the present state of things would be unwise. It would have the effect of locking up part of their capital, and it would oblige the bank to make immediate purchases of bullion at a very great disadvantage. Every one knew the losses which would be sustained by purchasing bullion at that juncture. And what would be the consequence? Though a large supply of bullion would undoubtedly be brought into the bank, it would certainly find its way to the continent, while the rate of exchange continued as it was. He would therefore see the course of exchange steady and permanent, before he would deprive the country of the benefit of the restriction on the bank. By removing it before that period arrived, he was fully sensible he should only be under the necessity of recurring to it again; but by waiting for it, he thought he was not flattering himself or the country, when he stated, that there would be every reasonable prospect of such a measure being in future entirely unnecessary. These were the grounds on which he rested his opinion, that there was no occasion for an inquiry, provided the sufficiency of the bank were admitted. His hon. friend seemed to think it material to ascertain whether the bank directors had done their duty. On this subject he thought an inquiry particularly unnecessary. The concurrent opinion of all those who had ever adverted to the conduct of the bank directors, was a proof that they possessed the confidence and approbation of the public in general; but if there could be a doubt, the paper on the table was an ample proof that the directors, since the restriction was imposed, had made no improper use of the issue of paper money, or turned the power with which they were invested to account

* Probably alluding to the 17 millions of bank notes stated in the paper last laid upon the table; and to the chancellor of the exchequer's declaration, that 33 millions of navy were issued in 1802; but three of these were locked up in the bank.

in an unbecoming manner. It was the power of issuing accredited paper money that constituted one of the sources of the wealth and strength of the country. The confidence with which it was received, was one of the circumstances by which the trade and commerce of the empire had been made to flourish under every difficulty; it was one which had afforded, and whenever it should again become necessary would afford, the surest ground of national hope and consolation. Who was there that did not recollect, that in the year 1793, when money suddenly disappeared, without any one knowing to what cause to attribute its disappearance, it was not by importing bullion, at a considerable and certain loss, a remedy for the evil was provided; but it was by introducing a new circulating medium the mischief which threatened the commercial world was prevented? What had been, and was, then the case of the bank? It appeared, when the exchange was against us, the issue of paper money increased, and then when the former was getting nearly at par, the latter was diminished, with the exception of one-pound notes, which had been issued as a substitution for guineas. If we compared the quantity of paper in circulation then with what it was in 1793, the increase would be found trivial, considering the great export of money for the purchase of corn. The circulation was at present sixteen millions, including four millions for small notes, which was a sum less by one million than it was at the period immediately preceding the restriction. His learned friend said, every one must lament the want of gold for the purposes of trade and commerce. He was convinced, by his observation, that he could not have considered the consequence and effect of paper circulation on our trade and commerce. We might attribute the increase of our wealth to our paper circulation, and show that it was among the primary causes of those resources. Did the honourable gentleman imagine, that, by opening the bank, the inconvenience of wanting gold would be obviated? No; the rate of exchange must be uniform. Without this, whatever might be the influx of bullion, it must return to the continent. His honourable friend said, he did not wish to see too close an intimacy between government and the bank. To this sentiment, in the abstract, he acceded; but he denied that any intimacy did exist which was not as advantageous to the affairs of the bank as those of the government. He did not wish the bank should give unlimited credit to government. In answer to this, he had only to remark, that the amount of the advances by the bank to government, were less than they were immediately before the restriction took place; and sure he was, it would not be said, that any outstanding demands due from government constituted the slightest impediment to the bank resuming its payments in specie. Mr. Addington said, he should adhere to the original proposition he had made, for continuing the restriction till six weeks after the commencement of next session of parliament, with the reserve for repealing or altering it, if necessary, during the present one.—The question being put, the original motion was agreed to. The clause proposed by the attorney-general was also agreed to by the house.

The bill was passed on the 14th of February.

A great deal of debate took place also on the same subject in the lords; but we have already assigned as much room to this article as our limits will allow. In the house

house of peers, however, the subject of restriction on the Irish bank was introduced by lord King, on the 25th of February. He moved for several accounts relative to the quantity of notes of the bank of Ireland in circulation at given periods, and spoke of the immense discount at which Irish notes were, at one time during the war, between Dublin and Hamburgh (from 15½ to 17½), which, he said, partly arose from there being no direct communication between Dublin and Hamburgh, but that it was necessarily managed through the medium of London, which of course aggravated the expense.

The marquis of Sligo said, the noble lord appeared to him to be utterly mistaken respecting the notes of the bank of Ireland. The notes of the national bank of Ireland had not been at a discount, but the notes of the private banks; which made their payments, when their own notes were presented, in notes of the national bank; and if they failed in so doing, they were liable to have a commission of bankruptcy issued against them.—Lord King made three motions, the substance of which (when corrected by an observation of lord Pelham) was as follows:—"That the proper officers do lay before the house an account of the amount of the notes of the bank of Ireland, in circulation on the 1st of January, April, and September, 1797; on the 1st of April, May, and June, 1801; and the 1st of June, August, October, and December, 1802; and the 1st of January 1803, respectively." Ordered.

The second reading of the bill, on this occasion, did not take place till the 3d of May, when

Lord King rose, and in a speech of some length, fraught with financial calculation and detail, delivered his sentiments on the measure before the house. What he had to say should be confined to the effect which the restriction had on the commerce of Ireland; the disadvantages that country laboured under, by the course of exchange being so much against her, and by the depreciation which the notes of the bank had suffered. Perhaps he might be told, by way of defence for the bank, that these effects had been produced by country banks. He hoped to be able to shew they were produced by the bank directors themselves. He would not hesitate to say, that the directors of the bank of Ireland had been guilty of a gross abuse of the discretionary power vested in them, by the immense quantity of notes which they issued. It appeared by the papers laid on the table, that in the year 1797, there were no more than 621,000*l.* of notes in circulation. Then, there were in circulation no less than 2,636,000*l.* Could any thing, he would ask, be a more palpable abuse of power than thus inundating the country with paper-money? And was there any difficulty in accounting for the depreciation which that paper had experienced? The increased issue of the bank of England, since the stoppage of payments in cash, was not more than one third of its former issue; but in Ireland it was four times as much. What motive could there have been for this conduct, which was pursued in Ireland? Nothing else but to increase the profits of the directors and proprietors of bank stock; he had almost said, to increase their divisions of the plunder they committed on the public. However advantageous it might have been to individuals, to the public at

large it was a great injury. The depreciation of paper was a natural and necessary consequence of the immense quantity of it in circulation, and the same cause had produced the great difference in the course of the exchange, which, if their lordships required him to prove, he was ready to do. He did not mean to oppose this bill altogether; but when it came into the committee, he should move to introduce a clause by which the bank of Ireland should be obliged, after six months, to give bank of England notes in return for their own notes, whenever they should be presented.

The earl of Limerick answered the arguments of the noble lord who had just sat down. He had heard from the noble lord an imputation thrown out against the directors of the bank of Ireland, of having been in fault, and even that they had abused the trust vested in their discretion. He could not only assert, but prove beyond all question, that the conduct of the directors of the bank of Ireland had been uniformly wise, prudent, and exemplary; and most of the charges brought against them by the noble lord, when properly explained and rightly understood, would be found to be so many proofs of their active, cautious, and judicious conduct. The noble lord had commenced his account of the issue of notes of the bank of Ireland, and put into circulation, as well as the rate of exchange, from the year 1797, which the noble lord had stated to be the first year of which he could produce a correct account. He happened, lord Limerick said, to have in his hand an account a year earlier, viz. the year 1796. In that year a most unnatural rebellion was forming, and at the head of it were some men of considerable rank and talents. Their plan was to distress the government, and embarrass it by forcing a run upon the bank of Ireland, through the medium of a run upon the private banks of Ireland, which must necessarily produce the first object as an inevitable consequence. In the executive committee of the conspirators, they had entered into a resolution that all the members of the united Irishmen should refuse to take bank-notes in payment, and that they should all make a run upon the bank, by presenting all the notes they had in their possession for payment. The order was issued by the executive committee to all the subordinate branches of that union; and was obeyed by all the members with a degree of punctuality of which the history of the world furnishes no example, unless we refer to the marvellous accounts that are related of a set of assassins which once existed in Syria. The directors of the bank of Ireland became apprised of this, and they felt it their duty to be provided against the meditated mischief. They therefore limited their discount, and issued an adequate number of notes to meet the exigency, which no man who knew the cause would consider in any other light than as a measure founded in provident caution, sound judgement, and true policy. Soon after a law was passed to prevent payments in cash; but this was very evident, that the depreciation of notes was occasioned by the conspirators, and the insecure state of the country might have added to that cause. The quantity of notes then in circulation in Ireland was not greater than was absolutely necessary for the country. The great

great number of private banks was one cause of this increased circulation; for all the country banking houses were obliged to keep a quantity of national bank-notes by them, in order to answer the demands that might be made upon them. All these notes might be considered as being out of circulation, and they must have increased the quantity of those issued by the bank. Another material cause of the increase of bank-notes in Ireland was, the increase of its revenue and its debt. Another was, the vast number of persons from Ireland, spending the greater part of their fortunes in this country. This grievance unfortunately existed in a still greater degree since the union, and it might be considered in some degree as the price paid by Ireland for that great blessing. Let the political situation of affairs at the time, in respect to Ireland, also be taken into the account. A French fleet of force was riding at anchor for a considerable time in one of the bays in the western extremity of Ireland; and as the people of that island always looked up to England and its fleets and armies for protection, they were, on that occasion, disappointed; the British fleets being by adverse winds and storms locked up in their own harbours. This incident unavoidably produced consequences which pressed on the bank of Ireland; but they bore up against it, and firmly sustained the shock it occasioned.

The country banks of Ireland, to which the noble lord rightly anticipated his intention to ascribe the evils which he had deprecated, though this was by no means the principal cause, had issued a vast number of small notes, and, by means of the army agents, forwarded them to be circulated among the army. The administration of that period, with an attention to the interests of the country, eminently praise-worthy, had turned its thoughts to that subject. It was feared that these banks might be partly conducted by adventurers who might impose upon the people. In case of their failure, the loss would fall heavily upon the poorer classes, among whom the notes, on account of their smallness, chiefly circulated. A bill was therefore brought into parliament, which, after a severe struggle, passed into a law, by which these bankers were prohibited from circulating notes below the value of 5*l*. Their former notes were ordered to be returned, and they were obliged to pay the notes of their new circulation with notes of the bank of Ireland. A very considerable number of additional notes of the Irish bank were necessary to fill up the immense chasm that was thus made.

With regard to the different rates of exchange, his lordship assigned many and strong reasons to account for the variations and increase. He said, when he came to look to the account of the comparative amount of the debt of Ireland, he himself could scarcely credit what he saw. In 1797, the debt amounted to seven millions only; and in January 1808, the amount was forty millions. This increase however was easily to be accounted for, when the causes of it were examined; and those causes had contributed also to the increase of the rate of exchange. First, the rebellion, during its continuance, had put a check upon their

export trade; and it had a considerable effect upon their import trade; because while the rebellion continued, they knew not what to risk, whom to look up to with confidence, nor how they were to be assured of a return for what they continued to import. Their victualling exportation was stopped, and the export of corn, which they had been accustomed to carry on to the amount of 500,000*l.* a year, in consequence of the general dearth for two years, the sad effects of which were felt in Ireland as well as in England, was put an end to altogether; and the island was obliged to supply itself from other countries, and thus to send their gold out of the country to purchase it, which of course contributed to raise the price of the exchange. Another material cause of the rise of the rate of exchange was, that a great part of the debt of Ireland, which had increased to 40,000,000*l.*, was borrowed in England, and the interest of the sum borrowed in England amounted to above 900,000*l.*, which was obliged to be sent over in gold.

The noble earl adduced many other reasons to account for the increase of the rate of exchange; among which we shall notice the following one only—The linen manufacture, which had enriched the north, and was the favourite and greatest export of Ireland, had, whether from motives of avarice or cupidity he could not undertake to pronounce, been considerably raised in its price, which had produced an injurious effect, as the Americans, who had formerly been great importers of Irish linens, had left off purchasing them on account of their dearness, and had shut their market upon the Irish manufacturers, thinking it better worth their while, from its comparative cheapness, to supply themselves with linen of every sort from Germany and Russia.

With respect to the union, his lordship could declare, on the authority of a person of high authority, a right honourable friend of his (Isaac Corry, esq.), at the head of the finance of Ireland, that her debt was already reduced, and would in a few years, in all probability, be considerably diminished.

His lordship added and interspersed many other cogent arguments to prove that the bill ought to pass, as it was of great importance to the interests of the bank of Ireland, and consequently to the general interests of the British empire.

Lord Auckland remarked, that previous to the passing of the bill for the restriction on the bank of England from paying in specie, a committee had been appointed to ascertain the amount of its assets. He wished the same measure had been adopted with regard to the bank of Ireland. Again, there was one point in his noble friend's speech which he must take the liberty of setting him right in. His noble friend had admitted that the paper of the bank of Ireland had undergone a depreciation. This was not correctly the fact. The notes of the bank of Ireland, literally considered, had undergone no depreciation in Ireland. That paper had, indeed, undergone a depreciation in respect to payments made out of Ireland, which could only be made in gold.

His lordship finally pronounced the bill before the house a necessary and

and useful bill.—After a few more words from the lords Limerick and King, and the marquis of Sligo, the question being put, the bill was read a second time.

In the committee on the bill, on the 5th of May, the clause proposed by lord King, to authorise the creditors of the governors and company of the bank of Ireland to compel by legal process that corporation to pay them the amount of their demands in bank of England notes, was rejected.

Lord King then moved another clause, by way of proviso, to compel the directors of the bank of Ireland to publish a monthly return of the issue of their notes in the Dublin Gazette, which he considered as the most effectual check upon an inordinate issue and circulation of the notes of the Bank of Ireland; which motion was also rejected, and the bill gone through and reported without amendments. Next day, it was read a third time, and passed.

To comprise in one chapter this general view of financial affairs, we have thought it not improper to conclude by adding the two East-India budgets for the year.

On the 14th of March the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, on the state of finance, relative to the East-India company, both at home and abroad, when lord Castlereagh addressed the committee to the following effect:

The accounts to which he then wished to call their attention were those presented for the last year, as those for the present year had not been yet transmitted from India. It certainly would have been his wish to have combined the accounts for the two years in one point of view; but as his wish could not be gratified in that satisfactory way in which he should have felt it his duty to have submitted the subject to the committee, he should therefore confine himself to a statement of all the material facts that could be accurately brought forward. In the details which he was about to give for the information of parliament, gentlemen would perceive that they were all arranged under separate and distinct heads, so as to convey a knowledge of the company's affairs, both abroad and at home, which, resting on authentic grounds, could not excite the smallest doubt. The exact state of the different presidencies would be successively alluded to, and the house would, he was convinced, learn with pleasure the prosperous state of the company's revenue, which was not only adequate to every actual call and occasion, but held out the most flattering hope of the liquidation of the debt incurred by the company. It was his intention to follow the plan usually adopted upon the occasion, with respect to the order in which the revenue's charges, the general view of the results, and the provisions made for the debts of the different settlements, have been brought forward; and in observing that line of conduct, he should not detain the committee for any length of time. It had been customary to present the amount of the revenues and charges under three heads, for the three last years; and, after giving a distinct view of each, to form an average of the excess or diminution. This average resulted from the actual produce of each year, compared with the estimate for the preceding year. He did not intend to trou-

ble the committee with minute and specific statements of revenue and expenditure, but to mention, in their respective order, the total of the different sums.

The first presidency which called for notice was that of Bengal, and there the average of revenue from 1798–9, to April 1800–1, amounted to 6,436,807*l.*, which was more than the average last drawn by the sum of 289,776*l.* The estimate of the revenues for 1800–1 was less than the actual amount by 319,000*l.*, as the former was 6,339,000*l.*, and the latter gave a total of 6,658,000*l.* Thus it was evident that the actual produce under 1801 showed an increase much more considerable than was expected. With respect to the charges, he had to observe, that they exceeded in their actual amount, for the same period, the estimated sum by 358,000*l.*, the actual amount being 4,780,611*l.*; and the estimate being no more than 4,422,047*l.* The cause of this excess was easily accounted for. Gentlemen would find, by referring to the exertions made in the presidency for the expedition to Egypt, the most satisfactory grounds for this difference. The expenses incurred by the expedition necessarily occasioned the actual amount of the charges to exceed the estimate. And here he begged leave to remark that these exertions were not confined to Bengal alone, but that the settlements on the coast of Bombay also took part in them. In consequence of the expenditure thus incurred, the net revenue for 1800–1 was less by 39,433*l.* than the sum which had been estimated. But in 1801–2 the net revenue was 2,468,000*l.*, and in the product of the net revenue, estimated for the year 1801–2, he had the satisfaction to find in the whole result an improvement of no less than 590,000*l.* more than the preceding year. What he had remarked upon this subject, as connected with the presidency of Bengal, would be evident from the following abstract:

BENGAL.

Revenues.—No. 1. Average 1798–9 to 1800–1	-	£.6,436,807
More than average last drawn	-	289,776
No. 2. Estimated for 1800–1	-	6,339,203
Actual amount	- -	6,658,334
More than estimate	-	319,131
Charges.—No. 3. Estimated for 1800–1	-	4,422,047
Actual amount	- -	4,780,611
More than estimate	-	358,564
Deduct excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net revenue is less than estimated	-	39,433
And the net revenue for 1800–1 is	- -	1,877,723

ESTIMATES

ESTIMATES 1801–2.

Revenues.—No. 1.	£.7,051,164
Charges.—No. 2.	4,582,201
Net revenue	2,468,963
Revenues estimated more than in 1800–1	392,830
Charges do. less do.	198,410
Net revenue estimated for 1801–2 more than preceding year	591,240

MADRAS.

Revenues.—From the accession of revenue in the years 1799, 1800, and 1801, by the conquest of Mysore, and by the treaties with the nizam and the rajah of Tanjore, an average of the aggregate receipts would not be a fair ground of comparison. It was therefore proposed to take only the average collections of the post-office, the company's land revenues, customs, and farm licences.

By No. 4. The average of these revenues from 1798–9 to 1800–1, was	1,035,068
Which exceeded the average on the years 1797–8, to 1799–1800	82,734
No. 6. Estimated for 1800–1	3,277,073
Actual amount	3,540,268
More than estimate	263,195
Charges.—No. 6. Estimated for 1800–1	3,765,913
Actual amount	4,293,310
More than estimate	527,397
Deducting excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net charge was, more than estimated	264,202
And the net charge of the year 1800–1 was	753,042

ESTIMATES 1801–2.

Revenues.—No. 4.	3,899,040
Charges.—No. 5.	4,559,311
Net charge	660,271

Revenues

Revenues estimated more than actual 1800–1	£.358,772
Charges do. do.	266,009
Net charge for 1801–2, estimated less than the preceding year	92,772

BOMBAY.

Revenues.—The transfer of the Malabar province to Madras in July 1800, having greatly reduced the receipts at Bombay in the year 1800–1, an average on the gross collections of three years could not properly be drawn for a comparison. In this case it was also proposed to make an adjustment, and take the average, excluding the revenues of the ceded countries, which, according to No. 7, was, from 1798–9 to 1800–1 - 211,892

Which exceeded the average on the years 1797–8 to 1799–1800	24,767
No. 9. Estimated for 1800–1	300,475
Actual amount	206,457
Less than estimate	14,010
Charges.—No. 9. Estimated for 1800–1	1,030,993
Actual amount	1,329,176
More than estimate	298,183
Add deficiency of revenue to the excess of charge, the net charge was more than estimated	312,201
And the net charge of the year 1800–1 was	1,042,719

ESTIMATES 1801-2.

Revenues.—No. 7.	271,825
Charges.—No. 8.	1,185,308
Net charge	913,483
Revenues estimated less than 1800–1	14,632
Charges do. do.	143,868
Net charge estimated for 1801–2, less than preceding year	129,236

BENCOOLEN AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS.

No. 18.	(a) Revenues of Fort Marlbro', on average of three years, 1797–8 to 1799–1800 -		£.6,985
	Charges do. do. - -		106,197
	Net charge -		99,212
	Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlbro', Penang, &c. estimated for 1800–1 -		82,360
No. 18.	Actual amount - - -		156,325
	More than estimated - -		73,965
No. 11.	Supplies estimated for 1801–2 -		85,840

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Year 1800–1 *collectively.*

Revenues.—Bengal - -	6,658,334		
Madras - -	3,540,268		
Bombay - -	286,457		
Total revenues -		10,485,059	
Charges.—Bengal - -	4,780,611		
Madras - -	4,293,310		
Bombay - -	1,329,176		
Total charges -		10,403,097	
Net revenue of the three presidencies -		81,962	
Deducted from supplies to Bencoolen, as per No. 18 - - - - -		156,325	
The difference was -		74,363	
Which being added to the interest paid on the debts at Bengal, by No. 18	746,184		
Madras - 19	212,488		
Bombay - 20	135,289		
		1,093,961	
The deficit of revenue from the territories, &c. then was - - -		1,168,324	
Deduct the amount sales of imports by No. 15 -		493,667	
The remainder -		674,657	

was the amount of the deficit, after allowing for the produce of the sales of the imports.

Amount advanced for the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of China investment:

At

At Bengal	£.897,691	
Madras	453,960	
Bombay	400,485	
Total advances for investment		1,752,136
Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe in 1800–1, with charges by No. 22		1,399,033

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Estimates for 1801–2, *collectively.*

Revenues.—Bengal	7,051,164	
Madras	3,899,040	
Bombay	271,825	
Total revenues		11,222,029
Charges.—Bengal	4,582,201	
Madras	4,559,311	
Bombay	1,185,308	
Total charges		10,326,820
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies		895,209
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. per No. 11		85,840
The remainder		809,369
deducted from interest on debts, by No. 16		1,342,854
showed the net deficiency of the revenues from the territories, &c. to be		533,485
Which deducted from the estimated amount of sales of imports, by No. 15		564,527
The remainder was		31,042

and was the amount estimated to be applicable, in the year 1801–2, to the purchase of investment, payment of commercial charges, &c.

These statements he accompanied by some observations explanatory of the causes of the increase of the actual amount of the expenditure beyond the estimates which had been prepared. That a considerable excess beyond the estimates had taken place, was a circumstance which could excite no surprise, when all the circumstances of the case were considered. Extraordinary expenses had been necessarily incurred, which, at the time the estimates had been formed, there was no reason to anticipate. The expenses of the expedition to Egypt were in themselves very considerable,

able, and necessarily produced an increase of debt. With respect to the revenues of Madras, his lordship explained to the house that the accounts were formed, not on the whole result of the revenue of that presidency, but on the receipts obtained from the sources of revenue of a long standing. In the accounts, the revenues which might accrue from the Mysore, and the other acquisitions of territory which had been made in India, were not comprehended, because he thought their amount could not be accurately ascertained. With respect to this presidency, it was necessary for him to say that the greatest part of the charges for the expedition to Egypt were attached to Fort St. George; and that whatever might be the excess of the expenditure beyond the revenue, it had originated from causes which that expedition sufficiently explained.

His lordship next, in a most perspicuous manner, proceeded to state the amount of the investments made by the company, the debts bearing interest in India, the debts at home, and the means which existed for their discharge. These statements were blended with particular observations applicable to the different subjects. In the estimates formed of the future investments of the company, and the produce which might be expected from them, the same system of moderate calculation had been adopted which had been followed on former occasions. Prices during peace might experience some depression, but no credit had been taken beyond what might be anticipated with a degree of confidence approaching to certainty. On the future prospects which the company might be permitted to indulge, his lordship expatiated with great force. The best mode of putting this subject in a clear point of view, was to state what were the incumbrances of the company, what the means they possessed of getting rid of those incumbrances, and what would be the result of those means employed in ridding them from debts, the pressure of which was so severely felt. To present a comprehensive view of the subject, it was necessary to consider what would be the respective operation of the continuance of peace, or the renewal of war. In stating the amount of the capital of the India debt, it was necessary for him to apprise the committee that the accounts were not prepared by the proper officer abroad; but were founded on the best calculation which could be formed by the company's confidential servants at home. Here the following statements were introduced.

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year - -	£14,640,402
Amount this year, by No. 16 - -	17,674,532
Increase -	3,034,130
Debts transferred in the year, No. 17 - -	81,888

DEBTS

DEBTS BEARING INTEREST.

Amount last year	£.12,901,570
Amount this year, by No. 16	15,135,354
Increase of debts bearing interest	2,833,784
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of last year	1,082,042
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of this year, No. 16	1,342,853
Increase of interest payable annually	260,811

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year	11,569,553
Ditto, ditto, by present statements, No. 21	12,113,922
Increase of assets	544,369
Deduct increase of assets from increase of debts, the state of the company's affairs in India would appear worse by	2,489,761

HOME ACCOUNTS.

No. 25. Aggregate amount of sales 1801–2, less than last year	1,167,465	
On company's goods alone	971,554	
Private goods	77,367	
Neutral property	118,544	
	1,167,465	
Sales on company's goods estimated at		7,119,409
No. 25, actually amounted to		6,630,487
Being less than estimated		488,918
The receipts on the sales of the company's goods estimated at		7,161,918
No. 23, actually amounted to		6,336,192
Being less than estimated		825,726
Charges and profits on private trade estimated at		100,000
actually amounted to		193,563
Being more than estimated		93,563

General result.—The balance estimated to be remaining in favour, on the 1st of March 1802, amounting to 486,731
would, by the actual accounts, have been considerably against the company, from the disappointments in the receipt on the sale of goods, and from deferring the disposal

disposal of the loyalty loan; but from some additional receipts on profit, on private trade, and from government, for stores, &c. with postponement of the payment of the debt to the bank, amounting to 890,000*l.*, the balance on the 1st of March, 1802, although the supplies to India and China exceeded the estimate upwards of 200,000*l.*, still remained in favour to the amount of - - - £.168,759

Being less than estimated - 317,972

ESTIMATE, 1802-3.

No. 23.—Receipt for sale of company's goods - 6,500,600

General result.—From the small balance at the commencement of the year, and the extensive supplies required by India and China, also the expectation of liquidating the debt to the bank, the balance against the company on the 1st of March, 1803, was estimated to amount to - - - - 1,484,556

DEBTS AT HOME.

On 1st of March 1801	- - -	5,393,989
On 1st of March 1802	- - -	4,822,683
	Decrease -	571,306

ASSETS AT HOME.

On 1st of March 1801	- - -	15,404,736
On 1st of March 1802	- - -	16,802,760
	Increase -	1,398,024

Adding decrease of debts to increase of assets, the improvement of the home concern in this year was 1,969,330

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

	Balance at China last year in favour	1,226,079	
No. 24.	Balance at China by the present accounts - -	1,019,551	
	Decrease -		206,528
	Balance at St. Helena on 30th Sept. 1799, in favour - -	58,366	
No. 24.	Balance at St. Helena, on 30th Sept. 1800, in favour - -	77,852	
	Increase -		19,486
	Net decrease at China and St. Helena -		187,042

GENERAL

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India		£.3,034,130
Decrease of debts at home		571,306
Net increase of debts		2,462,824
Increase of assets in India	544,369	
Increase of assets at home	1,398,024	
	1,942,393	
Deduct. Net decrease of balance in favour, at China and St. Helena	187,042	
Net increase of assets		1,755,351
Deducted from the increase of debts, would show the state of the whole concern to be worse than at the conclusion of last year, in the sum of		707,473

Which sum was subject to alteration on the final adjustment of the claims of the company on government, included in the home assets, to the amount of 3,573,339*l.*; making an increase in this year, under this head, of 900,899*l.*

In these statements the committee would see that in the situation of the company the pressure of the debt was the circumstance which called forth the most serious reflexions. Heavy, however, as the pressure of the debt was, it was matter of agreeable consideration to the committee to know that, if since 1793 the debt had increased, the assets of the company had increased in a similar proportion. While their expenditure had accumulated, their receipts had advanced in a degree equivalent to the increase of the demands on their general stock. In speaking of the existing India debt, the most striking consideration was the severe pressure of the high rate of interest; and therefore in any plan for the extinction of the debt, the first point to be attended to was to take measures for transferring the debt of India into the debt of Europe. He had to state to the committee, that on an average the rate of interest was not less than 9 per cent.; and therefore the policy of such a system as he had now alluded to must clearly appear to the committee.

His lordship described, with great minuteness, the whole of the plan formed on this principle for the extinction of the debt. Abstracted from the calculations, his arguments would be unintelligible to the general reader, and therefore we think it unnecessary to go beyond his general statements.

PROSPECTIVE VIEW.

Indian debt	£.18,500,000
Of which bore interest	16,000,000
Annual interest	1,438,791

Revenues

Revenues and charges according to the latest advices.		
Bengal revenue		£. 7,218,800
Madras		4,486,400
Bombay		270,980
Total revenue		11,976,180
Bengal charges		4,155,667
Madras		4,250,300
Bombay		840,402
Total charges		9,246,369
Net revenue		2,729,811
Deduct—Commercial charges	155,038	
Supplies to Bencoolen, &c.	82,400	
		237,438
		2,492,373
Deduct interest on debt		1,438,791
Net surplus		1,053,582

Exclusive of 80,000*l.* included in the charge for interest now payable to commissioners on debt brought up.

HOME SURPLUS.

Four years average, to March 1802,	366,874
Add net surplus abroad	1,053,582
	1,420,456
Say net proceeds	1,500,000

The proportional profits on an investment of four millions will be more.

Distribution of net proceeds.

Public participation	500,000
Reduction of debt	1,000,000

Proposed sinking fund

To be applied in each year	2,000,000
Till the capital in India bearing interest was reduced to	4,000,000
Amount to be reduced	12,000,000

Time required, six years.

Annual sinking fund to be constituted as follows:

From net proceeds, as above	1,000,000
From savings of interest and loans in Europe	1,000,000
Total	2,000,000

The sinking fund would operate as underneath, suppos-

ing the rate of interest to be gradually reduced, till it should stand at six per cent.

India debt would be reduced, April 1809, to	£. 4,000,000
Interest	240,000
The twelve millions paid off would have been supplied as follows:	
Surplus from net proceeds for six years	6,000,000
Savings of interest on the same period	2,713,000
To be furnished from Europe	3,287,000
	12,000,000

Of the sum to be furnished from Europe, not more than 200,000*l.* need to be raised by loan; the repayments from government for the Egyptian expedition, &c. would cover the remainder: and this sum subject to be reduced by any improvement of net proceeds which may happen either in the revenues or commercial profits.

State of affairs at the end of six years.

Indian surplus (April 1809)	2,250,000
Home surplus	250,000
	2,500,000
Deduct public participation	500,000
	2,100,000
Supposing two millions raised in aid of sinking fund, by adding to capital, deduct interest at 5 per cent.	100,000
	7,100,000
Net proceeds subject to ulterior appropriations—viz.	
1-6th to proprietors, to increase dividends	350,000
5-6ths to be invested in the funds, to counter-secure capital	1,750,000
	2,100,000

The operations of the above appropriations, until the year 1813-14, when the charter would expire, unless sooner renewed, would be to increase the company's dividends annually by one half, viz. 350,000*l.* and to accumulate at 4 per cent. compound interest, during the five years, a guarantee fund of 9,485,000*l.* In the event of war, the Indian surplus must be necessarily reduced. The reductions of charge since the peace amounted, per estimate, to 783,000*l.* per annum. Allowing for a war establishment equal in extent to that at the close of the late war, there would still remain, net proceeds, 787,000*l.* But to make the most ample allowance, take the war charges at a million, there would still remain, net proceeds, 500,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of debt. In this case, the participation of the

the public would necessarily be suspended during war, and would revive upon the reductions resulting from peace. With such a disposeable surplus, provided the transfer of funds from Europe to India should meet with no interruption in time of war, the contracting of fresh loans might not only be avoided, but a system of liquidation, upon principles similar to those above stated, be pursued, even during war, though necessarily upon a reduced scale.

For executing the above measure, and for the extension of trade, the company possessed the following available resources:

Might add to their capital two millions at 220 per cent.	£. 4,400,000
More bonds might be issued, with consent of the treasury -	1,000,000
	5,400,000
Suppose, as above, raised for sinking fund -	2,000,000
Remained for extension of trade -	3,400,000

To the preceding calculations it might, perhaps, be objected, that the value of the assets of the company would, in consequence of the peace, experience a considerable depression. This, to a certain degree, he did not mean to deny; but making every suitable allowance for this depression, he had no difficulty in saying that the statements which he had now made would be fully realised.—His lordship concluded—the extent of our empire and our revenue had been almost doubled. In the present state of this country and of Europe, it was impossible to calculate on a very long continuance of peace; but if, unfortunately for this country, for Europe, and the world, we should again be forced to renew the war, it was a great satisfaction to reflect that no part of our dominions was in a state of greater security than India. We had a numerous and well-appointed army, which was adequate, not merely to guard against attacks from any of the neighbouring powers, but to afford complete security against the force of any European power. The influence of the company was so steadily fixed as not to be exposed to any rivalship.

After expatiating with considerable force on this point, his lordship concluded by moving the first resolution. After some little debate, the whole of the resolutions were read and agreed to.

To conclude this subject at one view, we shall add, that, on the 29th of July, lord Castlereagh (after the house had resolved into a committee on the East-India affairs) again opened at considerable length the general statement of the East-India company's affairs, in the year beginning from March 1801, and ending in the same month 1802; he also presented an estimated statement for the year of 1802-3. In the budget which he had presented at the beginning of the session, he had given a detailed statement of the affairs of the company in 1800-1, and only an estimated statement of 1801-2. He now, having received the accounts, was able to present the actual statement of last year, and an estimated statement of the current year. He was happy to inform the committee, that the actual revenue for the last year considerably exceeded the estimated revenue, and that the revenues of every presidency were in a state of improvement. He was conscious that he was going to call the atten-

tion of the committee to a detail of accounts which were not so materially interesting as a budget which more immediately affected the country; but when it was recollected that he was going to speak of an empire possessing an annual revenue of thirteen millions, and which was so intimately connected with the prosperity and commerce of this country, to which it contributed so largely, he trusted he should be heard with attention. His lordship then gave a very detailed statement of the situation of the East-India company, both as to its revenues and its charges. The revenues he divided into the foreign revenue and the home revenue. It will be found stated with accuracy, clearness, and precision, in the following schedule:

BENGAL.

		£.
Revenues.—Average 1799, 1800, to 1801-2	-	6,761,598
More than the average last drawn	-	324,791
Estimated for 1801-2	- -	7,051,164
Actual amount	- -	7,127,988
More than estimate	- -	76,824
Charges.—Estimated for 1801-2	- -	4,582,201
Actual amount	- -	4,705,583
More than estimate	- -	123,382
Deduct excess of revenue from excess of charge, the net revenue was less than estimated	-	46,558
And the net revenue for 1801-2, was	-	2,422,406

ESTIMATES 1802-3.

Revenues - - -	7,612,384
Charges - - - -	4,535,065
Net revenue -	3,077,319
Revenues estimated more than actual in 1801-2 -	484,395
Charges ditto less than do. - -	170,517
Net revenue estimated for 1802-3, more than preceding year	654,918

MADRAS.

Revenues —An average of aggregate receipts would not be a correct ground of comparison, on account of the additional revenues acquired by conquest and by treaty since the year 1799. On the same principle as adopted last year, viz. by taking the average collections from the post-office, the old land revenues, the customs, and

and the farms and licences, the average of those revenues, from 1799, 1800, to 1801–2, was	£.1,136,597
Which exceeded the average from 1798-9 to 1800-1	101,528
Estimated for 1801-2	3,899,040
Actual amount	4,729,610
More than estimate	830,570
Charges.—Estimated for 1801-2	4,559,311
Actual amount	4,963,742
More than estimate	404,431
Deducting excess of charge from excess of revenue, the net charge was less than estimated	426,139
And the net charge of the year 1801-2 was	234,132

ESTIMATES 1802-3.

Revenues	4,670,369
Charges	4,555,676
Net revenue	114,693
Revenues estimated less than actual in 1801–2	59,241
Charges do. less than do.	408,066
The prospect estimated for 1802–3 better than preceding year by	348,825

BOMBAY.

Revenues.—Excluding the revenues of the ceded provinces transferred to Madras in July 1800, the average revenues from 1799, 1800, to 1801–2	251,456
Which exceeded the average drawn on the same principle from 1798-9 to 1800-1	39,564
Estimated for 1801-2	271,825
Actual amount	305,992
More than estimate	34,167
Charges.—Estimated for 1801–2	1,185,308
Actual amount	1,187,288
More than estimate	1,980

Deducting excess of charge from excess of revenue, the net charge was less than estimated -	£. 32,187
And the net charge of the year 1801–2 was	881,296

ESTIMATES 1802–3.

Revenues - - -	410,280
Charges - - -	907,406
Net charge -	497,126
Revenues estimated more than actual in 1801–2 -	104,288
Charges do. less than do. - -	279,882
Net charge estimated for 1802–3, less than preceding year	384,170

BENCOOLEN AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS.

Revenues of Fort Marlbro', on average of three years, 1798–9 to 1800–1 - - -	8,806
Charges ditto, ditto - - -	102,030
Net charge -	93,224
Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlbro', Penang, &c. estimated for 1801-2 - - -	85,840
Actual amount - - -	241,220
More than estimated	155,380
Supplies estimated for 1802-3 - -	116,000

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Year 1801-2, *collectively.*

Revenues.—Bengal - -	7,127,988	
Madras - -	4,729,610	
Bombay - -	305,992	
Total revenues		12,163,590
Charges.—Bengal - -	4,705,583	
Madras - -	4,963,742	
Bombay - -	1,187,288	
Total charges		10,856,613
Net revenue of the three presidencies - -		1,306,977
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c. - -		241,220
Remaining net revenue - - -		1,065,757
Deducted from the interest, &c. paid on the debts,		
At Bengal - -	971,556	
Madras - -	267,178	
Bombay - -	210,066	
		1,449,500

Showed

Showed the deficit from the territorial revenues to be		£. 383,743
Deducted from the amount sales of imports, &c. by		418,717
The remainder		34,974

was the sum left, applicable to the purposes of commerce.

Amount advanced for the purchase of investment, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of China investment,

At Bengal	739,651	
Madras	281,329	
Bombay	246,021	
Marlbro'	21,092	
Total advances for investments		1,288,093
Cargoes invoiced from India to Europe in 1801-2, with charges by		2,362,443

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Estimates for the Year 1802-3, *collectively.*

Revenues.—Bengal	7,612,384	
Madras	4,670,369	
Bombay	410,280	
Total revenues		12,693,033
Charges.—Bengal	4,535,065	
Madras	4,555,676	
Bombay	907,406	
Total charges		9,998,147
Net estimated revenue of the three presidencies		2,694,886
Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c.		116,000
Remainder		2,578,886
Deduct further interest on the debts by		1,481,070
The sum then remaining was		1,097,816
Add estimated amount of sales of imports by		409,500
The total		1,507,316

was the amount estimated to be applicable in the year 1802-3, to the purposes of commerce.

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	17,674,532
Amount this year	19,965,739
Increase	2,291,207
Debts transferred in the year	143,179

Debts bearing Interest.

Amount last year		£. 15,135,354
Amount this year		16,994,833
Increase of debts bearing interest		1,859,479
Amount of interest payable by the accounts of last year		1,342,853
Ditto, of this year		1,481,070
Increase of interest payable annually		138,217

ASSETS IN INDIA,

Consisting of cash, goods, stores, &c. last year		12,113,923
Ditto, ditto, by present statements		13,372,741
Increase of assets		1,258,818
Deduct increase of assets from increase of debts, the state of the company's affairs in India appeared worse in this view by		1,032,389

HOME ACCOUNTS.

Aggregate amount of sales 1802-3			9,628,131
More than last year		472,144	
The sales of company's goods were to a less amount	582,459		
Also neutral property by	153,036		
	735,495		
Private goods were more by	1,207,639		
Difference as above	472,144		
The sales of the company's goods were estimated at			5,880,600
The actual amount was			6,048,028
Being more than estimated by			167,428
The receipts of the sales of the company's goods estimated at			6,500,600
Actually amounted to			6,972,417
Being more than estimated			471,817
Charges and profit on private trade, estimated at			130,000
Actually amounted to			172,474
Exceeding the estimate in			42,474
General result.—The balance of cash estimated to be against the company on the first of March 1803			1,434,556

Actually

Actually proved to be in their favour - - -		£. 1,009,822
Being better than estimated - -		2,444,378

Which may be attributed to the additional receipts on the sales of goods, on private trade, and on the issue of bonds, combined with the payments below the estimate on account of India and China, and on several other accounts; also, the protraction of the liquidation of 700,000*l.* of the debt to the bank.

ESTIMATE 1803–4.

Receipt for sale of company's goods - -		6,085,500
General result.—Although the balance of cash on the 1st of March, 1803, was large, and although the smaller receipt on the sale of the goods was more than made up by an expected payment from government, the great disbursement required for India and China, for purchase of investments and liquidation of debt, and the payment of the loan from the bank, were likely so to operate, that the balance of cash in favour of the company, on the 1st of March 1804, was estimated to amount to the sum only of -		89,393

DEBTS AT HOME.

On the 1st of March 1802 - -		4,822,683
On the 1st of March 1803 - -		4,773,886
Decrease		48,797

ASSETS AT HOME.

On the 1st of March 1802 - -		16,802,760
Ditto 1803 - -		17,440,593
Increase		637,833
Adding the decrease of debts to the increase of assets, the improvement of the home concern in the year was -		686,630

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance at China last year in favour -	1,019,551	
Balance at China by the present accounts	91,434	
Decrease at China -	928,117	
Balance at St. Helena on the 30th Sept. 1800, in favour - - -	77,852	
Balance at ditto on the 30th Sept. 1801, in favour - - -	78,848	
	996	
Net decrease at China and St. Helena - -		927,121

GENERAL

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debts in India		2,291,207
Decrease of debts at home		48,797
Net increase of debts		2,242,410
Increase of assets in India	1,258,818	
Increase of assets at home	637,833	
	1,896,651	
Deduct net decrease of balance in favour at China and St. Helena	927,121	
Net increase of assets		969,530
Deducted from the net increase of debts, showed the state of the whole concern in a worse point of view than at the conclusion of the last year, in the sum of		1,272,880

Having gone through all the statements with equal perspicuity and patience, he observed that nothing could be more gratifying than the view thus exhibited of the actual prosperity and future prospects of our East-India settlements, which were now infinitely superior to what they had ever been before, or to what belonged to any other country on the face of the globe. Whether we looked to its revenue, its commerce, the value of lands, its population, or its peaceful government, it must present an object of envy to every other nation in the world. The noble marquis at the head of that government had an opportunity of carrying into effect the system of judicature adopted by the marquis Cornwallis; and from the reports of the different governors, given in as a statistical view of the whole country, a plan was now effected which had been much improved by the exertions of sir George Barlowe. The judicature of the courts was now equal to that of the other settlements, and the same system was extended to most of the jaghires and circars. Means were taken to ascertain the value of the other more remote English possessions, and the same system pervaded them all, which had their courts and judges in the same regularity as those of Bengal. The Polygars were a very warlike and interesting people: they lived under a kind of feudal system, which rendered them at the same time both martial and idle. This was increased by their treaty to keep 23,000 men for the service of the company; but this of late had been very advantageously remitted for the sum of 71,000*l.* per annum in money.—The most material part was the situation of the Carnatic, which had undergone a considerable change; but as this was not a time to enter into the merits of the treaty which annexed a part of the nabob's possessions to ours, he would confine himself to that part of the subject which bore more immediately upon the question, in the financial operations of the measure. By the arrangement made, the net revenue derived by the company this year, after the payment for the collection and other

ther expenses, was 1,094,000*l.*, of which however one-fifth was paid to the nabob; which, with the payments to his creditors, would amount to 628,000*l.*, leaving to the company a clear profit of 228,000*l.* By this the nabob possessed much more than he could realise by his own imperfect system of revenue; for of the immense sums wrenched from the inhabitants by continued and successive extortions, descending from the prince to the meanest soldier, only a very small sum came into the public coffers. By the late treaty, the nabob, instead of paying a subsidy to the company, for undertaking his defence and that of his territories, which relieved him from keeping a standing army that was a terror to his subjects and himself, ceded a part of his territory as an indemnification to the company. This cession consisted of about half his territory, the revenues of which, by the meritorious exertions of Mr. Wellesley, had been improved from 1,500,000*l.* to 2,770,000*l.* The nabob at the same time was the richest sovereign in India, having a clear revenue of upwards of a million sterling solely applicable to his own use, and to the comforts of his family.

Speaking of the Mahratta empire, he said it must always be of the greatest importance to us, as its superficial extent was equal to that of the possessions of the company. It had lately undergone a very great revolution, as Halkar had defeated the army of the paishwa, who was himself obliged to fly from his capital, and take refuge under the protection of the company, near Bombay, where he still remained. The connexion between him and the company made it expedient to afford him the protection he sought for; and on that communication being made to Halkar, he appeared satisfied to submit the dispute to the English government. As this, however, could not be entirely relied upon, he had further to mention, that an army, to support the interference of the company, was assembled and prepared upon the coast; but would not, in all probability, be driven to any military operations; and at all events would be attended with little expense, and would not affect the general results of the peace establishment.

He then concluded, by moving resolutions in conformity with his statement, which were agreed to.

CHAP. IV.

Militia Training Bill.—Militia Officers' Bill.—Irish Militia Bounty Bill.—Debates on the Increase of the Prince of Wales's Establishment.

THE only other questions of importance which were agitated in parliament previous to the great event which we shall have presently to record, and which will be the subject of the succeeding chapter, were some improvements which were adopted in the militia

militia system, both in this country and in Ireland, and a proposal for enlarging the civil-list establishment of his royal highness the prince of Wales.

On the 11th of February the secretary at war rose, in pursuance of a notice, to make a motion for leave to bring in a bill to alter the time for training the militia from twenty-one days to twenty-eight days in each year. He thought it necessary, upon this occasion, to state the reason why he proposed this alteration. When the militia was first formed into a regular system, in the early part of the reign of Charles the Second, it was enacted that the militia should be exercised four times a year in companies, and once in battalions; that is to say, two days each time they were exercised in companies, and four days when they were exercised in battalions. As the art of war was not then brought to the degree of perfection to which it has since attained, this was thought sufficient time to train the men. The militia was at that time about 60,000 men. That system was continued from that time till the latter end of the reign of his late majesty, when a plan was introduced by a noble lord (the marquis of Townshend), which was the foundation of the present mode of managing the militia. By the act which was then passed, the militia were ordered to be assembled twice in each year, to be exercised for fourteen days each time, or once for twenty-eight days. This system was found perfectly well calculated to answer the purpose for which it was intended; and during the American war the militia were found ready and fit for service. After the conclusion of the American war, when the country was exhausted by so long and expensive a contest, for two or three years the militia were suffered to remain without any new arrangement, and in a kind of state of uncertainty—they were not even called out to exercise. It was then thought necessary to re-consider the subject, and to make some alteration; but as economy was then an object peculiarly to be desired, the following alteration was then proposed: the whole of the militia, amounting to 31,000 men, were not to be called out every year, but only two-thirds of them, the other third receiving neither pay nor clothing. In this situation the subject remained till the breaking out of the late war, when other alterations took place. On the restoration of peace, ministers thought it right to put it on a good footing, and to unite the laws into one system, in order that they might be more clear and distinct. The militia was then augmented to 40,000 men; and it was ordered that they should be exercised once in the course of each year. But as this bill incurred a considerable expense beyond that which was incurred before, it was thought, if they were exercised for twenty-one days each year, it would be sufficient; and that a considerable saving would be effected by such a reduction of the time. It had, however, been thought since, by persons the best enabled to form a judgement on the subject, that, in points of this kind, economy ought not solely to be looked to, and that it would be necessary to exercise the militia for twenty-eight days. He should therefore propose to bring in a bill to make an alteration to that effect; and he was happy to state, that it would not be attended with any consider-

rable

rable expense, in consequence of the economical arrangements which had been introduced. The expense under the present plan was about 200,000*l.* a year. The additional expense which would be incurred by the adoption of the alteration he then proposed, would not exceed 18,000*l.* a year.

He concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to increase the period for which the militia were to be called out to exercise, from twenty-one to twenty-eight days each year.—Leave was given.

Upon the third reading of the bill, on the 25th of February, general Tarleton rose, not, he said, to oppose the bill in that stage, nor to object to the training of the militia for twenty-eight days instead of twenty-one, as had been usual; but to express his sentiments upon that which he conceived would be the probable operation of the bill. It was by no means his idea to undervalue the services of the militia; but he begged to put it to the consideration of the secretary at war, and of his majesty's other ministers, whether, circumstanced as this country now stood, in the presence of a rival power, with 500,000 troops, the best disciplined, armed, and appointed, in all respects, of all Europe, and possessed of every port on the shores opposite our coast, from whence we should have most cause to apprehend danger in case of renovated hostilities—whether such a force as 40,000 militia, with the expectation of 20,000 more to be raised occasionally, and only drawn out for discipline one month in a year, was the kind of force on which we could rely. There was also another consideration, highly worthy notice; it was, that the recruiting service for the line was most materially injured by the expectation of a militia ballot, as many of those men who would otherwise readily enlist in the line had kept back for the purpose of offering themselves as substitutes; the consequences of which were, the best months in the year for recruiting service had passed over, as he learned from many officers of experience, with very bad success.

The hon. gentleman concluded by saying, that, if his majesty's ministers did not think proper to adopt some measure on this subject, he should feel it his duty, on a future day, to bring forward a question upon it.

The secretary at war considered the arguments of the honourable general as irrelevant and ill-timed. With respect to any of those impediments which the honourable general apprehended to the recruiting service, from the ballots yet to take place, he could inform him those for Scotland and England would be completed very shortly; and in less than a month the whole, amounting to 50,000 men, would be ready to take the field, fully clothed, armed, and accoutred. With respect to the foreign forces to which the honourable member alluded, his statement as to the number rather exceeded the fact. He would allow their number, however, to be about 400,000. The honourable member too had talked highly of their discipline, arms, and appointments; but he would venture to assert, that, if ever our troops should meet them front to front, they would show no inferiority in their discipline, arms, appointment, and bravery, to any troops in the world.

General

General Tarleton said a few words in reply, and observed, that the situation of this country, in any contemplation of conflict with an enemy whose population was sixty millions, and which must be allowed to be a warlike people, must certainly excite serious apprehension.

The bill was then read a third time, passed, and ordered to the lords.—Adjourned.

It was likewise discussed in the house of peers, and passed on the 4th of March.

On the 22d of March the secretary at war moved the order of the day, for going into a committee on a bill for more effectually providing officers for the militia service, and the house resolved accordingly.

The secretary at war proposed some amendments, which, he said, rather went to supply the defects of technical phraseology, than to create any alteration in the bill as it now stood.

Mr. Bastard, colonel Mitford, and several other members, objected to that clause of the bill in particular which enabled the lords-lieutenants of counties to recommend half-pay officers, not duly qualified in point of property, to commissions in the militia, so high as the rank of captain; and their arguments were pretty much the same with those of lord Folkstone on a former night, upon this subject; namely, that such appointments were subversive of the original constitution of the militia, and would deter gentlemen of rank and property from entering the militia service, the commands in which were originally intended, by the fundamental and constitutional principle of the militia, to be given to them exclusively.

Mr. Fuller rose with much warmth, and said, by the acts of the last parliament the militia service was insulted. He was sure that there were enough of gentlemen of spirit and property in the country who would cheerfully come forward to officer the militia, provided they were not to have obtruded upon them persons with whom it was unfit for them to associate.

The chancellor of the exchequer denied that any act of the last session could be fairly construed as insulting or disrespectful to the militia service. It was a corps of whose value and advantages his majesty's government was highly sensible; and though some steps were adopted in respect to the militia which were in a great degree contrary to the original institution of that corps, they were resorted to from imperious necessity, and not from choice. He was as sensible as any gentleman of the importance of officering the militia entirely with the young gentlemen of property in the country, if it were practicable; but he begged leave to observe, that although when the militia was originally instituted it was extremely popular with the gentry, and commands therein embraced with the greatest avidity, yet the institution of late years seemed to have lost its novelty, a very principal inducement; so that, from the circumstances which took place during the last war, government were obliged to resort to the measures taken, or they could never have been able to officer the militia. It was extremely desirable, certainly, to give preference to gentlemen of property; but if they would not come forward, was the militia to remain

remain without officers, while other gentlemen were to be found who would accept commissions and do the duty?

Lord Folkstone repeated his former opposition to the bill; complained of the mal-treatment of the militia officers, in having their men drafted from them by stealth, and their regiments sent to Ireland, contrary to the express principle of the militia, which engaged them not to leave the country; and harshly reprobated the bill, which went to repeat the insults of former treatment.

General Tarleton thought that the language of the noble lord and his friends, on this occasion, would grate rather harshly on the ears of the half-pay officers who had served their country with honour, to be told that giving them commissions in the militia service was forcing them into company for which they were unfit. He had always understood that officers who had seen seven years of service were men whose manners and conversation were sufficiently polished, and whose rank and profession fitted them for any company. He was sure the noble lord would find them pleasant companions at table, and pleasant neighbours in the field.

The bill was gone through, and ordered to be reported the next day. It was reported accordingly, when

Mr. Windham said, it was not his intention to oppose the bill, although it was, in his mind, highly objectionable; but he would consent to it, because of two evils it was the lesser. It certainly would be a greater evil that the militia should be without any officers at all, than have the unqualified persons recommended in the bill. The word *militia* was now a mere term, which had in it nothing of its original signification. The officers were to be without qualification in point of property, the men were to be raised without ballot. The idea of excluding from it all property, and putting military experience in its stead, took away from it every thing like a constitutional force. This only served to confirm the opinion he gave on a former evening, that it would be better to have an effective standing army at once, than a force which could not be considered as a constitutional militia, and which wanted the benefit of experience; but, instead of that, the country was now *over-militiaed*. While he protested against the principle of bringing the militia to a similarity with the army, he should be glad if in some respects the army could be brought to a similarity with the militia. The grand objection to the present constitution of the army was, that it could not be raised with the same facility as the militia, which even robbed the army of men. The plan he would recommend in respect of the army was, that men should be enlisted for a term of years, which was done in every other country but this; and that the practice of drafting should be wholly abolished. Every military man he ever conversed with agreed with him in this. The very regulations in the present bill, for suffering unqualified persons to come into the militia, in case others did not offer, would make the evil still greater, and more officers from the army would be still wanted. Thus would the army be robbed of its officers, as well as its men.

The secretary at war replied that this was not the time for considering the question whether there

ought

ought to be a militia, or no militia at all; or for proposing changes in the mode of recruiting the army: the only question at this time was, how were we to make the best of the force we had? He admitted that in all the armies on the continent the men were enlisted for a term of years; but there was a material difference between those countries and Great Britain: there the troops hardly ever went beyond the frontiers of the state they belonged to; but a great part of the British army was sent on colonial service; so that great inconvenience would arise if the men were enlisted only for a term of years: as to drafting, it was totally abolished. The honourable gentleman had argued as if the present bill laid aside every qualification. It did no such thing. It only gave the lord lieutenant a power, in case of his not being able to procure qualified officers, to fill up the places with officers from the army, &c. In order to do away every kind of jealousy on this subject, he should move a clause, by which the lords-lieutenants should not have power to appoint unqualified persons to any rank higher than that of captain.

This clause was adopted; but it was not to extend to Scotland.

On the 3d reading of the bill, on the 28th of March, Mr. Kinnaird suggested that the omission of Scotland, in the clause which related to field-officers, might with propriety be avoided—several respectable gentlemen from Scotland having expressed a wish to that effect.

The secretary at war agreed, and the bill was amended accordingly, and passed.

This bill was discussed at considerable length, and underwent much opposition, in the lords, on the ground of admitting unqualified persons to make up the complement of officers; but it was at length passed on the 6th of April.

On the 25th of November Mr. Corry moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more speedy and effectual enrolling of the militia of Ireland.

In a committee upon the bill, on the 1st of December, Mr. Corry rose, and observed, that the situation of Ireland had been such, under the subsisting laws respecting the militia, that it was deemed necessary to alter them at different times, in order to conform to the pressure of existing circumstances. But now it was judged expedient, for the more easy enrolment of them, to authorise the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to make advances, out of the treasury of Ireland, of such a sum as might be necessary for the above purpose; that sum to be raised by an assessment on the different counties, and to be rated by the grand juries of each county respectively. It was his intention that the bill he meant to bring in, pursuant to the above intention, should be printed, and that full notice, and every facility should be afforded for its complete and satisfactory discussion. He wished the bill to be in force only six months.

The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving—That the lords-commissioners of his majesty's exchequer of Ireland be empowered to issue the sum of 40,000*l*. towards the enrolment of the militia of Ireland, to be at the disposal of the lord-lieutenant, and to be reimbursed by the assessments made by the grand juries in the different counties of that country.

The

The motion was agreed to, and the report of the committee ordered to be received the next day. It was received accordingly, and the several resolutions agreed to.

On the 16th of March the measure was again brought forward, when

Mr. Windham rose and opposed it. At this moment of imminent danger, he said, we wanted an effective force, that was disposeable, well-disciplined, and capable of acting offensively as well as defensively. He looked upon the militia as an army without experience of actual service; and he said that it was, and must be, in a very great degree defective in discipline and subordination to its officers. In an army we expected to find a perfect knowledge of the art of war, in order to make it effectual; but he never had heard it asserted that there could be any idea that the discipline of the militia could be equal to that of the regular troops of the line. At a time so truly eventful, and so pregnant with danger, as the present, it was peculiarly incumbent upon the government of this country to have a large force ready at command; and that force, he insisted, should be of such a nature that it might be called out to act at a moment's notice, offensively as well as defensively: that, by the constitutional formation of it, the militia could not be made to act offensively against an enemy, by being sent out of the country. If, therefore, we had a large disposeable force, in case of the enemy's attacking us it would be impossible for him to tell whether it might not be used offensively as well as defensively; but if a very great part of it was militia, and therefore only defensive in its nature, he knew what he had to contend with here, and that none could be sent to annoy him in his own possessions. After several interruptions on the ground of irrelevancy, Mr. Windham proceeded, and insisted that we should have an effective force capable of acting with promptitude and vigour both on the offensive and defensive. It was not right to consider it as a question only of economy, whether the militia were to be called out on an emergency at less expense than an equal number of regular forces. It should, on the contrary, be considered as a mere military engine; and, as such, he thought it much less effectual than the other. The house ought to consider the difference of value weighed against that of price; and in so doing, he would rather give six guineas for a regular soldier, than two guineas for a militia-man. Besides, this mode of giving bounties to militia-men cut up the recruiting of the regular army root and branch. Similar divisions, he said, might happen in France as had heretofore taken place there; and, in such an event, a strong effective force, ready to act promptly and offensively, would be actually necessary, and would be the surest means of giving peace and permanent security to this country. He wished, that, instead of militia, regular regiments should be raised in Ireland, as he was certain these would be the safest means of defence.

The secretary at war was astonished to find, that, after the militia had, during his (Mr. Windham's) administration, been increased from 18 to 27,000 men, the right hon. gentleman should now make these objections against giving four guineas instead of two, as they could have no other end or

purpose but to change it to a militia by ballot; and that could not fail to raise the bounty from two guineas to six; which would prove the most disadvantageous of circumstances against the recruiting for the regular army that could happen, by enhancing that bounty most enormously. He allowed it was true, as stated by the right honourable gentleman, that a militia regiment was not equal to a regular one; they had always been considered as subsidiary; and he was astonished to hear the right honourable gentleman make light of it on account of its constitutional formation, which, in his mind, was its greatest recommendation. He observed, that no country in Europe could keep up such a force in time of peace, at so little expense as we did the militia. He reminded the honourable gentleman and the house of the eminent services of the militia: that in 1780 they saved the capital from imminent danger; that during the rebellion in Ireland, with the aid of the yeomanry, they saved that country; that in one of the most important expeditions undertaken by this country in the course of the last war, the greatest part of that army consisted of volunteers from the Irish militia. It was with great pride that he assured the right honourable gentleman and the house, that a very short time indeed would prove to them, and to the world, that the militia would be brought forward with more promptitude than at any period of the administration in which the honourable gentleman formed a part; and that there would be, in that short period, a greater regular force ready to act than we had either at the commencement or conclusion of the late war. He wished the right honourable gentleman had been in his place the preceding day, to have heard the opinions of the gentlemen from Ireland; he would then have heard, that, if the house negatived this proposition, they must raise the militia by ballot, or by means of payment of substitutes by the different parishes, which would make the bounties infinitely higher. He denied that adopting the measure in question would deprive the army of recruits: it might perhaps interfere with it, but not in any great degree.

Sir William Pulteney said, the honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) seemed to consider it as absolutely necessary that we must at all events have a disposeable force; recalling to mind transactions that had passed, he seemed to imagine that expeditions to the enemy's coast were the only means which could save this country. On this head, he entirely differed from the honourable gentleman; who had also told us, that we were at present in a most dangerous and critical situation. Granted for a moment (said the right honourable baronet), and how are we to guard against it? The first consul had told us, that he had 500,000 men with which he could attack us. Could we raise that number? No! Then what were we to do? We could raise 80,000 militia in a few weeks. Would the right honourable gentleman be able to bring forward a disciplined regular force to that amount in so short a time? Certainly not. Our first point was to defend ourselves. Was France ever before in a condition to threaten us with destruction at the very commencement of a war? Never. The militia was therefore of the highest importance; for it was an institution to which we owed every

every thing. The system had existed, with the greatest advantage to this country, ever since 1757, and was acknowledged by lord Chatham to have been the chief cause of the glory we acquired in the seven years' war. We ought, says the honourable gentleman, to have a large *disposeable* force. Granted:—the militia was a body of men for defence; and when the force for defence was great, the whole of your regulars, said sir W. Pulteney, are disposeable.—The right honourable gentleman could not have forgotten what the militia of America did against us. We sent out a very great regular force; but we were beaten, and that by militia. He thought the right honourable gentleman's doctrine entirely unfounded; and was surprised he should suppose his eloquence equal to overturning a system, which had existed with so much glory and advantage to the country since 1757, by a single speech.

Sir Lawrence Parsons remarked, that the question, as it should be taken, was, whether we should avail ourselves in the present crisis of the actual state of the Irish militia, such as it offered itself to the view of government? and not, whether the militia establishment was, in an abstract consideration, objectionable?

The chancellor of the exchequer was extremely sorry to find that any opinion should be delivered, tending to make a comparison between the militia and the troops of the line; and more concerned to hear doubts expressed with respect to its adequacy. He had known several officers of great distinction, who did not desire any better support than to meet the veteran troops of France at the head of a small force of regular troops, grafted on the foundation of the militia of the country. He hoped he should not be thought out of order, since he had mentioned the subject, in alluding to the gallant services of an honourable gentleman, whom he then saw in the uniform of his corps, and who graced the benches of that house. (Mr. Addington alluded to colonel Vereker, colonel of the Limerick militia). Among the eminent achievements of the militia, must be mentioned those of the honourable gentleman, who, at the head of a small corps on that establishment, checked and conquered in Ireland the French force, when in the full career of success. He concluded by remarking, that such observations as those thrown out with respect to the difference between the militia and the troops of the line, could only diffuse jealousies and distrust; and that the country was in all respects prepared for every exigency.

Mr. Wilberforce strongly supported the measure then before the house. Perhaps, said he, the honourable gentleman (Mr. Windham) who objected so strongly to a militia, was peculiarly attached to standing armies, from his love for expeditions, and the facility with which they could be entered upon by such a force. Suppose the right honourable gentleman's wish was complied with, and a standing army should be raised in Ireland, as well as a militia, he would ask, if the one would not be just as inexperienced as the other? Therefore he could not avail himself of that part of his argument. He, for his own part, looked on the militia as one of the strongest and most honourable safeguards of the country and the constitution. When he saw gentlemen of high

rank, fortune, and character, who had been accustomed to all the comforts of life, quitting their homes, and exposing themselves to a variety of inconveniences while serving as officers in the militia,—into which they had gone, not from any expectation of acquiring military fame; not from any motives of gain; not impelled by any ambition to obtain high military rank; but actuated solely by the desire to discharge the duty they owed their country: when he saw all this, it presented to his mind a picture so cheering and gratifying, that he felt a warmth of attachment to a militia force, as well as the strongest sentiments of gratitude to those brave, dignified, and disinterested characters who so nobly came forward in the service of their country.

Mr. Elliot said, that, however disagreeable it might be to the house, he would recommend that the present measure be suspended, in order, first of all, to try the experiment of recruiting the army in Ireland. He was ready to admit, that it would be difficult, and almost impracticable, to raise a militia in Ireland by ballot; and that was an additional argument against raising it in the manner now proposed, because the force about to be raised had no affinity to a militia: it was, in fact, nothing more than a fencible force raised by bounty; and it was a fencible force of the worst species, because it was to be confined to, and blocked up in, Ireland. If an effective force were wanted, why not enlarge the sphere of its operation. On a former day, he had raised an alarm; and he wished to raise it against the present measure, because it was one which tended to lay us prostrate at the foot of the enemy; and he was sure, that, if a corps of French officers were sitting in council to consider of the most effectual means of annihilating the recruiting service, and distressing the country, they could not have adopted a measure more proper for their purpose than the present. The honourable gentleman then charged the present ministers with submissiveness to France; and desired they might lay before the house the true grounds of the contest they were about to engage in, that the country might not go to war in darkness.

Lord Castlereagh conceived it would be impossible to take effectual measures of defence, without continuing the militia with the standing army of the country. At the outset of a war, he was satisfied we could not be prepared unless that were done. No man had a greater respect than himself for the constitutional militia of this country; but it was well known, that, in the mode of raising it, even in England, there was a great departure from the constitutional principle on which it had been founded. The law allowed those persons to whom, after being drawn by ballot, it would be an inconvenience to serve, to send substitutes in their stead; and the effect was, that persons formed themselves into associations, and subscribed against the probable risk of being drawn. In many instances whole parishes did so. Now, the only difference between this and the mode proposed to be adopted in Ireland, was, that the people of every county of Ireland, were to subscribe a small sum of money to ensure themselves against being drawn; whereas, in England, they subscribed, comparatively, a very large sum, with much less effect and relief

lief to the people at large. It would be impossible for a standing army alone to defend Ireland in case of an invasion. No standing army could occupy the whole of a country, so as to act where occasion might require; and the system now proposed for recruiting the militia would be much less burdensome than that of recruiting a standing army. Besides, many men would prefer entering into the militia to entering into the army.

The following gentlemen spoke in favour of the measure: general Tarleton, Mr. Noel, sir Eyre Coote, general Maitland, colonel Bagwell, and Mr. Dawson. Lord Kensington, Mr. Alexander, lord Cole, Mr. Hiley Addington, also said a few words.

The question was then loudly called for. The resolution was agreed to, and a bill ordered.

The house having resolved itself into a committee on the 21st of March, Mr. Wickham stated that he had but two amendments to propose in the bill; the one, to enable the grand juries to assess on their respective counties, baronies, or other districts, as should seem best to their discretion, the sums for raising the militia volunteers within the same; the other, to impose a penalty of 500*l.* upon any militia colonel who should make a false return.—The amendments were agreed to. The bill was read a third time on the 23d of March, and passed.

On the 16th of February a message from his majesty, relative to the establishment of the prince of Wales, was received by the house of commons; in which his majesty expressed his reliance on his faithful parliament for taking such measures as were best calculated to maintain the dignity and add to the comforts of so distinguished a branch of his royal family. In the committee for taking the message into consideration, on the 23d of February, the chancellor of the exchequer said,—before he submitted the proposition with which he should conclude, it would be material to refer to the propositions of 1795, respecting his royal highness's future establishment. It would be recollected, that, in that year, a message was delivered from his majesty, recommending an extension of his royal highness's establishment, adverting to incumbrances which at that time existed, and stating the necessity of making some new arrangements. His right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt), who then presided over his majesty's councils, brought forward a proposition embracing the future establishment of his royal highness, and comprehending the arrangements which his marriage had rendered necessary. He stated, that, in the year 1740, the settled establishment of the heir apparent was one hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. Considering the very material changes which had taken place in every article of expenditure, an establishment of a hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds a-year did not appear to him to be at all too great; and the proposition was carried by a very large majority. After this previous point was settled, the subsequent part of the message came under consideration; in this, the great object his right hon. friend had in view, was to support the dignity, but at all events to maintain the credit, of the heir apparent. He therefore proposed, that sixty thousand pounds, together with the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, should

be appropriated as a fund for the extinction of the debt, with the interest which had accumulated or might accumulate in the progress of the plan of extinction. The effect of this proposition was, that in twelve years the debt would be extinguished. As the great object in view was the satisfaction of justice, the resumption of the splendor and dignity suitable to his royal highness's distinguished station was for a time suspended, and commissioners were appointed to the management of his affairs. In consequence of the operation of this bill, his royal highness had, for eight years, been subjected to a degree of obscurity and retirement little suitable to the feelings and habits of the heir of a great empire. The amount of the debt of his royal highness, at the time the commissioners were appointed, was six hundred and twenty thousand pounds, exclusive of the interest which had then accumulated and the interest which might afterwards accumulate in the progress of the reduction. From the 10th of October 1794, up to the 5th of January in the present year, the sum received from the exchequer had been four hundred and ninety-five thousand pounds; and, in the same period, ninety-seven thousand five hundred for the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; making in all five hundred and ninety-two thousand pounds. This sum, he wished the committee always to bear in mind, was not received by his royal highness from the public, but out of the revenues managed by the wisdom of the commissioners. Of sums actually paid, and of debentures which had been issued, and were then in the hands of the creditors, the amount was about seven hundred and ninety-nine thousand six hundred and fifty pounds. The sums then to be received out of the exchequer, and the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, which would be left free on the 5th of April next, amounted to two hundred and thirteen thousand two hundred and fifty pounds. This being the general statement of the situation of his royal highness's affairs, the purport of the proposition he was about to submit to the committee was, that, from the 5th of January 1803, the establishment of his royal highness should stand on the same footing that it stood in 1795; or, in other words, that it should be a hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds a-year, exclusive of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. He did not wish for any change in the wise arrangements for the liquidation of the debts which were then formed. The nature of his proposition was simply to move—that it was the opinion of that committee, that his majesty be empowered to issue annually to his royal highness the prince of Wales a certain sum or certain sums not exceeding sixty thousand pounds, computing from the 5th day of January 1803, to the 8th day of July 1806.

Mr. Harrison wished to know what was the amount of the debts of his royal highness not hitherto discharged?—Mr. Addington, in reply, stated them to be somewhat more than two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds.

The solicitor-general entered into a warm eulogium on the conduct of the prince of Wales on the present occasion, and was the organ of expressing to his majesty the sincere and unfeigned gratitude of his royal highness for the interest his majesty had been pleased to take in what regarded the dignity and comforts

comforts of his royal highness's situation, evinced, as it had been, in the gracious message which had been sent to that house.—Mr. Harrison, from regard and good will to his royal highness, thought it no more than strict justice, that what was matter of right should not be construed into a grant originating in favour; that this should be fully understood by the public; and that his royal highness should not be exposed to that prejudice which was inseparable from a supposed application for assistance, the result of which would be to increase the public burdens. He was for the motion generally, but contended, that the sixty thousand pounds to be assigned to his royal highness should be described as part of the arrears due to him as duke of Cornwall, and not a sum paid out of the consolidated fund of the country.

Mr. Sheridan said, he would have wished to have abstained from troubling the house, but that some points were absolutely necessary to be explained. He admitted that the proposition was equally satisfactory to those who wished to replace his royal highness in his constitutional splendor, and to those who watched with a jealous eye the expenditure of the public money. But it did not appear to be admitted, that the prince of Wales, so far from burdening the public, had, on the contrary, made a considerable sacrifice to them: this certainly was the fact, and should be known to the country. He was himself a real friend to the comforts and splendor which his royal highness ought to enjoy; but he was, at the same time, a greater friend to his honour and character. The prince came forward for the third time. Upon the first application, notwithstanding the arguments employed by the learned and the unlearned, notwithstanding the vast fund of legal and historical erudition which was displayed, nothing was ascertained with regard to the petition of right. An assurance had been given, that there was no compromise whatever, and that the prince was at liberty to prosecute his suit; but, for his own part, he gave his support to the proposition, because the prince did not come forward as a claimant upon the public, but asserting a just demand. If he conceived the ground rightly, upon which the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer formed his motion, it was to be understood that the sum was to be appropriated in immediately enabling his royal highness to resume the state and splendor appropriate to his rank. He wished to know whether the house was to understand this to be the real fact.

On a former occasion a sum of 600,000*l.* was voted in advance to the prince for the liquidation of his debts, to be vested in the hands of trustees; but when, by public advertisement, all the claims of his royal highness were called in, the aggregate was found to amount to 650,000*l.*; consequently there was a deficit of 50,000*l.* It was not thought adviseable to make a further application to parliament; but the commissioners, to supply the deficiency, proposed to the creditors an abatement on their respective debts, of no less than 10 per cent. This deduction was not upon claims considered as any ways fraudulent or over-charged, but upon debts fairly sifted, and admitted to be just and reasonable. This, he contended, was in direct terms compromising the honour

of his royal highness. It was not paying, but compounding his debts; and his royal highness, he said, had authorised him to declare, on a former occasion, that he had much rather again apply to parliament, and solicit a restriction of one year more upon his income, in order to pay in full every fair claim against him, than submit to a measure which his royal highness conceived to be so degrading to his honour; nor could he conceive that honour satisfied, until he had paid the last farthing. If then his royal highness were still to remain burdened with claims which he conceived himself bound, as debts of honour, to discharge, it was obvious the chief end proposed to the house, of enabling his royal highness immediately to resume his rank and appropriate splendor, would not be attained by the vote proposed. If it were said he was, in consequence of that vote, to be restored to his whole income, but not yet to resume his rank and state, in God's name, said Mr. Sheridan, let the circumstances be explained to the house; and some definitive time mentioned at which an expectation, so anxiously and so generally entertained by the nation, was really to be fulfilled.

The chancellor of the exchequer spoke in explanation. He was, in more than one instance, misunderstood by the honourable gentleman who spoke last. Mr. Addington then re-stated in substance what he had said in his former speech; and moreover observed, that the commissioners proposed, in payment to the creditors, debentures of 100*l.*, with an interest of 3 per cent., or debentures of 90*l.*, with an interest of 5 per cent. They had their option which to choose, and they preferred the debentures of 90*l.*, bearing an interest of 5 per cent. The reason of this preference he conceived to be the expectation the creditors entertained of the speedy return of peace; upon which event they hoped the debentures would sell at a premium. As to the resumption of the household of his royal highness, Mr. Addington affirmed, that the proposition would accelerate that event by three years and a half, while, at the same time, it would essentially contribute to increase his ease and comfort. He (Mr. Addington) disclaimed all idea that the present measure was intended as a compromise for the right of the prince to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. He felt anxious indeed to prevent any further proceeding on the question of a petition of right. The honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) adverted to other claims against his royal highness which had not been attended to by the commissioners. This he could venture to say, that there was no claim, which, upon due examination, had been found to be valid, which had not been satisfied by the commissioners. Indeed no claim could be brought against his royal highness since the arrangement of 1795; for no debt could be incurred, since that period, without a violation of the act.

Mr. Sheridan, in explanation, said, that he meant no reflexion upon the commissioners. All he contended was, that no reason had been adduced to show why the mode in which the debts had been paid did not argue a compulsory deduction of their amount. The debentures had been at a discount of 15 and 20 per cent.; and the honour and feeling of his royal highness must be wounded at seeing his

his creditors suffer so material a loss. Indeed, with such feelings, it was impossible he should be at ease till that loss were made good.

Mr. Addington replied, as to any loss that might have been incurred by a discount on the debentures, it was only that loss which attended a depreciation of the public funds. They might have sunk with the funds; but this was solely imputable to the management of those who held them.

The speech of Mr. Fox, on this occasion, was of no great length. His arguments were not materially different from those employed by Mr. Sheridan. He concluded with the following observations:—He (the prince) should not be condemned to do at forty what he had done at the age of twenty, to enter upon an establishment to which his income was inadequate. The wisdom and liberality of parliament should guard him against such difficulties. From what they had lately witnessed, they should be induced to forget the past. It was evident that his royal highness had of late redeemed his character, by the most prudential regard to pecuniary affairs, and by a system of œconomy which it was scarcely natural to expect in such a situation. What, before, was reluctantly, might now be joyfully performed; and the house should no longer hesitate in hastening the moment, when his royal highness might be restored to that state of splendor and magnificence, of which the circumstances of his birth and expectations should never be disrobed.

Mr. Banks strongly objected to the resolution then before the committee, because it went to debar the prince of Wales from pursuing that claim which he had on the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall during his minority. It was not fair to make such a compromise with his royal highness as was now proposed; nor was the house dealing fairly with itself or its constituents. Was it not fit that the situation of princes of Wales hereafter should be known and ascertained? What was in future to become of the money during the minority of a prince? and was he to understand that it should not be applicable to his use? He certainly thought that the legal claim of the prince ought to be pursued. He saw no inconvenience whatever that could arise from a petition of right. He highly approved of the order of proceeding that had been followed last session; and he could not agree with the measure then proposed.

Sir Ralph Milbanke, lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Fuller, spoke in favour of the motion.—The resolution was agreed to without a division.

On the 28th of February a message from his royal highness the prince of Wales was delivered to the house by Mr. Tyrwhitt in his royal highness's name. The message stated that the prince of Wales had felt with the liveliest sense of affection and gratitude the kind solicitude expressed by his majesty for the situation of his affairs, and his majesty's liberal recommendation thereof to the consideration of parliament; that, having seen, from the note of the proceedings of the house of commons, the liberal measures they had been pleased to adopt relative to him in consequence of his majesty's messages, the prince of Wales felt it incumbent upon him to express the deep sense of gratitude which he entertained for the liberal

liberal and generous conduct of the house towards him, and to assure the house their kindness had made upon his mind the most lasting impression. But the prince, notwithstanding the generosity evinced towards him on this occasion, felt himself bound to declare that he was still exposed to debts for which no provision had been made, but which he felt himself bound in honour to discharge; and therefore, notwithstanding the kind solicitude expressed by the house for the speedy resumption of the state and dignity appertaining to his rank, he must still be obliged to appropriate to the discharge of those debts a large sinking fund out of his own annual income. And, however solicitous he may be to comply with the wishes expressed by the house for the speedy resumption of the dignities appropriate to his station, yet he knew but too well, from dear-bought experience, that it would be impracticable to make such resumption for some considerable time, without the risk of being involved in new embarrassments. The prince, confident of his just claims to the revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall from 1762 until he came of age, and with such confidence founded upon legal opinions of the first authority, naturally looked to arrears due on that ground as a source of complete extrication: but, however strong were his claims upon this ground, he preferred the alternative of a firm reliance on the justice and generosity of parliament, and now totally relinquished those claims for ever; to which purpose he had given the necessary directions to his law-officer to discontinue all further proceedings on the subject.

Mr. Calcraft rose to give notice of his intention to bring forward, at an early day, a motion on the subject of the prince of Wales's affairs; and on the 4th of March he introduced his promised motion. Mr. Calcraft prefaced his proposition by declaring that he never had had any communication on the subject with the illustrious personage to whom it alluded, nor with any other person, save one. The motion was to the following effect:

"That the house, anxiously desirous to give full effect to the important objects contained in his majesty's most gracious message of the 16th of February, do appoint a select committee to inquire into the embarrassments of the prince of Wales, and into the most effectual means of relieving them as soon as possible, in order to enable his royal highness to resume the splendor and dignity attached to his exalted station."

Mr. Erskine was desirous of removing all idea that the prince had any concern or interest in the present motion; and he assured the house that he had no other anxiety on his mind than an ardent wish that the public should not suppose that the prince had received the bounty of the house and not acted according to its intentions in granting it, by immediately resuming the dignity and splendor which were the immediate intentions of the grant.

Mr. Johnstone stated that he felt himself bound to object in the most decided manner to the motion; at the same time he yielded to no man in respect for the prince, whose many noble and amiable qualities he acknowledged. But he did not consider himself at liberty to consult his feelings in the

the disposal of the public money, at a period when forty millions annually were raised from the subject, when even that enormous revenue was inadequate to the expenditure, and when, above all, we could only consider ourselves as preparing for another great and arduous struggle, which was to decide even on our existence as a nation. When new burthens were to be imposed upon the public, he expected that it would be shown what was the correspondent benefit that the public was to derive; and though he felt that to maintain in due splendor all the branches of the royal family was essential to the true interests of the country, he must contend that no arguments were stated to prove the necessity of revoking those arrangements which parliament, after great deliberation, had adopted in 1795. At that period a considerable ferment, a considerable degree of jacobinical spirit, prevailed; and therefore it might have been argued that it would be dangerous to abridge the people of any of that splendor which certainly had its effect on the multitude. But now the whole people were united in loyalty to the king, affection to the prince, and attachment to the constitution: and what they chiefly desired to behold in the royal family was, a sensibility of the many burthens by which they were oppressed. But other gentlemen talked of the rights of the prince resulting from the duchy of Cornwall. This question was discussed in 1795, when relief had been solicited from parliament; and it then was the duty of the prince to urge his right, or rely on the generosity of the public. He had chosen the latter; and it was not fair, after experiencing the liberality of the country, to renew the claim of right. On this, however, he was not inclined to insist; especially as, in the last year, the prince was desired to present his claims to legal discussion. Why was not that discussion brought to an issue? No difference could arise between the king and the prince, as was stated: for, the revenues having been applied to the public service, the public was answerable, and the king had no more to do with the suit than with any other in which he was made defendant in the way of form. But there existed another good reason why the suit should not be prosecuted—that it could produce nothing: for, admitting the prince entitled to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall from the hour of his birth, the amount was 234,000*l.* Now during the last twelve years of his minority there had been issued by regular payments 128,000*l.*; extra payment, 50,000*l.*; half of 32,000*l.* paid jointly to the duke of York and himself, 16,000*l.*; allowing that the expenses of the first nine years of his minority were 5,000*l.* per annum (which could scarcely be too much, as 6,000*l.* was now allowed for the princess of Wales), 45,000*l.*, the the whole expenditure was 239,000*l.*, to be set against a receipt of 234,000*l.*, during the prince's minority. But was this all? There had been paid 60,000*l.* on his coming of age; 219,000*l.* in 1787, and 52,000*l.* in 1795, beyond the fixed and regular allowances. So that, on the whole, there were payments to the amount of 570,000*l.* to be opposed to a claim of 234,000*l.* He stated these facts because he considered the people of England insulted when they were told that his royal highness

ness had made a sacrifice by condescending to accept between two and three millions. If that measure were adopted, it proceeded from the generosity and liberality of the nation; for no claim of right did exist. It was fit and proper the public and the house should know the true state of this question, and he was conscious he had discharged his duty in stating these facts.

Mr. Tierney, after commenting at some length on what had been said on the subject, adverted to the latter part of Mr. Johnstone's speech. He observed that the insult which was mentioned was an insult which was very easily resented; and that was, by showing how the account betwixt his royal highness and the public actually stood. When the whole account came to be fully examined, he did not believe that almost any one of these statements would be found to be correct. Among the articles charged on the prince to the public, were the expenses of his education. This, however, was totally incorrect, as the expenses of his education were defrayed, not out of the consolidated fund, but paid from the civil list. The receipts from the duchy of Cornwall were stated at 234,000*l.*; and to be deducted from this sum, he allowed the 125,000*l.* which had been given for the payment of his royal highness's debts. The sums expended on Carleton-house he could not allow to be fairly placed to his royal highness's account. If a prince of Wales were to be maintained at all, it was proper he should be maintained in a style suited to his rank and prospects. The whole amount of the sums which had been advanced for his royal highness being fairly considered, it would, he contended, be found that he was the least expensive prince of Wales that ever existed. If the accounts were fairly balanced, it would, he was persuaded, be found that 30,000*l.* was the amount of the whole of what had been advanced by the public by extraordinary grants. Mr. Tierney concluded with the following observation:—A proposition, he said, had been made by ministers for giving his royal highness an establishment suitable to his station; which, from an official communication, the house was assured was totally inadequate to the end in view. A secret, therefore, was in the possession of ministers respecting the cause which rendered it impossible for his royal highness to resume his dignity immediately after the additional grant was conferred. This secret the house had a right to obtain; and it was with this view he sat down by giving his hearty assent to the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer opposed the motion, on the ground, that, as the account betwixt his royal highness and his creditors had been prepared and submitted to his inspection, and the propositions founded on it declared by him to be according to his wishes, he was justified in concluding that it was a motion to which his confidential friends would not be disposed to give their support.

Mr. Fox supported the motion with his accustomed energy.

Mr. Canning said the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer had proposed a certain sum—namely, an addition of 60,000*l.* or 70,000*l.*—to the income of his royal highness. That sum was found inadequate to fulfil the object for which it was proposed. He felt anxious

anxious to know what was the precise object to be obtained, and what was the amount of the sum requisite for its accomplishment. Until the precise sum of that amount was ascertained, he should not pledge himself to any particular measure.

Mr. Sheridan spoke in favour of the motion. In the course of his speech he adverted to the statement of Mr. Johnstone respecting the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. He observed, though the accuracy of that gentleman in figures had been complimented by the chancellor of the exchequer, that accuracy had commenced in miscalculation and ended in false inference. That honourable gentleman declared himself sorry that a compromise had taken place. He, on the contrary, rejoiced at it, because much disagreeable consequence might result from the prosecution of the suit to the legal advisers of his royal highness, who would give no advice inconsistent with his honour. The honourable gentleman conceived it an insult to the public to suppose that there was any balance due to his royal highness on the arrears. He was as little inclined to insult the public as the honourable gentleman; but he could not conceive the public so irritable as to fly into a rage at being called on to enter into an account on a matter in which the best informed persons were of opinion that there was a large balance against it. Mr. Sheridan ridiculed very happily the arguments of those who objected to the motion on the ground of œconomy; and concluded by observing, that he could hardly be suspected of having any interested view in supporting this motion; but he thought it a weak thing, that, after we had voted away 250,000,000*l.* for the support of the thrones of Europe, an object in which we failed, we should not give a 100,000*l.* to maintain the dignity of our own, an object which we could not fail to accomplish.

Lord Hawkesbury spoke against the motion. Many other members also spoke on this occasion.

On the question being called for, the house divided: For the question, 184—Against it, 139—Majority, 45.

It is proper to add, that the further progress of this business was stopped by the liberality of the prince of Wales himself; who, on the country being likely to be involved in an expensive war, desired it to be understood that at such a crisis he would not add to the public burdens.

CHAP. V.

Causes which led to the Renewal of the Dispute with France.—Unjust Conduct of the French towards British Property.—Projects of Aggrandisement.—Commercial Agents.—Sebastiani's Mission.—Interference with the British Government.—Malta.—French Preparations.—Alarm of the British Government.—His Majesty's Message to both Houses of Parliament—Debates on that Subject—In the House of Lords—In the Commons.—Address carried.

THE treaty of Amiens, which had not yet been a twelvemonth in operation, was now, from the perfidy and insatiable ambition

tion of the French government, fast approaching to its dissolution.

Many causes had justly excited the suspicions of his majesty's ministers; but one which has been least insisted on, forms, in our opinion, one of the most powerful motives for the strong measures to which they were obliged to have recourse—we allude to the unjustifiable violence offered to British property in France, and the almost total denial of justice to British subjects in the French courts. The instances are many which might be cited in proof of this allegation, but there is not any more flagrant than the refusal to restore the vessels captured in India* by the French, after the signature of the preliminaries was known by both parties, and in direct violation of them.

Instead of any effort to negotiate a commercial treaty, every restriction upon British commerce imposed during the *régime* of terror, was strictly enforced; and the whole conduct of the French government evinced a jealousy and distrust of England that seemed to prove that the peace was considered only as a temporary cessation of hostilities.

Several circumstances occurred further to prove that France, during this fallacious truce, was secretly laying plans of future aggrandisement, and chiefly at the expense of Great Britain. To complete a navy was avowedly the favourite object of the first consul. This was, however, necessarily a work of time; to use his own expression, 'it might require ten years.' Yet France was formidable not only from her own power, but from having the navies of Spain and Holland at her disposal. The latter, contrary to the *faith of treaties*, she continued to hold in the most abject subjection; and, notwithstanding repeated remonstrances, refused to withdraw her troops, who still continued to be fed and clothed by an enslaved and oppressed people.

No circumstance, however, contributed more to excite the just apprehensions of the British government, than the detection of a plan which was perfectly consistent with the ambitious designs of an encroaching military government, whose aim was universal empire, and the immediate object of which could be no other than the conquest of Great Britain. The peace had been scarcely concluded before a number of persons were landed in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland, under the name of commercial commissioners. When examined, they proved to be all military officers; and in their possession were found written instructions from the French ministers, directing them to such particular inquiries as could have no relation to commerce, and could be only useful in a military view. One of these commissioners, it was affirmed, was actually detected in taking soundings off the coast of Ireland, and endeavouring to procure surveys of different places.

One of these *commercial* agents, colonel Sebastiani, an officer of some note, had been dispatched to Egypt; and on his return he published a report of his mission, which contained the grossest and most malignant calumnies against the British officers who commanded in

*The Porcher, the Tay, and the Highland Chief. The fact is notorious: and the vessels and property are to this hour unrestored.

that

that quarter: of which a tolerable specimen is, a charge formally brought against general Stuart of attempting to instigate assassination. The whole report evinced that the tour of Sebastiani was a military and not a commercial tour. And, towards the close of it, after various representations how favourably disposed the inhabitants were to the French government, we find these remarkable words,—"Six thousand French would at present be enough to conquer Egypt."

While such were the proceedings of the French government as to a foreign territory, of the possession of which the first consul was known to be particularly desirous, an inclination was manifested to interfere with our domestic œconomy and laws. The liberty of the press in England was loudly arraigned in some official papers presented by the French government to our ministers; and a peremptory demand was made that the French princes and the other emigrants residing here should be dismissed from the protection of England. In any ordinary case, the former of these applications might be attributed to ignorance, the latter to jealousy. But when we reflect on the style of the modern politics of France; that she has usually begun, where she wished to establish herself, by interfering in the domestic concerns of a neighbouring state, and by gaining an ascendancy there; when we reflect that such has been her conduct with respect to Holland, Switzerland, Spain, and other countries, there was at least room for suspicion that the first consul would have had no objection to undertake the direction of all the active functions of the British government.

The annexation to France of the territories of Piedmont, Parma, Placentia, and the Isle of Elba, and the flagrant violation of the treaty of Luneville in subjugating the Swiss cantons by force of arms, left little room for conjecture as to the boundless ambition and rapacity of the French government. Besides that, our government is said to have been in possession of authentic statements relative to the hostile designs of the first consul; and indeed these designs were scarcely concealed in a personal conference which he held on the 17th of February with lord Whitworth, the British ambassador at Paris.

With all these causes of difference, the old subject of contention, the possession of Malta, was made the ground-work of a protracted and vexatious negotiation. A peremptory demand, not unaccompanied by a threat, was made for its immediate evacuation; while, in a solemn official document delivered by the government to the legislative body on the 22d of February, it was, unnecessarily as rudely, asserted, "that Great Britain was not able to contend *single-handed* with France."

At this interesting crisis very considerable preparations, both naval and military, were making in the ports of Holland and France. They were avowedly destined for the reduction of the refractory colonies in the West Indies; nor shall we now question whether that might not be in truth their actual destination: but it was natural that in such a state of things a degree of jealousy should be entertained respecting the projects of a faithless

faithless government; and, with the example of other countries whom France had insidiously enslaved before their eyes, we apprehend our ministers could not justly be blamed for their precaution on this occasion.

On the 8th of March, therefore, a message from his majesty to the following effect was delivered to both houses of parliament.

It stated "that his majesty thought it necessary to acquaint the house that, as very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he had judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions; that though these preparations were avowedly directed to colonial service, yet, as discussions of great importance were then subsisting between his majesty and the French government, the result of which must at present be uncertain, his majesty was induced to make this communication to his faithful parliament, in full persuasion that, while they partook of his majesty's earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuation of peace, he might rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit and liberality to enable his majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances might appear to require, for supporting the honour of his crown and the essential interests of his people."

The message was taken into consideration in the house of lords on the following day, when lord Hobart moved an address of thanks to his majesty for his gracious communication. His lordship observed, substantially, that though the *avowed* objects of the military preparations of France might be the *real* ones, it nevertheless became his majesty's ministers to advise his majesty to call upon his parliament to strengthen his hands, and enable him to put the country on its defence, and secure it against the chance of any premeditated attack in any quarter. His lordship declared, at the same time that he said this he could confidently assure the house, that, from what he knew of the important discussions alluded to (which he did not think it at all necessary at that time to go into), they were not of a nature that appeared to be such as must necessarily produce a war between the two countries, but might be amicably negotiated and adjusted, without the smallest necessity of recurring to hostilities. His lordship said he did not think it incumbent on him to trouble the house further at that moment, but would immediately read the resolution for the address which he meant to move.—It was, as usual, an echo of the message.

Earl Spencer said, there was one part of the noble secretary of state's speech which it would have been more satisfactory to him, individually, if his lordship had been a little more explicit on—he meant as to the nature and importance of the discussions then subsisting between his majesty and the French government. The message itself declared them to be of "great importance;" and they must necessarily have been so, or they would not have been taken as the ground of so strong a measure as that recommended in his majesty's message. But were they discussions that had newly arisen, or were they discussions of long standing? His lordship laid great stress on this particular,

particular, and expressed in terms of great satisfaction, his complete approbation of the measure recommended in the message, as one that might lead to a line of conduct which could alone afford the country a chance of being saved.

Lord Grenville felt considerable satisfaction at the step then taken. He considered it as an earnest of a new system, as a pledge that the dignity and safety of the country would at last be consulted.

He was followed by earl Moira, who observed that there were important considerations attached to the vote required; and the total obscurity in which the noble secretary of state had left the immediate causes of his majesty's message, made it necessary for him to establish for himself certain reservations with the view of future inquiry. He must be satisfied hereafter that this was not an idle parade of valorous exertion, devised to obtain the praise of vigour for the ministers, as having been the means of carrying some object which would at all events have been conceded to us. Private property had been seriously affected by the operation of this alarm upon the funds: and, independently of that circumstance, there was a deep objection to an unnecessary call upon the public; because, by applying such a statement to cases where no consequence was likely to follow, the power was weakened of communicating impulse when it should be really important to rouse the energies of the nation. He would trust that, on some future and no remote day, it should be proved that a crisis so much to be deprecated as the present could not be prevented. If it could *not* be prevented, then there would remain this further investigation, whether so inevitable a result was not to have been foreseen earlier, and thence encountered upon terms less disadvantageous than those upon which the contest was then to take place. Having secured to himself the right of future discussion of these points, he laid them aside for the present, that nothing might interfere with the zeal which ought to distinguish an assurance of support to his majesty.

After noticing the domineering and hostile spirit of France, his lordship (adverting to the language of the message) proceeded to ask, what discussion existed then between the two countries which did not exist during the last session of parliament, when the permanence of peace was so confidently and triumphantly insisted upon? What preparations were now going forward which were not at that time either undertaken or professed to be in purpose? All the difficulties which could attend those discussions, all the objections which could present themselves with regard to such preparations, must have been as distinctly obvious *then* as they were *now*. Of course we must infer that some new cause of difference with France had arisen; in which case, he thought it was due to parliament and the country to state it. The noble secretary of state, he doubted not, would urge prudential reasons (though he could conceive none with which he should agree) for not going into the detail, or even furnishing an outline at this moment. Indeed, the noble lord had been so reserved in his language, and so placid in his tone, upon this occasion, that he seemed to have feared the giving umbrage to the first consul. If there had been necessity for this

message from the king, there must also be necessity for a manly and decisive declaration of the conduct to be adopted in such a juncture. What was there in the procedure of the first consul that could recommend such forbearance? He saw no motive for further compliment to this new Hannibal, who had, on the altars of his inordinate ambition, sworn unextinguishable enmity to this country. Were he to speak of the first consul in any other relation than that which he had assumed to the concerns of Britain, he would speak of him with the deference befitting his high station, and with the respect which his wonderful actions must demand. But when he wilfully opposed himself to the welfare of these realms, nay, openly struck at the root of their prosperity, the language of complacency on that head was ill-timed and mischievous. The noble earl dwelt for some time on this topic. If, said he, you would avert war, you must show yourselves on a level with the exigency. You must, in the immortal language of Shakespear,

'Be stirring as the time; be fire with fire;
Threaten the Threat'ner, and outface the brow
Of bragging Honour——'

not from any idle ostentation of courage, but to insure this solid, this inappreciable advantage which the bard truly indicated would be the result:

——'So shall inferior eyes,
That borrow their behaviour from the great,
Grow great by your example, and put on
The useful spirit of resolution.'

The question was finally agreed to, *nem. con.*

His majesty's message to the house of commons came under consideration on the 9th of March. The address was moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, which, after some little debate, not materially different from what took place in the lords', was also agreed to without a division.

The chancellor of the exchequer then gave notice, that he should on Friday (this being Wednesday) move the house for a grant of 10,000 seamen and marines, as an addition to the present number of his majesty's naval forces.—Accordingly, on the Friday the motion was brought forward; when

Mr. Francis observed, that the vote to which the committee were then called upon to accede, was one which involved considerations of the most important nature; and before any member could, consistently with his duty, agree to it, some general explanation was due on the part of his majesty's ministers. It was of importance to the committee to have some general information communicated respecting the situation in which the country was placed; the reasons which rendered such extraordinary preparations necessary; the character of those with whom the application of those preparations would be vested; the views they entertained in calling on the house to make the preparations; and the degree of confidence to which, by their past conduct, they were entitled. While he called for explanation, he disclaimed all opposition or hostility to his majesty's ministers; and indeed he was the more entitled to demand this explanation, as he had hitherto given them his support, and had reposed confidence in their conduct. That the executive

executive power had the full right of determining, in the first instance, on peace and war, was a doctrine which he by no means wished to controvert. But had not the house and the country a right to have it made out, that the conduct hitherto pursued by his majesty's ministers was not unwise and impolitic? that improper concessions had not been made? that the country was not unnecessarily again to be plunged in war? Till this explanation was given, he could not, consistently with his public duty, continue the same confidence he had formerly reposed.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, thought it his duty, on the present occasion, to follow the same course which he thought it expedient to pursue when the motion for the address to his majesty was under consideration. He then stated, that, in the present circumstances, any explanation was what he conceived the house had no reason to expect; and to this opinion he still adhered. If prudential reasons existed, which rendered any explanation inexpedient on a former evening, he asked, whether, acting on the same principle, his majesty's ministers ought now to give that explanation. It was impossible for any gentleman to show that the same causes did not operate with equal force.

The honourable gentleman, however, insisted on the right of the house to explanation. He (Mr. Addington) did not mean at all to dispute the ultimate right of the house to a full and fair explanation on this subject. The points, however, on which different members required explanation were various and discordant. One member says, Let us not hazard a war; and, therefore, let ministers show us that their system is conciliatory. Another party are afraid of too much concession, and nothing would satisfy them but a full explanation, to prove that the national honour had not been compromised. What advantage then was to be derived from explanation amid such contrariety of opinion? while, on the other hand, the inconveniences of explanation, under the present circumstances, were obvious. It must be clear, said he, that when negotiations are pending which have given rise to considerable disputes, if they are brought to an amicable adjustment, this can only be accomplished by concessions on one side or the other. He asked, then, would it be prudent that the nature of these concessions should, in the present stage of the business, be explained? He believed that a great majority of the house thought with him, that such an explanation would be highly inexpedient. From what he then said, he begged, however, that no inference might be drawn to countenance the idea, that ministers *had* consented, or *would* consent, to any improper concessions. Mr. Addington concluded by saying, whether gentlemen should or should not be satisfied with the explanation which might ultimately be given, he was ready to hear every objection rather than violate that duty which prescribed to him the impropriety of affording any explanation of matters then in dispute betwixt the two governments.

Mr. Dent observed, that, in the late war, we had upwards of 130,000 men engaged in our sea service. The peace establishment had reduced the number to 50,000. The right honourable gentleman opposite (the chancellor of the exchequer)

had proposed a vote of 10,000, leaving us an establishment of 60,000. Now he should propose, that instead of 10 we should have 25,000, which would give us a naval force of 75,000. This he supposed would be sufficient for any common exigency; and he would wish ministers and the country to be safe beyond all possibility of doubt. He concluded by moving his amendment.

Mr. Fox was as ready as any member to vote for the proposed addition of seamen, on the principle that they were necessary for the public service; but he had, at present, no better ground for his vote, than if 25,000, 100,000, or any other number had been proposed. His objection rested on this plain constitutional ground, that, as representatives of the people, in the proper discharge of their duty, they had a right to have the causes of these increased preparations explained; not be called upon to vote on the unlimited confidence which they chose to repose for a time in ministers. He had always understood, that the prerogative of the crown to conclude peace was clear and undisputed; and he could have no difficulty in agreeing with the sentiments which his honourable friend (Mr. Francis) entertained on this point. He certainly did agree with him, that those who had counselled his majesty to conclude any peace were responsible for the merit of the terms of that peace, and were liable to censure if they appeared inconsistent with the national honour and safety. He could not however allow, that, after the peace had been concluded, and after its terms had been canvassed and approved, if circumstances occurred which rendered the continuance of peace impossible, ministers were necessarily to be accused of having, by their conduct, produced these circumstances. With respect to his majesty's right of declaring war, there was little doubt in theory; but, in practice, a very important distinction existed. In this declaration might be involved every principle of a free constitution; every thing connected with the property, nay the very existence, of the subject. The sovereign might be ill advised; and experience had fully proved that this was not merely a possible case. The country might be plunged into a war, of which it was impossible to see either the equity or the necessity. It might be continued against the will of the parliament, or the people; and the whole or part of every man's property might be wrested from him, if, in practice, this prerogative of the crown were carried to all the extent which theory supposed. But such a construction of the prerogative struck every one, in a moment, as monstrous; and while, in theory, said he, we admit the power of the sovereign to declare war, in practice and in substance we possess the privilege by which alone that declaration can be carried into effect. This privilege was founded in the means of giving or withholding the necessary supplies. That house must, therefore, be necessarily parties to every war. How was this to be done? Why, the mode of their becoming parties was simple. His majesty, in all cases, stated to them the grounds on which he had thought a declaration of war necessary; and he called upon them to grant the supplies necessary for the prosecution of such contest. They all knew, that instances were not wanting, in which the sovereign

reign had been compelled to relinquish a war, because parliament, convinced of its injustice and ruinous effects, no longer afforded the supplies. He would not here determine how far the American war was put an end to by the voice of parliament; but there was one striking instance, in which a war was put an end to by the exercise of this constitutional power; and that was the instance in which the parliament of Charles II. compelled that prince to relinquish the Dutch war. Now, how did the case stand at present? and here he would rest his argument. We knew that, in practice, armaments preceded any official communication from the throne, or any vote of supply; and he trusted that, if danger really existed, armaments were then going on with a rapidity correspondent to the emergency on which they were founded. The certain effect of the vote was only to make the house direct parties to any war to which these armaments might be applied. What he objected to, then, was simply, that he had heard no grounds stated to justify any extraordinary preparation; and therefore he must, on constitutional principles, enter his protest against the mode of proceeding which had been adopted. He hoped he might be allowed to reason hypothetically respecting the independence of parliament in granting supplies for carrying on the war. He trusted that they were not necessarily to be constantly guided by a spirit of humble docility, though their independence might appear more clearly in theory, than in any cases of modern or recent experience. If, unfortunately, they should be doomed to a renewal of hostilities, he hoped that the object of the war would be clearly and distinctly understood. What were the subjects that might eventually lead to such an unfortunate result, he professed to be totally ignorant. Whether they referred to the possession of Malta, the evacuation of Alexandria, or whatever other point of discussion they involved, he had no means of forming an opinion. He should just say generally, that if our national rights were involved, if attempts had been made to lower that rank which we had been accustomed to hold among the states of Europe, and all attempts at amicable adjustment had failed,—then he had no difficulty in saying that a war, undertaken under such circumstances, would be just. Of the necessity and policy of such a war, no man could for a moment doubt. Mr. Fox concluded by declaring that he should not vote against the motion.

Mr. Burroughs, after some prefatory remarks, observed, as to the call upon ministers for explanation, that he concurred in the position that they were bound to withhold supplies for carrying on war until they knew the grounds and causes of the rupture. But he begged leave to remind the committee, that we were not at war *(a cry of Hear! hear! from the treasury-bench)*; we were engaged in discussions, which might end in war, or might end in peace; and deeply as he should deplore the renewal of hostilities, it was to him matter of much consolation, that the present proposition of voting 10,000 seamen only, was so limited as to show that it was really for the cautionary purpose stated by the king's message. If ministers had applied for as great a force as that proposed by the honourable gentleman near him (Mr. Dent); if they

had desired to add 25,000 seamen to our present establishment, or had proposed its being raised to the amount at which it stood in any year of the war lately waged with France, he should have felt much greater fears for the peace that they had made. The present ministers had merited the gratitude of their country for that peace; and he knew not that there could be any higher claim to confidence than their vigilant attention to the discharge of the first and highest duty that they owed us, that of preventing our being taken by surprise. This he took as the object of their vote at present; and that it was the real object, no man, he thought, could doubt. Hitherto no actual aggression had taken place, no hostilities had been commenced, no declaration of war had been made. If, indeed, we were actually involved in war, he should concur in calling for the disclosures urged by the honourable gentleman: but as that was not the case, and a short time must determine what was to be the issue of our discussions, it was premature to call on his majesty's ministers for such disclosures; and if they were then to comply with the desire of the honourable gentleman on the floor (Mr. Fox), and of the honourable gentleman near him (Mr. Francis), they would, in his opinion, betray their duty to their sovereign and their country.

Lord Hawkesbury acquiesced with Mr. Fox on the general constitutional principle on which he seemed disposed to ground his observations; and differed with him only respecting the application he had made of it. In cases like the present, where the objects in view were not brought to a conclusion, and where measures simply of precaution were proposed, ministers might think it their duty not to afford more information than what might justify the measure they brought forward. After the circumstances which called for that measure were brought to issue—then, if the degree of information that had been afforded to the house appeared insufficient, was it not in the power of the house to move an address to his majesty for the production of additional and more satisfactory information? His lordship adverted to an expression which dropped from the honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox); namely, that in the vote given on the question then before the house, the house would be committed to approve a war. He replied, that the house should not give its countenance to any war, unless it were in complete possession of the grounds on which that war was to be entered on, and thereby be enabled to judge whether it were just and necessary, or otherwise. But neither by the vote of that night, nor by that given on a former night, on the question of the address, was the house by any means committed to support a war. Ministers called merely for the means of taking such precautions as prudence might suggest while negotiations were subsisting, and while preparations were making on the part of one of the powers, which, on a contrary issue from that which was earnestly looked for, might be converted into means of hostile aggression. The same information was, therefore, not to be expected in case of an armament proposed under such circumstances, as if it was definitively intended for the resumption of hostilities.—In the conclusion of his speech, his lordship objected to the proposed amendment of Mr. Dent.

Mr.

Mr. Fox in explanation said, that he was happy to have the noble lord's concurrence in the constitutional principle he had advanced. When he said that the vote of this night would make them parties to the war, he perhaps might have expressed himself more accurately, by saying that it would make them parties to the armament: and, should the armament produce a war, then would not the house be, indirectly at least, parties to it? It was notorious that armaments were preparing in the ports of France and Holland; but their destination was not positively known; yet it might be proper to arm in consequence: but the house was not merely told of the existence of those armaments; they were also informed that important negotiations were subsisting between the two countries. When, therefore, the discussion was coupled with the armament, the house was made a party, not only to the armament, but was also called upon to sanction the importance of the negotiation with which it was connected.

Lord Hawkesbury explained, and said, that if, on the mere ground of an armament on the part of a rival power, it was right to propose a proportionate armament on the side of this country, surely such a measure of precaution must be doubly necessary when the armament was connected with a negotiation which possibly might terminate in a rupture.

Mr. Canning, in a speech of some length, insisted with Mr. Fox upon the right of the house to further information. He did not mean at the instant—that was matter of discretion—but they were entitled to a promise, at least, of information hereafter, when the discussions shall have been terminated, and when the objects of them could be disclosed without danger. He voted for 10,000 seamen, or any other number that ministers pleased to ask; not only to enable government to be prepared against any sudden invasion, or any hostile aggression which might be committed by the armaments of France and Holland, in any part of the world, against the rights and interests of this country; but, further, to enable them to bring, at length, to a point *all* the discussions which were at that moment pending between them and the first consul of France. He inquired not, he had no wish to know, on what subjects those discussions turned; in the confidence that, when they surrendered up an account of the trust which they (the house) were then committing to them, they would show what they had done with it, and satisfy the house that they had employed it to the best advantage: but he warned them, that, if the contrary should be the case [here Mr. Canning gave way to a declamatory strain at some length], he should then accuse ministers of having disappointed the vote of that night, and abused the trust reposed in them,—of having deceived parliament, and betrayed and undone the nation. After several other members had spoken, Mr. Canning advised his honourable friend (Mr. Dent) to withdraw his amendment; observing, that, if he persisted in it, it might endanger that unanimity which was so very desirable on the present occasion.—Mr. Dent acquiesced, with the consent of the house. The question was then put on the resolution, and agreed to, *nem. con.*

On the 10th of March another message was received by the house, which stated, "that, in consequence

of the formidable military preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, pending the discussion of an important negotiation between his majesty's government and that of France, the result of which could not yet be known, his majesty acquainted the house, that, actuated by the concern he always feels for the security and welfare of his subjects, he has thought it necessary to exercise the powers vested in him by act of parliament for calling out and embodying forthwith the militia of these kingdoms, or such part thereof as his majesty shall think proper for the defence and safety of his kingdoms; not doubting that his parliament will approve the same."

On the occasion of this message, an address was voted, *nem. con.*, in both houses of parliament.

CHAP. VI.

Negotiation—Debates on that Subject in the House of Lords—In the House of Commons.

ALL attempts at negotiation having proved unfortunately fruitless, as will be explained in a succeeding chapter, when we come to treat of the affairs of France, on the 6th of May lord Pelham communicated to the house of peers, that the French ambassador had that day sent for his passports, in order, as soon as it was known that lord Whitworth had left Paris to come to England, that he might leave London with his suite, and depart for Paris. His lordship said lord Whitworth had been ordered to press the bringing the negotiation pending between the two countries to a conclusion; and he had also had instructions sent to him, that, in case he could not succeed in attaining that object, he should quit Paris as on Tuesday. Whether he had quitted Paris, and was on his way home, his majesty's confidential servants were uninformed, as the messenger had not then arrived; and could only conjecture from the incident he had mentioned of the French ambassador's having sent for his passports that day. His lordship concluded by moving an adjournment to Monday; which, after some opposition, was carried. Accordingly, lord Pelham, on the Monday, rose to make a communication to the house, such as the circumstances of the case would admit. His lordship said, since Friday a change of circumstances had induced lord Whitworth to delay his leaving the capital of France; but this alteration had not been attended with any other change further than the necessary delay which arose from the fact itself; and he entertained a confident expectation that he would very shortly be enabled to come forward with a regular communication to the house.

On Monday, the 16th of May, his lordship brought down a message from his majesty, importing that his majesty thought it proper to acquaint the house of peers that the

the discussions which he announced to them in his message of the 8th of March last, as then subsisting between his majesty and the French government, had been terminated; that the conduct of the French government had obliged his majesty to recall his ambassador from Paris; that the ambassador from the French republic had left London; and that his majesty had given directions for laying before the house, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as would afford the fullest information to his parliament at this important juncture.

On taking the message into consideration on the 23d of May, lord Pelham rose to move the address. He observed: From a perusal of the papers on the table, the great, and indeed the only question was, Whether a distinct and legitimate ground of war had been established? The conclusion which those documents, in his opinion, left on the minds of all unprejudiced men must be, that war was, by the conduct of the French government, rendered inevitable. His lordship declared it not to be his wish or his intention to go minutely through the papers, because he had no doubt that their lordships had given them a very attentive consideration, and had formed the conclusion which a careful perusal was calculated to induce. It was only necessary for him to trace the outline of the conduct pursued by the two governments since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens. Proceeding on this principle, he adverted briefly to the principal points of dispute betwixt the two governments, as described in the documents on the table.

With respect to Malta, the conduct pursued on the part of this country was such as must prove the sincerest desire of peace. A very short period had elapsed, before, with a view of facilitating the evacuation of the island, an accredited officer was appointed to arrange the mode in which it was to take place. It would be seen from No. 1. of the printed papers, that, immediately on lord Hawkesbury's receiving a note from M. Otto, mentioning that the first consul had appointed general Vial to be minister-plenipotentiary to the order and island of Malta, lord Hawkesbury, in return, communicated (No. 2.) to M. Otto that his majesty, on his part, had appointed sir Alexander Ball, who had received full powers and instructions to concert with an agent on the part of the French government the means of executing the article of the treaty with the least possible difficulty. Previous to the evacuation, the election of a grand-master was an object of important consideration; and to this his majesty had given every possible facility. The grand-master then chosen had seen reasons for not acceding to the election, and a new election became indispensable. Again, his majesty, actuated by the same desire of peace, and the same wish of carrying into effect the stipulations of the treaty with scrupulous fidelity, acceded to an arrangement for a subsequent election, with the view of removing every obstacle to the evacuation of the island. A body of Neapolitan troops were, in the first instance, to be admitted into the island; and to their admission on the part of his majesty not the smallest obstacle was opposed. In a word, without going into

into any minuteness of detail, he would content himself with referring their lordships to the clear and unequivocal proofs of a pacific spirit, which had, throughout the whole of the stipulated arrangements relative to Malta, been exhibited on the part of this country. It was about the 27th of January that the French government began to press, in a very peremptory manner, the evacuation of Malta; and it was about that period that ministers thought themselves bound to demand some satisfactory explanation of the pretensions advanced, and the views disclosed, by the French government. Circumstances then existed which rendered it necessary to refer back to what had been the conduct of the first consul from the period when the treaty was concluded. In the course of this review, the plain, the irresistible inference was, that the conduct of the French government had been one constant series of acts totally inconsistent with a sincere desire of preserving the peace of the two countries.—At an early period after the treaty was signed, representations were made about the freedom of the press in this country, the publications reflecting on the French government to which this freedom gave rise, and the necessity of subjecting not only the press, but the deliberative assemblies of the country, to a degree of restraint inconsistent with the genius of our excellent constitution. The stay of the princes of the house of Bourbon, of certain bishops particularly named, and of a number of emigrants who continued to wear the badges of extinguished royalty, was made the subject of complaint. What the answer of ministers to these complaints was, was sufficiently explained in the papers; and he entertained a confident expectation that it was of a nature to meet with universal support and approbation.

Lord Pelham was convinced that it was unnecessary to remind their lordships of the various other proofs which the French government had given of a hostile and dangerous spirit. It would be necessary only to refer to a few which were most prominent and worthy of consideration. At the period when the first consul began to be so very clamorous about the evacuation of Malta, it would not be forgotten by their lordships that an official document of a very extraordinary nature made its appearance in France. He meant to allude to the report of colonel Sebastiani, an agent dispatched by the first consul to make the tour of the greater part of the provinces of the Turkish empire. The publication of this report necessarily excited suspicion. It disclosed views and unfolded projects which could not fail to attract the peculiar notice of ministers. In every page, one most important lesson was to be collected—that the views of the first consul relative to Egypt had not been for a moment abandoned. If any doubt remained, this doubt must have been completely removed by subsequent circumstances. In an interview with our ambassador, the first consul had not thought it necessary to throw the slightest veil of secrecy over his designs. In a formal conference with the ambassador of an independent power, the first consul had not hesitated to declare that Egypt must sooner or later be in the

the possession of France. He would put it to the candour and feelings of their lordships, whether ministers were not entitled to demand from the French government some security for its future views relative to Egypt, beyond what the treaty of Amiens provided? In the continued possession of Malta ministers conceived this security might be found; and hence originated the discussions which this subject had created, and the importance which the possession of the island afterwards assumed. Malta, in the hands of this country, could only be viewed as a security. It could afford to France, or any other power, no reasonable ground of jealousy or alarm. No other place was liable to so little objection, and on this ground ministers rested their claim to its possession.

But, independent of these considerations, there were others which justified ministers in retaining the island. When the treaty of Amiens was formed, and when, according to the stipulations of that treaty, the island was to be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, certain revenues were understood to be appropriated to their support, in a way consistent with the objects which the treaty proposed to establish. Without this support, it was absurd to talk of that independence which the treaty professedly guaranteed. But their lordships could not have forgotten, that, in Spain, the revenues of the Spanish command had even been confiscated. The same thing had taken place in Italy and in Bavaria. The French government, so far from opposing any obstacle to this sequestration, had appeared to have encouraged it, in a way which showed a very great degree of disinclination to the execution of the treaty. After pursuing this conduct, it was with a very bad grace that the first consul came forward to insist on the peremptory execution of the treaty. As long as the hope of peace could, with the smallest degree of reason, be entertained, ministers had shown the utmost reluctance to resort to any measures which might hasten a renewal of hostilities. When, however, the conduct of the French government had become such as could no longer be tolerated, consistently with the national honour, dignity, or safety, it became parliament and the country to speak in terms of suitable indignation of their repeated acts of insult and aggression. If war had become inevitable, it ought to be a war in which the national spirit should be exerted in a way which would demonstrate to a proud and insolent foe, that, while the people of this country were not anxious for an opportunity of taking offence, they were sensibly alive to the least imputation of dishonour, and determined on punishing insults with the most exemplary vengeance. — His lordship concluded by moving the address.

The duke of Cumberland rose, notwithstanding the able and accurate statement of the noble secretary of state, to enter upon the unpleasing task of repeating the various indignities and insults which had been offered to this nation by the French government. Among their first acquisitions since the peace was Lombardy, which they pleased to call the Italian republic; then followed the isle of Elba, Piedmont, Parma, and lastly Switzerland. Holland, which was one of those nations whose independence they had acknowledged by their treaties, was now over-run by French troops; and as to this country, if it could submit to the insolence

insolence and unjust pretensions of France, it would soon be in as degraded and humiliating a situation as any of those small nations which were now obliged to bow to the mandates of a French minister, and obey his instructions. As to our commerce, which, in a country like this, must be an object of the first importance to the nation, and an object of the greatest solicitude to its government, the French government had, in a time of peace, acted with the most inveterate hostility. It was not by laying on any protecting duties, or any fair mode of rivalry, by which they endeavoured to depreciate our manufactures, and substitute their own in their stead. No; it was by force and injustice, that they not only prohibited the entrance of our manufactures into their country; but excluded them also from every country which was under their influence; or, rather, which could be terrified by the consideration of their power, joined to that of their rapacity and injustice. Their tribunals had confiscated our vessels on the most frivolous pretences; they had refused, in every instance, justice to all British claimants, and they were pleased to call this conduct the conduct of a nation at peace. The illustrious duke then adverted to the report of Sebastiani; after which he proceeded—this country had also been told that it had nothing to do with the affairs of Europe, or with the oppressions and vexations that France might please to exercise on other nations, and that all our rights were derived from the treaty of Amiens. When did France make this discovery? or when did Britain forfeit the rank and estimation she had hitherto held among the nations? But the French government were not content with endeavouring to regulate at their own discretion, or rather at their own caprice, the affairs of all other countries; they wished much to be allowed to introduce their own theories, their impracticable systems, and destructive innovations, into the constitution and laws of this country. Of all the institutions of our country which had been dear to our ancestors and ourselves, there was none that displeased them more than that which had been always considered the pride of this free country—*the liberty of the press*— established by the constitution, and regulated by the laws. This was more peculiarly galling to a government whose measures could not bear the light of free discussion. His royal highness concluded by reminding their lordships, that, if this war should be of any long continuance, the consequences of defeat would be the overthrowing of our altars, the destruction of our nobility, the degradation of the country, the extinction of the national honour, and the loss of that character which had hitherto made the people of this country respected among the nations: whereas, if we should prosecute it with that vigour with which our former wars had been conducted, there would be no doubt of the same success. We should convince the world that we had not degenerated from the patriotic spirit of our ancestors; and we should teach France, that there is still in Europe a powerful and unconquered nation, which, just and moderate in its own conduct, would not bear injustice and insult from any nation, and was always prepared to defend its own dignity, and to oppose unjust ambition, aggrandisement, and encroachment.

Earl Stanhope, after a few prefatory remarks, said he should attempt

tempt to state what the real differences between the two countries were; and in his description of these differences he should take as little as possible from his own recollection, and as much as possible from the printed papers. In the 102d page of the correspondence, a proposition was brought forward by ministers, that Malta should remain in the hands of this country for ten years; and it was hardly necessary for him to remind their lordships, that, agreeably to the terms of the treaty of peace, it was to be given up by this country in three months after the ratification had taken place. He would not take on himself to say that no circumstances might have taken place which rendered the non-execution of the stipulation highly proper and highly expedient. Whether such circumstances did occur, was the great subject for examination at the present moment. Now, with reference to the possession of Malta, it was of consequence to ascertain whether ministers had always represented it as the grand object of dispute betwixt the two governments. In paper 83 of the correspondence, he found that the acceptance of a project relative to Malta would, according to the representation of a noble secretary of state (lord Hawkesbury), remove one of the most material of the difficulties existing betwixt the two governments. For himself, he was ready to confess that there was an object much dearer to his heart than the possession of Malta, important as he considered it: this was, the maintenance of the constitution and the liberties of his country. One single iota of those liberties and that constitution he would on no account consent to relinquish; and any attack on them, on the part of a foreign power, he would consider as a ground of war on which no possible diversity of opinion could prevail. He did not think, that, in the principle on which the retention of Malta was required, ministers were justified. Their argument was, that because, since the signature of the definitive treaty, France had received a considerable accession of power, therefore England was required to hold Malta by way of additional security. To such a principle, as this he never could give his approbation. He would put a case to the candour of their lordships from which some idea might be formed of the principle which ministers set up in defence of the retention of Malta. Supposing that Cuba had, during the intermediate period, been ceded to this country by Spain, or Sicily by the king of Naples; what would any of their lordships think if Bonaparte had come to this country with a demand for additional security in consequence of this cession? Was there a single individual having a drop of English blood in his bosom, who would not have indignantly spurned at such a requisition? But, admitting the principle, ministers could have no objection to his contending that it ought to be equally true in point of fact. With this understanding he should contend, that, instead of the power of France being augmented since the peace, it had been materially decreased. In Europe, it might indeed be said that it had been increased; but this was a necessary consequence of antecedent events. After the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, all the subordinate states of Europe were virtually under her control; and

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any formal cession was merely a nominal, not a real accession, of power. But he begged their lordships to consider what was the decrease of influence and power which the French government had sustained in other parts of the world. Did their lordships bear in mind, that, since the signature of the definitive treaty, the important colony of St. Domingo—a colony in point of real value and importance superior to all the other French possessions in the West Indies—had been lost to France? In stating the debtor and creditor side of the account, this was a circumstance deserving of peculiar attention. When France made peace she had St. Domingo; now she had lost it. But how had she lost it? He would tell their lordships: Previous to the first consul's sending troops to that island, there were a set of persons at Paris known by the appellation of *Amis des Noirs*. These persons, with the most philanthropic views, had established such a system of goodwill towards the blacks, that, if it had been pursued, would at any time have commanded 500,000 fighting men in the West Indies. Now, with such an army in point of numbers, headed and directed by French general officers, what might not be expected in that climate! Had that system been pursued, Jamaica and the whole of our islands must have fallen beneath the irresistible power of France. That such would have been the consequence, would appear from evidence given at their lordships' bar during the discussions on the slave trade. A noble admiral, and one of the best officers in our navy (admiral Affleck), had deposed at the bar of that house, that, in his opinion, it was impossible to prevent the ingress of negroes into the islands, however vigilantly blockaded. In this he was also confirmed by the testimony of other naval men of great authority. Here then was a source of power at that time within the reach, if not in the actual possession of France. This not only extended to us, it also reached Spain. France, through the same means, might have possessed herself of Cuba, Porto Rico, Mexico, and Peru. The existence of our whole West-India possessions might have been exposed to the most imminent peril; but now all this danger had entirely disappeared. By the unwise conduct of the first consul—for whatever was contrary to the rights of man he must always consider unwise—a system of extermination had been pursued, by which the indignation of the blacks had been exasperated to madness, and France was deprived of one of the richest and the fairest colonies of the world.

But ministers, after all this, still reverted to the views of Bonaparte respecting Egypt. Putting this question fairly and candidly, he wished to ask their lordships, whether it was meant to be insinuated, that the predilection of Bonaparte for Egypt was any thing novel? Was it not well enough ascertained, that the possession of it was one of his most favourite objects? Did he not, for the accomplishment of this object, sacrifice one of the bravest armies that ever followed the fortunes of a favourite general? Because the first consul had, at one time, expressed a very strong inclination to obtain possession of Egypt, he did not think that this was a sufficient ground for the retention of Malta, in the way in which it was by ministers proposed

proposed to be retained. He desired their lordships to reflect on this circumstance—that a favourable change might be introduced into the sentiments and views of the first consul. He had not shown himself to be guided by any systematic or invariable principles. It was impossible, from what he had done to-day, to calculate what he should do to-morrow. This might, with some persons, be a ground of censure; but he liked the first consul the better for this disposition.

There appeared to him, his lordship argued, something laughable in the whole arrangements relative to the retention of Malta. The ultimatum of ministers was, that Malta should remain in our possession for ten years. He should wish to be informed, whether any important national advantage could result from this arrangement? After the ten years were expired, were the ambitious views of Bonaparte to be moderated? Was he to divest himself of all the qualities which were now the objects of anxiety and alarm? He certainly entertained no sort of doubt of the views of the French government respecting Egypt; and he would be the last man in the world to deny, that, with a view to the security of our eastern dominions, the possession of Egypt by France was certainly an event most earnestly to be deplored. He differed, however, from ministers on this point, in the most decided manner. He differed from them on the simple principle, that Malta ought to be kept in perpetuity by this country. But how had ministers conducted the discussion? Their conduct, as he had before hinted, was ridiculous in the highest degree. It appeared in page 110 of the Correspondence, in a dispatch dated as near to the present day as the 12th of May, that at the time when lord Whitworth was preparing to set out from Paris, M. Talleyrand brought forward a proposition, holding out a prospect of allowing us to retain Malta in perpetuity for a valuable consideration. The answer to this proposition was of a very simple description. Lord Whitworth solicited for his passports, and left Paris without any explanation. This he could not help thinking contrary to all the wisest maxims of policy. It appeared to him, indeed, to violate the plainest principles of common sense. In judging of this question, he thought that he could not have a better criterion of judgement than by putting himself in the supposed situation of an arbitrator. Acting in this capacity, if he were called on to decide upon the differences of two individuals, he should begin by ascertaining what were the particular objects to which they respectively laid claim. If he found that the claims of both referred to the same object, his arbitration might then appear fruitless. If however their wishes were directed to different and unconnected objects, the task of arbitration would become easy. He should, in this case, ask the parties, what they respectively wanted? He should make an equitable adjustment, and leave them to settle the difference.

But ministers did not rest their case with Malta. They had a long string of complaints against the French government, respecting the curtailment of the liberty of the press, the dismissal of emigrants, and the seditious publications of bishops. The insolence of Bonaparte, in requiring these concessions

cessions to his haughty demands, had been made a subject of very general complaint. He was ready to declare, that, after having perused the papers with the utmost possible attention, he saw no proof of his insolence in the correspondence betwixt the two governments. If the French government really required that the liberty of the press should be curtailed, that the freedom of discussion in both houses of parliament should be limited, then he declared that ministers ought to have insisted on an immediate and distinct explanation. If the answer of the French government was not satisfactory, what was to be the conduct pursued by ministers? They ought to have recalled our minister that day, and on the succeeding day our cannon ought to have roared, to avenge the insult offered to the national honour. He scarcely thought it necessary for him to declare his attachment to the liberty of the press; but while he was an advocate for its liberty, he was not to stand up for its licentiousness. He gave the noble lord who opened the discussion credit for the candour and fairness with which he had spoken on the subject. The noble lord allowed that he had seen some late publications of the most mischievous tendency. This he could say from his own knowledge; some of these publications were, indeed, of a nature which could not be justified on any principle of regard to the rights of independent states. It was of great importance that the liberty of the press, as it ought to be exercised, should be clearly and accurately defined. The criterion to judge of what was false, scandalous, and scurrilous, was, what would be tolerated with respect to the ministers of the crown? What could not be applied to their conduct, it was unfair and criminal to apply to the conduct of the first magistrates of other powers. On this point he thought the first consul of France had a right to complain; because it did not appear that any specific case of insolence on the part of the government of France was established. The plain objection against ministers was this; that they did not make a specific remonstrance. They suffered past injuries to pass over unnoticed. They continued to negotiate about Malta: and they had no principle then to hold up those as real ground of war.

There was one point more on which he wished to remark. In page 56 lord Whitworth said to lord Hawkesbury—'I found him to-day entirely disposed to give me another opinion, and to convince me that the first consul, far from wishing to carry matters to extremity, was desirous to discuss fairly, and without passion, a point which he admitted was of importance to both countries. He repeatedly assured me, that, much as the first consul had the acquisition of Egypt at heart, he would sacrifice his own feelings to the preservation of peace; and henceforth seek to augment his glory by improving and consolidating the internal situation of the country, rather than by adding to its possessions.' Fair words these, my lords, said his lordship. He would not be induced to give up Malta for them; but when it was offered to give us that island in perpetuity for a consideration, and such dispositions being professed, was it not worth endeavouring to find out what would suit him?

Upon

Upon this point, said he, let us look a little to the secret wishes of the consul. He seemed to object more to French publications than English. Now the means of circulation for the former were more convenient at Jersey and Guernsey. He (the consul) said also—"Send away the bishops, and such fellows." *(A laugh.)* He did not wish to get quit of my lords the bishops, he assured their lordships. He only used the consul's own words. These being the first consul's objects, let us see, said he, if we cannot give them to him. Jersey and Guernsey were strong, for the purpose of annoying him; but of little use to us. Why not, my lords, said he, give these up? Was it not better, than that two nations should destroy one another? Let us consider, continued his lordship—we have 500 millions of debt. Let us consider the necessary increase of burdens in case of war. The people were already debarred of many comforts and some necessaries. He wished to prevent the return of the income tax, and other burdens. The rich would not feel them heavily; but the poor and middling ranks would. He wished to avoid the sufferings of the people, if it could be done without sacrificing our national honour, or compromising our national interest. He did think, that not looking into the consideration alluded to by the first consul, indicated the absence of all desire in his majesty's ministers to accommodate. In his opinion, if the first consul did indeed wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom, and to alter its laws and constitution, the words made use of in the address proposed were too weak; but conceiving, as he did, that imputation was founded on a mistake, he could not vote for that part of the address.

The duke of Clarence, after a few preliminary observations, adverted to the report of colonel Sebastiani. It was not to Egypt alone that the mission of colonel Sebastiani was directed; it extended to the republic of the Seven Islands, the independence of which was stipulated for in the treaty of peace. Here the sacred name of religion was called in, to answer the purposes of the French government, and the first consul was graciously pleased to take under his protection the church of this independent republic. After the perusal of the official document alluded to, if it were possible to entertain a doubt of the views of France upon Egypt, it would be only necessary to refer to the conversation which passed between Bonaparte and lord Whitworth. In this conversation, the first consul by no means disguised his sentiments about Egypt; and declared that he might have taken it, if he had chosen to send 25,000 men there, instead of sending them to St. Domingo. Was this a proof of a disposition to peace, or was it an inducement to the British minister to give up that possession which was so well calculated to operate as a check upon his designs against Egypt? With regard to the annexation of a great part of Italy to the French republic, and the attack and subjugation of Switzerland, these were subjects strongly calculated to excite the apprehensions and the jealousy of Europe; but these the first consul of France treated as mere *bagatelles*. He seemed to consider that these violations of the rights of nations and

of the faith of treaties by him were to go unnoticed and unpunished, and that this country had no right to stop him in his career. Great Britain, in the mean time, took the most effectual steps for carrying the treaty of Amiens into execution. But it might be urged that Great Britain had not evacuated Malta. Upon this subject his royal highness observed, that although by the treaty of Amiens it was stipulated that Malta should be evacuated by his majesty's forces, yet the terms and conditions upon which that evacuation was to take place were also distinctly stated in that treaty. These terms were not complied with. The other powers of Europe had not consented to undertake the guarantee of the independence of that island; and consequently Great Britain was guilty of no infraction of the treaty by not evacuating Malta: on the contrary, she was acting both according to its letter and spirit. As a still further proof of her good faith, she had repeatedly and earnestly required the guarantee of those powers, whose guarantee alone could have secured the independence of Malta. Upon the subject of Malta, in the negotiation, various propositions were made — some, that it should be retained in perpetuity, and some that it should be retained for a term of years: but what was the proposal of the government of France at last upon this point? Why, that we might retain Malta for a certain number of years, provided the French were allowed to occupy Otranto and Tarentum, two important positions belonging to our ally the king of Naples. Whether this country could, consistently with its honour and good faith, have agreed to such a proposition, he would not insult their lordships with discussing. His royal highness then made a few general observations respecting the importance of Malta, which he considered in some degree as the salvation of Europe. He afterwards adverted to St. Domingo. A noble earl (Stanhope) had contended that France was considerably weakened by the loss of that island. But it was to Great Britain alone that it was to be attributed that France was prevented from having possession of St. Domingo and Louisiana. It was his majesty's message to his parliament that prevented France from having Louisiana. It was Great Britain that said to France—"You shall not seize the colonies of Holland and Spain; you shall not have their West-India islands; you shall have nothing but what Great Britain pleases in the east or in the west, unless you conduct yourself in a very different manner." It was, however, far from his wish, if it were in our power, that we should destroy France. He did not wish that this country, whatever her power or successes, should be insolent or oppressive; but he wished to show France that we could resist her aggressions, that we could chastise her insolence.—He concluded by giving his assent to the motion.

Lord Mulgrave followed.—The noble lord who had spoken last but one had delivered a speech which he should find the greatest difficulty in answering, because a greater display of French feeling and French partiality he never remembered to have heard. It was with the most profound astonishment that he had heard the noble lord talk of giving up the islands of Jersey and Guernsey—those islands

islands which had been so long united to and were so sincerely attached to Great Britain, the advantage of which we had so often experienced in war, the benefit of which we had so constantly experienced in time of peace: those islands which made a vigorous defence on former occasions against the common enemy, and whose exemplary rejection of every principle of Jacobinism ought to endear them for ever to every Englishman. Having read the negotiation with close attention, as he was sure each of them had, he would ask whether, the state of affairs, the circumstances, being maturely weighed, it ought not to be a matter of exultation that the treaty of Amiens no longer existed? He was one of those who had wished for peace, and deprecated war as the greatest of calamities; but he had considered the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens as incapable of execution in its real sense and spirit; but as it had been signed, and as the honour of his majesty and the country was committed, it ought to be adhered to. Yes, my lords, said he, treaties should be sacred. But if one of the contracting parties departed from it, then the other was no longer bound. Now, how had the French government acted in conformity to the spirit and meaning of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens? Why, on the 11th of September, 1802, Piedmont was annexed to France. Was this a *bagatelle?* Piedmont was a country of greater importance than was generally supposed. Its resources were great for its extent, and its productions abundant. We knew that its princes, supported by the ardour of the people, served as a counterpoise against Austria in former wars; and should we admit as a mere *bagatelle*, that the resources of a country capable of being dangerous, in the hands of France, against Germany, and consequently against Europe, at present should be so employed—should we consider this as a *bagatelle?*—"*Ces sont les bagatelles.*" Was not this a reason why this country should demand explanation, and additional security, in consequence of the annexation of this valuable territory? The Helvetic republic was to have been independent; it was to have the power of legislating for itself: but see it reduced to the vassalage of France, trodden upon by her armies, and obliged to accept a constitution! What was the state of Holland? Compelled to feed and pay the armies of its great ally and protector, it groaned under the weight of its slavery. What were we to understand by slavery? If a country could not act in conformity to its own wishes, if it could not legislate for itself, if it were obliged to give up, when called upon, every thing it possessed, under the pretence of friendship, to an ambitious and powerful neighbour—what was this but slavery? And such was the condition of Holland, or, as it was nick-named, the Batavian republic. He did therefore call upon their lordships to say whether the aggregate at least of the ambitious and domineering acts of the French government, in Europe, and its views respecting Asia and India, should not be well weighed; and before he would commence on this occasion, he should weigh the conclusion very deliberately. But the conclusion was most clear and decisive; and his majesty's mini-

sters had declared that, notwithstanding the many incitements to irritation and hostility they had received, still they preferred the blessings of peace, consistently with the dignity of the crown, and the honour and welfare of the country, to every other consideration; and did ingenuously profess an intention to execute the treaty of Amiens. But in the purview of this treaty, the independence of Malta was to be guaranteed; a grand master was to be appointed—by whom? By the langues, and confirmed by the pope. View this subject in its proper point of view. The grand master was to be confirmed in his situation by the pope. The guarantee of the pope, my lords, said he, in past ages, might have been sufficient security, when he could say to one power—You shall submit to my mandate, or I will excommunicate you, and absolve all your subjects from their allegiance; but what was the power of the pope at present? Was he not the vassal of the French republic? was he not the instrument of its ambition? was he not all things to all men when the consul commanded? But there was something extraordinary in the history of the langues of Malta. He should instance one, in order to show the insecurity of any treaty that might be subject to its ratification, as far as the articles respecting it may be extended. "A grand master had offended the langues: in consequence, as they thought they had a right to do, they suspended him. He appealed to the pope, who remonstrated, but in vain; the grand master appointed by the langues continued in his office until death." This was an historical and unequivocal proof of the hostilities of the knights of Malta. It was evident, under the circumstances of the present case, that the pope could not be a sufficient guarantee for the independence of Malta. Without power, without territory, without even spiritual influence, what security could be afforded by him to the British empire?

In regard to the report of colonel Sebastiani, his lordship remarked, conformably to the treaty of Amiens the independence of the Ionian islands was secured and the integrity of the Turkish empire confirmed. How did these things accord with the mission of Sebastiani? Under these circumstances, said he, allow me to ask, whether we are declaring war against France, or France against us? Were there not grounds at least of apprehension? And why should Great Britain for an instant hesitate to bring the point to an issue? But consider the subject a little further. In turning over the pages of the negotiation, he found a note from M. Otto, requesting to send away from this country the princes, the bishops, and other emigrants, who had sacrificed their comforts, their property, their connexions, and, in fine, all that was dear to them, to their honour and principles. The government of this country was called upon to banish them, to refuse them the rights of hospitality, and eject them from us as outcasts of society, doomed to encounter the horrors of degradation, poverty, and perhaps persecution. But, my lords, said he, what language is this? Was it not speaking to the government of this country as to the king of Naples? Was it not commanding us in a manner to succumb to the yoke, and bear the

iron

iron rod? Then we may expect to be under the pro-consulate of Arthur O'Connor,—"shorn, and to the quick" indeed. He concluded by saying, he hoped to be excused, on an occasion of this kind, for indulging a little in English feeling and English sentiments, arising from a wish to preserve our constitution, our liberty, and rights.

Lord Melville wished it to be understood that he considered the retention of Malta for ever to be a most essential object, and one which, in the relative circumstances of France and this country, we were fully entitled to prosecute by war. In voting for the address, we therefore voted our concurrence in the war, of which that was the principal object. The attainment of it would be of the utmost benefit to all the states of the Levant; and under our protection alone, Malta could be rendered independent and happy.

The duke of Richmond observed, with regard to the subject of peace or war, there could not be much difference of opinion; although it must be wished that the door of negotiation might be left open, and the dreadful evils of war averted, if possible. If Malta could have been obtained for us for a valuable consideration, he should have preferred that mode of securing it, far beyond a recurrence to hostilities. When he referred to a valuable consideration, however, he begged to be understood as not willing to surrender what the noble earl (lord Stanhope) below him had proposed, the islands of Jersey and Guernsey in exchange for Malta. To deliver those islands into the hands of the French republic would be an act of the greatest ingratitude and injustice, as well as an act of the greatest impolicy. If he were to judge from the papers on the table, the duke said, he did not see that war was of necessity to be resorted to. Magnified as the various grievances stated in the king's declaration were, and seriously as they were insisted upon, they all vanished when the *ultimatum* of ministers was read. Not one of them was therein noticed; but the whole objects contended for in the negotiation were abandoned, and the controversy was brought to the single point, whether Great Britain should obtain the cession of the island of Lampedosa; an island he had never before heard of; nor did he at that moment know whether it was approximate to the coast of Spain, of Barbary, or of Egypt. Equally ignorant was he of what description the island was—whether a barren rock, or a fertile spot; whether it possessed rivers or springs, good naval or military positions, or whether there was any ground fitted for fortifications. It really appeared to him, from the papers, that the island of Lampedosa was the sole ground of the war; and surely it was too ridiculous an object for a grave and serious assembly to act upon, when the consequent waste of blood and treasure was taken into consideration. Notwithstanding the great importance attached to Malta, the king's servants had agreed to give it up, after a few years' possession, for the paltry island of Lampedosa. For his part, he did not think we ought to go to war on that account; and he could not but express a hope that some measures of arrangement would be taken with the government of France;

although he would not deny that, if no solid means of security could be obtained, and we were compelled to go to war, it would be indispensably necessary to prosecute that war with the utmost energy, vigour, and decision.

The marquis of Lansdown said, the different points in dispute required a most minute consideration, to enable the house to come to a final decision. He should not, for his part, take them upon rumour, but reason upon facts. All that had been said of Holland, of its distresses and sufferings, and of its intimate connexion with Great Britain, as to common interest, had been very much exaggerated and twisted, to serve particular ends, as the views of men and the state of public affairs varied. There was nothing, at all events, of such necessity as to press this country into hostilities on account of Holland. With respect to Switzerland, notwithstanding its boasted independence, it was undeniable that it belonged in fact to other powers, and not to us, to interfere for its deliverance. Austria had clearly a more intimate connexion with Switzerland than we could possibly have, and a more powerful cause to interpose than we; yet she was deaf to those complaints in which also her own interests were allowed by every one to be most materially implicated. In addition to these subjects of complaint against France, it was stated, that she had acted in the most wanton and arbitrary manner with regard to the seizure of Parma and Placentia. He did not, he could not find an apology for an act so very tyrannical; but he would ask, was there no other power interested in the repression of that despotism but Great Britain? were we, upon all occasions, to volunteer our resources and exertions, when those more immediately interested did not think proper to interfere? Why did not Russia think proper to interfere, who openly avowed the deep concern she felt in the preservation of these countries? His lordship did not think the mission of colonel Sebastiani could justify us in appealing to arms; since the governments of all countries, and particularly that of France, were in the habit of sending persons abroad in order to collect information, sometimes of a commercial and sometimes of a military nature; which information thus collected was carefully arranged and preserved. But it was maintained, as another cause of war, that the first consul had views upon Egypt. His lordship had no doubt that he had, and he believed any one in his situation would be actuated by just the same views. He was far from supporting the whole of that person's character. No honest man he believed could approve of his conduct: yet, it was not because the first consul had developed views of ambition, that we ought to conclude that he intended to go to war with us.

After a few words concerning Malta, which he considered of less importance than had been attributed to it, the noble marquis concluded by expressing his most fervent hopes that some means might be devised for keeping the door open to negotiation, and for avoiding the dangers and calamities of war. Let us profit, said he, by the example of the American war, and take care that our discretion

discretion and prudence be not sacrificed to false glory.

The duke of Norfolk trusted that the house would not think with a noble lord who had preceded him in the debate, that we should go to war for Malta, because it was for our interest to retain possession of that island. In his grace's opinion, if the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens could have been put under the guarantee of the powers mentioned in it, particularly Russia, we should have had as much security for the peace as the circumstances of Europe would permit. The address did not entirely meet his ideas. He wished that it should state, that the house would see with satisfaction his majesty avail himself of any opening, either by negotiation or mediation, calculated to avoid the necessity of war.

Lord Melville said, in explanation, that the noble duke had not given a correct representation of one part of the short speech which he had had the honour to address to their lordships. He had not stated that this country was to go to war because it was our interest to keep Malta. His proposition was merely this—that the article of the treaty of Amiens relative to Malta being incapable of execution, although not from any fault of ours, but from the force of circumstances, it consequently led to an arrangement completely new. He desired not to have it sent out to the country, that he should wish to violate the treaty because it was for our interest to do so, but that the treaty, as far as it respected Malta, had been so materially altered as to render the execution of it impossible.

Lord King said a few words, at the conclusion of which he proposed an amendment, the object of which was to leave out the greatest part of the address, and to substitute some new paragraphs, the purport of which was, that the house would see with satisfaction that his majesty would listen to any further offer of amicable settlement, consistent with the honour and interests of the country.

Lord Ellenborough, in answer to the question where were the causes that justified our going to war, observed, it was not a war merely for Lampedosa, as a noble duke (Richmond) had said, though, as the noble duke might have looked to that object as a fruitful subject of future fortification, he ought not to have held it so despicable. It was necessary to consider whether the war was just: for, unless that was sound, all the rest was hollow. But he contended that for Malta alone, independent of other circumstances, we had a just ground of war. The 10th article of the treaty could not be carried into execution. The order was degraded by the confiscation of their revenues; the guarantees were withheld, so that it could not be executed. By every principle, both of the law of nations and of common law, it was necessary to execute the contract as nearly as possible in the spirit and sense, if not in the form intended. But it was necessary too that time and conference should be employed to that end. Upon taking up the treaty on the ground of its being impracticable, France could not, with justice, demand the evacuation of Malta, since nothing had continued in the same state as when the former arrangement was concluded. But

since it had been shown that Malta was of the utmost importance to the preservation of the interests of this country, could it be expected that Malta should be given up after Sebastiani's report furnished us with such decisive information of the intentions of the first consul? Besides, the aggrandisement of France since the peace entitled us to new securities and compensation. By the law of nature and nations, even an aggrandisement by succession or otherwise might have been ground for jealousy and suspicion: but when that aggrandisement had been obtained by violence and injustice, it could no longer be doubted that we were entitled to make new demands. He denied that the proposal of accepting Lampedosa in sovereignty, and Malta for ten years, was one that was to be rated by the mere value of those objects. The object gained would have been security that the danger which the ambition of France threatened would be guarded against for ten years; that Europe would have obtained a breathing-time; that means might, in that period, have been devised for fresh securities.

His lordship concluded by saying, to the energies of the people parliament he trusted would supply wisdom, counsel, and unanimous resolution to withstand the common enemy, without being influenced by any low considerations of party.

Earl Moira acknowledged the justice of the picture which some noble lords had drawn of all the calamities attendant on a state of war. It was like the pestilential blast of the desert, which withered all before it. After noticing the amendment proposed by a noble lord, which he hoped would not be pressed, as it would violate that unanimity which was of the last consequence to the fate of the country, he adverted to the manner in which a noble and learned judge had treated the complaints of the French government, with respect to the publications in this country, many of which, he was ready to admit, were certainly offensive. Among these, however, he did not mean to dwell so much upon the sentiments of the English newspapers, as upon those which appeared in French newspapers published in London, particularly the *Courier de Londres*, a paper understood to be, in a great degree, under the peculiar patronage of his majesty's ministers. If so, the French government had very just reason to complain. It was reviled in the grossest terms of abuse, in this publication; and why, he would ask, should a paper, which could not be employed for any purpose of amusing or informing the people of this country, be suffered to pursue that system of conduct which must operate to disturb the amity subsisting between the two governments,—more particularly when government had power, under the alien act, to send the editor out of the country, if it chose to discountenance such proceedings?—Their declining to do so, was not less a justification of the remonstrances of the French government upon this subject, than a ground of suspicion to this country as to the disposition of his majesty's ministers.

These observations he thought a sufficient reply to the arguments advanced by the learned judge on the ministerial bench.

His

His lordship could not accede to the proposition of a noble viscount, that Malta alone would have been a rational ground of war. The objects for which we have to contend, were of a wider and more important nature. Our jealousy and alarm were excited by that incorrigible spirit of encroachment and ambition, which not only the first consul, but in fact all the persons connected with the government of France, had for some time manifested; and even if Malta were actually in our hands in perpetuity, we should not sit down contented until some further security should be obtained: of this the nation ought to be aware. The fact was, that, from the present state of this country, there was no option; either the attempt to reduce that power must be made, or the nation must fall down to the most abject and degrading submission. The main object of the war, if it be either popular or politic, must be to restrain the arrogance—to reduce the preponderance of the French government; and until that object be attained, the war should not be abandoned—until France should not be capable of endangering our existence, whatever might be the disposition of her government to injure us. The material point was to diminish the continental power of France, where, he contended, she was vulnerable: for, whatever noble lords might say of her extent, he would beg the house to consider the nature of the strange combination of particles which formed that extent, and it would cease to be thought an object of such terrific magnitude. It was, in fact, quite competent to Great Britain, with the resources, population, and spirit she possessed, to bring this overgrown authority within reasonable bounds; but it must be done by vigorous efforts—by a short and decisive war. His lordship repeatedly urged the necessity of endeavouring to render the war of short duration; and this was not possible, unless the minds and resources of the people were vigorously and judiciously exerted. He concluded by observing that, if the country were to be engaged in war, it ought to receive a confident assurance that it did not go into it merely for colonial purposes, for petty contests, but for great national interests. Such ought to be the general feeling; and the house should bear in mind this important fact—that, if the present war were misconducted, one consolation only would remain, that we should never have another war to conduct.

Earl Spencer considered this country as having not only a just but an indispensable cause of war against France; he should, therefore, give his most hearty support to the address, rather than to the amendment, which, by prolonging a temporising system, would lead to no possible advantage, but rather exhaust the means of our security, and allow the French government time to gain new advantages.

The earl of Rosslyn stated, that the French complained of a publication called "L'Ambigue," of which there were but three numbers published. The first number had nothing offensive in it; the second, very little; the third they complained of—and the paper was noticed, and instantly stopped by legal prosecution. But France was dissatisfied with this legal course, and observed, that the author was subject to the alien law, and therefore they expected that he should be

be sent out of the kingdom immediately, to oblige the government of France. Did they know so little of the constitution of England, and the course of the administration of its laws, as not to know that none of its ministers made use of the power they had, except upon information given them for the purpose of putting the law in motion; and that, when a law was made for one purpose, it was never in England applied to another? The remainder of the noble earl's speech was decidedly in favour of war.

Lord Grenville, after descanting for some time on the justice and necessity of the war, proceeded to observe, that it was stated in his majesty's declaration, that the French government had actually proposed to other governments the partition of the Turkish territories, and her share would, no doubt, comprehend Egypt. Without taking Sebastiani's report at all into account, the circumstances alluded to in the declaration were quite sufficient to warrant the inference, that the first consul meditated a breach of the treaty of Amiens. Under all those circumstances, he was perfectly convinced that peace or war was not a matter of choice; and he would suggest to the noble lord who proposed the amendment, that as temporising had already produced no other effect than to torture the people of this country by suspense, and embolden the pretensions of the first consul, it would hardly be advisable to make any other experiments in that way. In pursuance of that system, his majesty's ministers had given up the Cape of Good Hope, and Martinique; and if still more were to be given up, the country would soon be convinced, notwithstanding, that protection was not to be obtained by such means, against any project that France might have in contemplation against our Indian empire, or elsewhere. Being convinced that war alone was the remedy left for the country, he would strongly exhort to every possible exertion.

Lord Clifton (earl Darnley) remarked that lord Hawkesbury, in his last dispatch to lord Whitworth, complained that "until the very moment when his excellency was about to leave Paris, the French government avoided making any distinct proposition for the settlement of the differences between the two countries," &c. Could any thing prove more strongly, than this avowal of the secretary of state himself, that nothing had been gained by procrastination and delay? and that the French government never believed, till the last moment, that ours was really in earnest? He concluded by voting for the address.

After lord Gwydir had spoken a few words recommendatory of unanimity, the question was put, and there appeared,

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Adjourned.

The debate in the commons on the subject of the negotiation was opened by lord Hawkesbury, and was continued to even greater length than in the lords. Our limits will not allow us to enter into any further detail; nor, indeed, is it necessary for the proper understanding of the grounds of the war. We content ourselves with the mention of one circumstance only, which was omitted in the discussion in the upper house, but to which we have alluded in another place. This was stated by Mr. Pitt, and furnishes a strong additional argument, if any such were wanting,

wanting, to prove the determined and unremitting hostility of France to this country. The circumstance alluded to is the following:—Mr. Pitt observed, that the French government had made a formal proposition to send persons, in the capacity of commercial agents, who had never been found necessary, even when a commercial treaty subsisted, at a time when not only there was no such treaty, but when, as appeared from the papers on the table, the commercial intercourse of his majesty's subjects with France was suffering every degree of violence and oppression. This proposition had naturally and wisely been refused. The French government then proceeded clandestinely to send these agents in the train of their ambassador; and, not content with this breach of the law of nations, they afterwards addressed to them instructions, under the official character in which they had received admittance: and the object of these instructions was, to direct them to take measures, in time of peace, for ascertaining the soundings of ports, and for obtaining military information of districts—acts for which they would have been hanged as spies in time of war. Under such circumstances, he could not but lament to find, that his majesty's ministers had contented themselves with merely applying to the French government to withdraw those persons, and had not at once advised his majesty, by his own authority, to order them to depart the kingdom within twenty-four hours, reserving it to himself afterwards to require from France the reparation due for so gross an insult. This pretension, he said, in respect of the commercial agents, manifested an avowed determination to introduce, in defiance of our formal refusal, authorised emissaries into our arsenals and ports, in order to prepare, in time of peace, the most effectual means for our annoyance and destruction in time of war. This was nothing less than to insist on our surrendering before-hand the right and the means of national defence; and if the former claim (of restraint upon the press) had struck at the liberty, this struck as directly at the actual safety of the country. It was time, he believed and hoped, that the commercial agents had at length been withdrawn, upon the representation of his majesty's ministers, though it did not appear that any disavowal had been obtained of the principle on which they had been sent. On the question being called for, there appeared

For the address 398—Against it 67.

CHAP. VII.

Defence of the Kingdom.—Militia embodied.—Message from the King.—Debate on the Message in the House of Lords.—Army of Reserve.—Bill for additional Military Force.

THE first object with ministers, in the existing circumstances of the nation, was to prepare for the defence of the country; and the first

first measure that naturally suggested itself was the calling out of the militia. For this purpose the secretary at war rose, on the 20th of May, to make a motion of which he had given notice. The object of the bill he was now to move for was, he said, to complete the quota of the counties, and to facilitate the raising of the supplementary militia. He thought it his duty not to disguise from the house, that there were considerable deficiencies in several counties; and in order to remedy these as much as possible, and to facilitate and improve the general defence of the country, were the principal objects of this bill. The first provision of it was, that as soon as it passed, the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants should be empowered to make up all vacancies. As the law then stood, they could not fill them up under three months; and all vacancies occasioned by desertion were by this bill to be filled up in one month. The second provision was, that the magistrates should proceed to fill up vacancies. Formerly, the penalty was only 10*l.* annually; but by this bill the commandants were empowered to certify to the magistrates the vacancies which happened quarterly instead of annually; so that the penalty, instead of 10*l.*, would now be 40*l.* The next provision was against men enrolling themselves first in one regiment, and afterwards enrolling in other regiments, till they had, as they termed it, gone the grand tour. When his majesty should issue his proclamation for the militia-men to appear at their regiments, they should be obliged to be there on a given day, or should be considered as deserters. There were, he said, other provisions, such as for facilitating the raising of the supplementary militia; the penalties to be increased from 10*l.* to 20*l.*; and that during the present hostilities with France, if there should be occasion for his majesty to call out the militia, he should not be obliged to summon parliament. Militia-men were in future, also, to take the oaths prescribed to privates in the regular forces, as to their age, families, parishes, &c.; and seamen found to have entered into the militia should be turned over to the navy, and be re-placed by substitutes at the expense of the public. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill for more speedily completing the militia, and for facilitating the raising of the supplementary militia.

Colonel Porter asked, whether any regulation was to be adopted respecting the mode of finding substitutes by societies, &c.? The secretary at war observed, that it was very difficult to adopt any legislative measure on that subject. There were, however, some other provisions in the bill, which he had omitted to state. It was intended to empower the deputy-lieutenants to examine on oath persons offering themselves as substitutes, as to their place of residence, the number of their children, whether they had served in the army or navy, and other points. Leave was finally given to bring in the bill.

A message was received by the house on the 25th, stating that his majesty had judged it necessary to adopt, without the smallest delay, all possible means in his power, which might contribute to defeat the acknowledged designs of the enemy, &c.; and that his majesty had thought proper to cause the supplementary militia to be embodied, in order to be called out as occasion might require. The secretary at war

war moved the address; which was ordered accordingly.

The measure which we have just now mentioned not being deemed sufficient for the defence of the kingdom, a message was presented from his majesty, on the 18th of June, to the following effect:—That his majesty thought it proper to acquaint the house, that for the more effectual defence of the united kingdom against the avowed designs of the enemy, and for the purpose of providing such means as might be best calculated for a vigorous prosecution of the war, his majesty deemed it important, that a large additional force should be forthwith raised and assembled. His majesty recommended this subject to the consideration of parliament, and relied with confidence on their zeal and public spirit, that they would adopt such measures as upon this occasion should appear to them to be most effectual, and for carrying the same into execution with the least possible delay. On taking this message into consideration on the 20th of June, lord Hobart rose, and said, he deemed it his duty, in consequence of the situation he held, to throw out a general outline of the intentions of government, with respect to the object of the address, and the pledge he meant it should contain. He was sure, all their lordships must feel the indispensable necessity of placing this country in such a situation, as not only to render it secure from the attack of the enemy, but also to render such an attempt so little likely to succeed, as to deter the enemy from carrying those designs into execution, which it was evident they had in contemplation. With respect to the plan itself, their lordships would understand that what he had to propose was nothing more than an outline.

His lordship observed, that a large and considerable force was necessary to be collected in this country, for resisting the enemy; and he had no difficulty in stating, that, on the part of the military, every exertion had been made, and was making, to increase the force of the regular army by every possible means; but it was apparent that those exertions could not have the effect of producing that force we wished to have stationed in the country. To produce such a force by ordinary means, would be so difficult, that it was incumbent on his majesty's ministers to suggest extraordinary means; and he was sorry to say, that necessity required those means should be of a compulsory nature. He was sensible of the difficulty of obtaining so great a number of men as was required, without inconvenience to the industry of the country. Upon that subject he had only to say, that although the measure he should propose, would, to a certain degree, have the effect of pressing upon the industry of the country, yet it was trifling compared with the danger of exposing the country to the consequences which would result from not having recourse to it. In the last war there were raised for the militia 114,386 men, including Scotland. The number of men now raised for the established and supplementary militia amounted to 72,963 men; to which it was proposed by the present plan to add 40,000 for Great Britain. This would make the whole force, for this country, amount to 112,963 men, being 1,423 less than during the last war. With respect to the measure itself, it was the intention of his majesty's

majesty's ministers, that the army to be raised should consist of 40,000 men for Great Britain and the islands of the Channel (Guernsey and Jersey), and 10,000 for Ireland: the service of the troops to be reciprocal, those raised in England to serve in Ireland, and those raised in Ireland to serve in England. Upon the subject of finding officers for these corps, he would state what was in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers. It was proposed that they should be persons who had held army rank, and had served either in the fencible corps or in the East-India company's service. By this, there would be at once adopted an effectual means of finding officers. From what he had said, their lordships would understand, that it was intended the men should be raised on the principle of the militia, by ballot, and that they should be taken out of the counties and districts, with the addition of such volunteers as thought proper to offer their services, and be enrolled for Great Britain, Ireland, and the islands in the Channel. The age of the persons to be raised, to be from 18 to 45. Their lordships would perceive, that there was nothing in any act of parliament under which men were raised for the militia, to prevent their entering into the regular army. They were at liberty to do so if they pleased. The measure would, therefore, operate as a mean of increasing the disposeable force of the country. It was unnecessary for him to state, with respect to a disposeable force, that although the one proposed to be raised was not of that description, yet, when it should have been formed, which he trusted it speedily would be, it would be found available for all the purposes of internal defence and protection. He did not state this as a plan with regard to which he was not convinced there were many objections. He had only to say, that, after mature consideration, and after consulting with those best able to give those opinions which might be relied on, he thought it a measure most likely to effect what their lordships had in view. If any of their lordships could suggest a plan more likely to be attended with beneficial results, there would be every disposition on the part of his majesty's ministers to receive it. Having thus far opened the plan, he should move, that an humble address should be presented to his majesty, to return him thanks for his most gracious message, and to assure him that that house was impelled, by every consideration, readily to concur with his majesty in such measures as were best calculated for the security of the kingdom, and the prosecution of the war.

The duke of Clarence could not approve of the principle, even of the general outline of what the noble secretary of state had proposed; but he candidly owned, that the outline was less objectionable than what the public at large had reason to expect. He should wish to propose to raise 40,000 men for England, and 8,000 men for Scotland; if the population of that country would admit of more, he would have more raised: 18,000 men were as much as Ireland could afford. He wished to raise 40,000 men throughout the united kingdom for general service, to go north, south, east, and west, and to be officered by his majesty's officers only. He would have them raised under the promise that they should be discharged at the end of the war. He also proposed, that they

they should have his majesty's bounty the same as the other soldiers; that they should be occasionally re-placed, and be liable to serve in America, the East or West Indies, or any part of Europe where their service might be necessary. The force now to be raised, it was true, amounted to 50,000 men; but these, he contended, would not be so efficient as 40,000 to go all over the world. His royal highness said, he was at no time disposed to support motions for the production of papers; but he could wish to move for an account, showing the amount of the existing naval force of France and Spain. He concluded by observing that while France was governed by an ambitious man, the plan of an invasion of this country might be attempted; it therefore became us to be fully prepared; and thinking the measure proposed inadequate, he felt it his duty to oppose it.

The earl of Carnarvon concurred with the illustrious duke (of Clarence) in objecting to the proposed measure, on the ground, that it was a system of defence merely; nor was the objection lessened by the intended reservation to the men raised by the proposed ballot, that they might at their pleasure enlist from the stipulated defensive, into the regular unlimited service.

Earl Moira made a very energetic and patriotic speech on this occasion, the chief object of which was to urge activity, promptitude, and decision. He supported the measure proposed by the noble secretary of state, because, though it might be objectionable in some points, it was preferable to further delay. There was not an hour—not a moment to be lost. "While your lordships," said he, "are debating, the enemy is acting; while we are devising plans of defence, they are executing means of attack; while we are idly preluding in a war of words, they will come on us in a war of action; they will surprise us unprepared, and overpower us slumbering at our fire-sides."

"Occupat incautum, patriasque obruncat ad aras."

The duke of Richmond had some doubt of the practicability of the measure. Let noble lords recollect, that the country had already been called upon within a few months to ballot for two distinct numbers of militia. If they were now to be again called upon to raise 40,000 additional men by ballot, he feared they must be taken chiefly from the agriculture of the kingdom, and that could not but be attended with very prejudicial consequences. He should have thought men might have been raised by levy and bounty, as was usual for the army, and applied to general service, as an illustrious duke had recommended. A force calculated for general service might equally be employed in *defensive* measures or *offensive* operations, as the nature and circumstances of the war might require. The duke recommended it to ministers to employ a number of cavalry in defence of the country. Our troops of horse were very fine ones, and the horses of this kingdom, of which we had great plenty, were some of the finest in Europe; whereas, the men to be raised were all infantry. Now he thought cavalry the most efficient force that could be opposed to the enemy in such a country as England, particularly where no invading general could derive such fame as Dumourier did from the tactics he displayed

played in the forests of Ardennes; or Moreau, in the retreat which would immortalise his name. He would also suggest the propriety of augmenting the horse artillery. It was a force too obviously useful to be neglected by government. With regard to raising 40,000 men by ballot, his grace repeated it, that he doubted its practicability. The last supplementary militia regiments were not yet completed; his own regiment was deficient two hundred men, and they were extremely difficult to be got: other regiments, to his knowledge, were equally incomplete. He endeavoured to get eighty men, and sixty of them paid the 10*l.* per man for their exemption; so that, in fact, you raised money, and not men, when a further attempt was made to raise more men by ballot. In such a war as we were engaged in, men's opinions and prejudices ought to be attended to. We ought to take the heart and good will of the country with us; but distressing the agriculture (for there the pressure would be most felt) was not the best means of securing that important object. He concluded by declaring that he should vote for the address.

Lord Grenville, after some animadversions on the general conduct of ministers, observed, in respect of the present measure, that although he thought recruiting the army would be preferable, he would not oppose it, for fear that the ministers would not propose any other measure, if the present were not received. His lordship then adverted to what had fallen in debate on the subject of conscription, and said, however unpopular the opinion might be, he was willing to bear his own share in the unpopularity, in avowing that it was of the very essence of all governments, and the very compact of all societies, that the government had a right to call upon the whole, or any part of its subjects, for common defence against a common enemy, in return for the protection they enjoyed under that government. It was already the case with seamen, and was equally justifiable towards any other class of subjects, when public danger required it.

Lord Sheffield concluded the debate by saying, that in voting for the address, he wished not to be supposed to agree that the plan of defence proposed was the best that could be selected; on the contrary, it appeared to him inadequate as to the object, and inexpedient as to the means; and, if the ballot were to take place without any exemptions, the most oppressive, provoking, and expensive, that could have been chosen. He considered, that if the proposition passed into a law, upwards of 112,000 men, for whom there had been a ballot, would be called out within three months; and if the number should ever be complete, which he much doubted, that the wives and families of those 112,000 men must all fall upon their parishes. At length the question was put, and the address agreed to.

The debate which took place in the commons on the same subject, originated chiefly from the objections of Mr. Windham to the militia system. He recommended an increase of the regulars as a more effective force. The address, however, was at length agreed to *nem. con.*

On the 27th of June, in the commons, the secretary at war moved the order of the day for taking

taking into further consideration the report of the bill to enable his majesty more effectually to raise and assemble an additional military force, for the better defence and security of the united kingdom, and for the more vigorous prosecution of the war. Previous, however, to the house going into the further consideration of the bill, it was his wish that it might be recommitted, in order to move, that it be an instruction to the committee that they have power to divide the bill into two: the one, as it regarded England and Ireland—the other, as it regarded Scotland. This division would be found very commodious on many accounts, and would occasion no delay. On the contrary, it would facilitate and accelerate the execution of the measure.

The house having resolved itself into a committee on the bill, the secretary at war moved an instruction to the above effect; which was agreed to.

The secretary at war next requested the committee would then permit him to go through the bill, and to point out the more material amendments which it was thought advisable to make in it. If he should not enter into a very minute explanation of all of them, it was because they were not, in his opinion, of so much importance as to call for such an explanation. He should begin with the clause which prescribed the quotas to be furnished by the different counties. The quotas for Scotland he should not then enter into, but reserve what he had to say on that point when the separate bill was brought in respecting Scotland, which he expected would be done the next day. What was to be furnished by England, amounted to about three-fourths of the force to be raised. The quotas, however, for the English counties would not be regulated exactly in the proportions of the militia bills of the last year, but should be regulated on the returns which had recently been made by the lord-lieutenants of each county, and which were now almost all before the privy council; and where they were not as yet complete, the proportion and return might easily be made out from the returns of last year. The number of persons liable to be balloted for the different militias was computed at 900,000. After drawing the ordinary and supplementary militias, there would yet remain liable to be drawn for the army of reserve, 750,000: out of this number, the quotas for each county would be regulated by the returns already alluded to, and corrected moreover by a reference to the population act. As to Scotland, the quotas might likewise be regulated on the same principle of the latest returns of the male population. It was thought better by some to refer to the principle of the militia act of last year; but so that 40,000 men could be raised in due time, it to him appeared immaterial upon which of the two principles they were raised.

The next clause to which he had to call the attention of the committee was that which included the exemptions; but previous to entering upon that clause, he had to state another alteration which had been made in the bill. The bill, in its original form, proceeded on the scale of the militia ballot, and took the age at which persons were liable to serve, at from eighteen to forty-five years. Property, as well as personal service, was also to be attended to on the same ground;

and persons above forty-five years, if possessed of a certain property, should likewise be made liable to a certain extent; and if they were struck on the ballot, they should be obliged to find a substitute. The age for those able and liable to serve personally would now be from sixteen to forty-five, and the size five feet two inches, as usually prescribed for the militia, though not, perhaps, very rigidly to be observed. The criterion which he was disposed to fix for those who were liable to be balloted for above forty-five was, that they paid thirty pounds and upwards to assessed taxes. Such persons, where the ballot fell upon them, should be obliged to find a substitute. A clause was also provided to enable lieutenants of counties to amend the lists; which might easily be done by striking out those who had left a parish, and inserting in their stead those who had come into it.

He should next proceed to the exemption clauses; and these would be found nearly the same as those enacted by the supplementary militia bill, to which, and to the present bill, he begged leave to refer the committee for particulars. He should propose to take the 22d of June, the day on which the bill was brought in, for the period beyond which the exemptions were not to extend. All articled clerks, therefore, who had not entered into their articles on or before that day, were not exempted; neither were volunteer nor yeomanry corps; and to prevent frauds, which he was informed had often occurred among a certain description of clergymen, no person who had not obtained licence to preach a twelvemonth before the 22d of June, 1803, should avail himself of the exemption proposed for the clergy.

Volunteer and yeomanry corps whose services had been accepted on or before the 22d instant, or to such corps of that description, who, even after that period, should be willing to extend their services to their respective military districts, were also to be included in the exemptions; and likewise, if they offered to perform the garrison or police service of great towns—such as London, Edinburgh, Bristol, Glasgow, York, Birmingham, &c. The exemption might also be extended to such individuals belonging to the volunteer corps, who, though their services were not accepted on or before the 22d inst., would be willing to appear at muster for a certain number of days. The number of days he should propose for that purpose would be two days in the month, or a certain number of days equal to two days in the month. Another amendment he had to propose related to substitutes. No substitute should be admitted who had more than three children; and for the mode of providing for their families, he would refer to the provisions of the supplementary militia bill.

He then proceeded to consider the clauses for imposing fines. According to the militia, every person was liable to a fine who did not find a substitute. For the ordinary militia the fine was 10*l.*; but it was increased to 15*l.* since the supplementary militia was introduced. The same principle should now be followed; but some difference should be made with respect to persons of different descriptions of property. He should propose, in the first place, that every person from sixteen to forty-five, if drawn and not disposed to serve in person, should pay a fine of 20*l.*, which sum

sum should go to the parish that is obliged to find its quota. Should the parish be able to find a substitute for a smaller sum, the surplus should go in aid of the poor's rates of such parish; and hence an interest would arise to keep down the price of substitutes as low as possible. The lowest fine would, therefore, be 20*l.*; but with respect to those who paid 10*l.* and upwards to the assessed taxes, they should pay 5*l.* more for every ten they paid to the assessed taxes, till the fine amounted to 100*l.* The surplus, after finding the substitute, in such cases, should be paid into the hands of the receiver-general, by him to be employed for the recruiting service of the army.

Most of the other clauses were the same as in the supplementary militia bill, especially with respect to raising men as volunteers; and the speedy and effectual accomplishment of the measure must chiefly depend on the strenuous exertions of gentlemen in their respective districts. As to the price to be given to volunteers, he should propose that they should receive half the price paid for a substitute, and, moreover, two guineas from the receiver-general. The next clause related to the power vested in his majesty for modelling this army, and appointing its officers. Out of the line, none were to be appointed to the rank of colonels or lieutenant-colonels, but such effective officers of that description, who would be ready to go down and inspect the drilling of their respective corps. Of the half-pay officers, many were always disposed to volunteer their services when any emergency called for them; and he wished a clause to be inserted in the bill, granting a power to discharge, from time to time, such as might be disposed to become volunteers in the line. His majesty was likewise to be empowered to accept the offers of those to serve with the regulars who had been enrolled for a limited service, as had been done during the late war, when many of the militia offered their services, on condition of not being sent out of Europe. The new-raised battalions were to be formed as much as possible from the same counties; and where a county did not furnish enough to form a battalion, it should be collected and made up out of the neighbouring counties. They should correspond, in a great measure, with the regulars of each county. They should be accoutred and bear the same facings as the battalions of the regulars, and indeed be considered as so many auxiliary battalions ready to be called out and assist in the same service. Their services to be confined to Great Britain and Ireland, unless they volunteered them for more distant scenes of action; but without their free option, no power on earth should remove them from where they were originally destined to act.—The right hon. gentleman next adverted to the clause relative to the proportion of the men to be furnished by the Cinque Ports and the city of London. He had no objection that London should furnish its proportion of men in the same way as had been done formerly in raising its proportion of the militia. He trusted, however, that the public spirit of the city of London would not be wanting in giving every degree of facility to the expeditious supply of the men to be raised. The right hon. gentleman then concluded by moving the first clause respecting the quotas.

Mr. Pitt remarked that the Cinque Ports, from the nature of their constitution, had always been left to raise their quota in their own way. He did not mean, however, to state this by way of exempting them from the operation of this bill; but he looked on this as a new kind of levy, and therefore did not know, that under this or any other regulation they could form a true judgement of the numbers which ought to be the quota for the Cinque Ports; and he was by no means certain that four hundred was that which would be fair and equal. On the clause relative to the Cinque Ports, at the end of the bill, Mr. Pitt begged leave to observe, that, by the act of the forty-second of the king, they were directed to raise their quota as they chose; but this was a new levy, and made an estimate of their quota on a new principle. The deputy-lieutenants were every way competent, in the different counties, to the task of raising the militia, and of judging of the quotas to be provided for each; but there were no such persons in the Cinque Ports. The mayors and different officers, in the several towns, had always performed this office, and raised their quota in their own way. He wished, therefore, to apprise his right honourable friend and the committee of these circumstances, in order that they might turn their minds to the subject, and prevent any delay which a misconception on this point might occasion.

The secretary at war then moved that the number of men to be furnished by the city of London should be eight hundred, and by the Cinque Ports four hundred. Mr. Alderman Coombe said, it was not, he was sure, the wish of the city of London to provide less than their fair proportion; but as they had peculiar privileges upon this subject, he hoped this clause would be suspended until some further consideration could be had. It was accordingly agreed that the clause should be suspended.

The clause regulating the mode in which the lists were to be formed gave rise to a very long conversation. The secretary at war, in the course of this conversation, said that he first had intended to propose the age to be between sixteen and forty-five, liable to personal service, or to find a substitute, and then from the age of forty-five to fifty, liable in like manner, provided the person was assessed 30*l.* a-year for the assessed taxes; but now he collected that the committee wished the age should be from eighteen to forty-five, and then from the age of forty-five to fifty, in case the assessed taxes of the person were what he had stated them to be; but it was indifferent to him as to the ages between forty-five and fifty, provided the bill was carried with speed, and the number he had stated raised. He had thought that the age between forty-five and fifty might be taken in upon the present occasion; but there might be another measure by which they might be called upon for service, or for substitutes, as he had already stated. As to the list, he had a clause in his hand to regulate the mode of making new lists, in cases where that would be necessary.—Mr. Pitt thought the present lists preferable with a view to expedition, and recommended the propriety, for the present, of overlooking trifling defects. It was finally agreed that the age should be from eighteen to forty-five. On the clause relative to the exemption of clergymen, some observations

tions were offered relative to licenses. Allusions were made to former frauds; but it being at length agreed that the clause, as it then stood, was adequate to the prevention of their recurrence, it was agreed to.

The next clause respected the exemption of the volunteers. A discussion of some length ensued. Sir J. S. Erskine entertained the highest idea of the zeal and loyalty of our volunteer corps, but at the same time he thought that it would be requisite to guard against a practice which might in some individual instances be adopted; that was, that men should not enter the volunteer service, and then lay down their arms as soon as the ballot was over. At present, he believed, there was no sufficient tie on them to continue their services to any given period.—Mr. Sturges suggested the propriety of inserting the 6th of June, the day on which he believed the army estimates had been presented, for the time of volunteers' service having been accepted; that no service tendered after that day should exempt them. He was well convinced that many had entered volunteer corps, merely for the prospect of being exempted from other service, in consequence of something that had fallen from the right honourable secretary of state in the course of that day's debate. After a few more observations, the question was put, and carried without a division.

Colonel Craufurd proposed that persons enrolled for the army of reserve should also be made liable to serve in the regiments of the line, any where within the united kingdom. He did this to avoid the trouble and delay of waiting for voluntary offers, and that the country might be sufficiently guarded, at any moment, to meet the extraordinary designs of the enemy.

The secretary at war said, that it was intended to vest a power in his majesty to transmit any of the persons enrolled by virtue of this bill, from the army of reserve to any of the regiments serving within the united kingdom; and that the blanks should be filled up accordingly when they came to the clause. They might either be formed into regiments within themselves, or they might be ordered by his majesty to fill up regiments of the line, serving within the united kingdom, Guernsey, or Jersey; or they might give their own voluntary service to regiments serving in any quarter of the world.

On the clause settling the period of service, Mr. Pitt observed that the militia, he understood, were to serve for five years, or during the war, and he wished that the terms of the service should be the same. He thought that it might be attended with great inconvenience, if a greater part of the army were to be disbanded during the war. One month, too, after the ratification of peace was too short a period to allow the government time to adopt measures for replacing the army. He hoped that, by a vigorous and successful war, we should, at last, arrive at a peace more permanent than the last; but still he thought that any peace would necessarily demand a greater degree of precaution, and of military force, than had been found requisite at any former period. It would be in peace that our military system would be adopted, and then there would be time to settle it upon such a footing as to enable us, in case of any emergency, to call forth a force applicable to any occasion. That system ought

to be formed on the principle of securing a body of supplementary recruits in the speediest manner, whenever they should be wanted. In order, however, that this might be done, government should not be suddenly left without an army; and therefore he thought that the period of service should be five years or during the war, and six months after the ratification of peace.—Accordingly, after some conversation, this was the period of service fixed for substitutes.

Several other amendments were made. The secretary at war proposed, that every person who should not serve or provide a substitute, should pay a fine of 20*l.*; but, if subject to the payment of 10*l.* to the assessed taxes, should be liable to a further fine of 5*l.* additional, for every additional 10*l.* of assessed taxes, which such person might pay, and so on, up to 100*l.*, which should be the highest penalty. The scale of penalties was opposed, on the ground that it would tend to raise the bounties so high, as to render it extremely difficult to procure substitutes, and also throw material obstacles in the way of recruiting for the regular army. The whole of the clause was therefore left out, excepting that part which fixes the penalty at 20*l.*, which stands as the fine for all persons declining to serve or to procure a substitute. Clauses were adopted, that the payment of a fine should exempt the person paying, from the ballot only for one year; also, that, if any person should accept earnest, or any part of the bounty, for becoming a substitute, and should, notwithstanding, refuse to come forward, it should be competent to two deputy-lieutenants, or magistrates, to issue warrants, to have such person brought before them; and, if he should still decline to serve, and was unable to return the money so advanced, he might be committed to the common jail, without bail or mainprize.—Upon the several amendments, a great deal of desultory conversation took place. The house having resumed, the report was received and agreed to. The bill was read a third time on the 1st of July, and on the 5th the same bill passed the lords.

On the third reading of the Scotch army of reserve bill, Mr. Charles Grant wished to know upon what scale the secretary had calculated the proportions for the counties of Scotland.—The secretary at war replied, that at first the proportion was calculated at thirty-four for one hundred of the population of the country; but, after consulting with very able men who had assisted in forming the tables of population, the old calculations were found to be very imperfect; and the conclusion was, that eighty-four to two thousand should be the average. But on account of the incorrect returns in some counties, there should be added to the average of eighty-four, a number not exceeding sixteen; and in other counties a number should be taken off the average, not exceeding sixteen. After a few words more the bill was passed.

On Friday, the 18th of July, the secretary at war rose and observed, that, as the measure for raising the army of reserve was now disposed of, it was his duty to give notice, that he should, on Tuesday next, move for leave to bring in a bill to render more effectual the act of the present session, for the better defence of the realm, and for rectifying certain measures therein proposed relative to commissioners.

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The motion was not brought forward till the 18th of the same month, when the secretary at war prefaced it, by saying, that the bill already passed contained provisions for enabling his majesty to take such preliminary measures for ascertaining the strength and resources of the different parts of the kingdom as were necessary, with a view to further measures of internal defence. It likewise provided a compendious mode of acquiring possession of such property, on the part of the public, as might be necessary; and there were provisions for a summary mode of indemnifying those persons who might suffer either by the preparations or by actual invasion. But, upon mature consideration of that bill, which was similar to the bill passed last war, in the year 1798, it did not appear to him to go quite far enough. It was particularly defective in one point; namely, in enabling his majesty to avail himself of his ancient and undoubted prerogative, in commanding the assistance of all his subjects fit to bear arms, for the purpose of repelling the invasion of a foreign enemy. The bill went no further than compelling the different counties to furnish their quotas, and taking other measures with respect to the safety of public property. He here went into some detail, to prove what he had stated with respect to this ancient prerogative of the crown, and backed his arguments with the authority of judge Blackstone. He then proceeded: that this being the ancient law of the realm, it might be asked, why was it necessary to call the attention of parliament at this time to any parliamentary measure? It was, because the process by which the prerogative of the crown, and the duty of the subject, could be enforced, was so tedious as to render it, in a great measure, useless. The party refusing to obey the king's summons might be fined and imprisoned; but it could only be by the due course of law; a delay which would render the process nugatory. It did, therefore, upon the principle and reason of the thing, with reference to the ancient exercise of the prerogative, so vested in the crown, seem to be necessary to adopt some simple, decisive, and effectual measure. After urging the necessity of this measure, from the particular circumstances of the country, he continued: under those circumstances, it appeared to him, that the whole power of the country ought to be put in a state to be made use of in case of necessity; and that, after calculating on our own powerful armies, we should have a second or a third line, or legion upon legion, and army upon army, in order to fill up the regulars, and bodies of troops in the field; and that we should calculate, in the first instance, those losses in battle to which we must necessarily look. In case of an actual invasion of this country, the operations in the field would, of course, be extremely active, and the conflict severe. We, therefore, ought not to look to the slow mode of recruiting by ballot; but we ought to resort to the ancient law, and to those powers of the prerogative, by which the king could command all his subjects to bear arms.

Having stated thus much, he would then proceed to state the outlines of his plan. The plan divided itself into two heads; the first related to the enrolment, and assembling the men when enrolled;

and the second, to the exercising and drilling them. What he proposed was, to make use, as much as possible, of the machinery of the militia, and to avail himself of the powers intrusted to the lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants. Recourse could not be had to any thing better. He should recommend, that the lieutenancy in every county should meet, as soon as possible, for the purpose of directing an enrolment of all men, in every parish, between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five. He should divide the men comprehended in the enrolment into four classes, in a way somewhat similar to that which took place in the militia. The first would contain all the young and unmarried men between seventeen and thirty. The second, all men between thirty and fifty who were in the same predicament. Thirdly, all men between seventeen and thirty who were married and had no more than two children under ten years of age. And the fourth class should include all the rest. He should also propose, that the enrolment should describe the persons in the following manner, distinguishing those who were serving in the army of reserve, or in the militia, or in any of the king's forces, or in any of the volunteer corps approved of by his majesty; and also those who were serving by substitute in the militia; and for this reason, because, while a person had a substitute actually serving, he could not be called upon for military services as long as it lasted. He did not propose to distinguish those who had served by substitutes; for the militia laws said they might be called upon whenever it came to their turn.

With regard to constables and peace-officers, they would appear in the roll so distinguished. When he came to speak of the assembling, he should propose to exempt such persons as long as they continued in those situations. The enrolment, he was desirous, should proceed much in the way of making up the militia. Every man would have an opportunity of appealing, in case he was improperly described, or was beyond the age, or belonged to any other class. He trusted as little time as possible would be lost in taking the necessary steps; and yet that they would not be so expeditious as to effect injustice. He meant to propose, that, when the deputy-lieutenants ordered the lists to be made out, they should appoint a day for receiving them, which should also be the day of appeal. He proposed that the lists should be corrected in spring and autumn; that they should be kept in as correct a state as possible; and that the abstract of the county roll should be transmitted to the principal secretary of state, divided into the different classes, so that it should describe the number of men, and those who were entitled to exemptions. Having so provided for the enrolment, he next proposed, that his majesty should have it in his power, in case of actual invasion, or the approach of an enemy's force towards our coast, to call upon the lieutenancy to assemble or embody all those persons who did not fall within the description of those whom he had mentioned as entitled to be exempted; and to order that all those of the first class should be forthwith called out to repel the invasion; and, during the time they were assembled, should be subject to military discipline, and be

be sent to any part of Great Britain, into any existing corps that might be raised; that the time of their service should be limited to the period of the invasion; and that, as soon as the enemy was exterminated, or driven into the sea, they were to be at liberty immediately to return home. That, upon assembling, every man should be entitled to two guineas, to furnish him with necessaries; and when their services were over, and they were at liberty to return home, that, over and above the usual sum allowed in the militia, they should be paid the sum of one guinea. He should also propose, that, when these men were so assembled, they should take an oath of fidelity during their service, which should extend not only to repelling foreign invasion, but to quelling any rebellion or insurrection that might exist during the time. He had stated in general the outline of the plan for enrolling and assembling the people; he would now proceed to that part of it which related to the exercising and training. He should say, in the first place, that the constitution of this realm not only provided for enabling his majesty to call on his subjects to repel an enemy, but the wholesome institutions of our ancestors provided that every man should be exercised in the use of arms. We might talk of population; but if men were unaccustomed to the use of arms, and did not know how to handle a firelock for their defence, the population was weakened in proportion to their ignorance. Our ancestors were so sensible of this, that there were many instances to be found in our books of obliging persons to provide themselves with arms, and to learn the use of them. As late as the reign of Henry VIII., all servants and labourers are obliged to practise the bow, and townships were ordered to provide butts for shooting at, and were fined if they did not. By the 33d of Henry VIII. c. 9. every man under sixty, not labouring under some bodily impediment, was directed to exercise the art of shooting with a bow; and fathers, governors, and masters were ordered to have those under them instructed in the use of arms. He should highly approve of some measures being adopted by the house, for obliging all our youth in public schools to be instructed in the use of arms; and that the military art should be part of the public education: for we lived in times when, unless a man knew the use of arms, and had the valour to employ them, neither his life, his property, his honour, or his family, could be safe a month. By the statute he had mentioned, masters were to bring boys up to arms, to provide them, till they were seventeen, with a bow and two shafts; and after that age they were to provide themselves. Butts were to be kept in repair, under the penalty of thirty shillings. Referring to this system, he should propose that his majesty should be enabled to direct the lord-lieutenants to make preparations for exercising the young men of the first class once a week in the different parishes. For this object, the king might order sufficient arms to be provided for such young men. These arms might be lodged in the churches or other convenient places, and should be kept in order at the expense of the parishes, and parish officers and constables appointed for the custody of them. There were other provisions in the bill he intended to submit,

submit, directing the lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants to appoint officers to command the men, dividing them, as much as possible, into companies of parishes; and where the parishes were too small, adding one or more. He should recommend, that over every 120 men the lord-lieutenant should appoint officers. That every person in the first class should attend once a week, for the purpose of being exercised; provided the place of exercising did not exceed three miles. This was surely no very grievous burden. He should propose, that persons omitting to attend should pay a small fine, proportioned to their circumstances in life. Those who were assessed to the parish rates should be fined five shillings; and young men, who were in the inferior branches of life, one shilling. In case of repeated omissions, the penalty would be increased in the manner described in the bill. There were provisions enabling the deputy-lieutenants and commanding officers to agree with out-pensioners to train the men. He was persuaded, that, if the house should think proper to adopt a measure of this kind, nothing could be more easy than to find persons in every parish to instruct men in the use of arms; at least to prime and load, and turn to the right and left. This was easily taught; and, once learned, was never forgotten. Officers would know best, how far such men, having received such instruction, would be serviceable after they were assembled, if they were armed and mixed with regular troops. It did not require much time to make a soldier for effectual service, though, perhaps, for parade and manœuvring it did. He believed there would be very little manœuvring in this country if the French were landed in it. If an Englishman knew but how to use his firelock, he would soon become a respectable soldier.

He should propose, that, when any of these men were called out, if any young man were desirous of serving in the cavalry, he should be at liberty to do so, upon his appearing equipped as a dragoon. He should also propose, that, if there were volunteers in a parish to half the amount of its population, the remainder, though not exempted from enrolment, should not be required to serve personally. In such an emergency, no man deserved the name of an Englishman who did not march out to meet the enemy—he ought to be set up as a mark of infamy. He therefore proposed, that no corps, so volunteering, should refuse to march under their own officers to any part of Great Britain where their services might be required. He should propose to extend this plan to the whole of Great Britain. He believed the ancient prerogatives of the kings of Scotland were the same as our own upon this subject; but, be it as it might, he was sure that no gentleman would object to a proposition so limited as the present one was. It was limited to enrolment in the parishes, while the enemy were out of the country; and, if they came, every man would feel himself called upon to march. With respect to Ireland, it was not his intention to extend the present measure to that country. The parochial divisions of Ireland were not carried to the perfection they were in England, though he hoped they soon might; and that every effort would be made to attain that object. At present, however, Ireland was not

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in a situation to make an application of this bill practicable. Besides, the powers given for raising volunteers had been carried to such an extent, by the zeal and courage so natural to the people of that country, that the measure with respect to Ireland was not necessary.

With regard to putting arms into the people's hands, and allowing parishes to have the custody of those arms, he admitted it was a very bold measure; but he begged the house to consider what was the state of Europe, and of this country. Some years ago, a measure of this kind could not have been resorted to; but he believed the bill was so framed as to obviate every difficulty; for, in the first place, the lord-lieutenants, and the magistracy, would have the appointment and control of those to whom the custody of the arms would be committed. The office of lord-lieutenant was every day becoming more important. They were the representatives of his majesty in the several counties, and might occasionally be intrusted with important military command. They ought to consider their offices not only in a civil but a military point of view. With regard, therefore, to the danger, he was of opinion, that, in such times as these, it was better to run the danger of the people making a bad use of their arms, than that they should not be able to use them—than that they should be so reduced as to be obliged to submit to a foreign enemy.

There was one point to which it was necessary he should advert, and that was, the quantity of arms in the possession of private persons in this country; for, though the arsenals of this country were never better supplied, yet the public arms might not be sufficient. We ought, therefore, to do in a good cause what the French had done in a bad one. He apprehended, that, under the late defence act, the king might require such arms to be delivered up. He was empowered to call for every thing that might be necessary. He might call for horses, waggons, and a variety of other things, and consequently he might call for arms. However, if there were any doubt, a bill could be brought in. The secretary at war concluded—earnestly hoping, that, if this measure were proper to be adopted, it would be encouraged by the house; and firmly believing it would tend to give us the command of a force more than equal to any the enemy could bring against it, and afford the means of filling up our regiments in case of necessity, he should move for leave to bring in a "bill to amend the act, passed that session, for the defence of the country, and to enable his majesty more effectually and speedily to use his ancient and undoubted prerogative in requiring the military service of his liege subjects in case of invasion."

In the committee on this bill, July 21st, a variety of clauses were introduced. Among others, was a clause for exempting the judges of England and Scotland from the operation of the act. The secretary at war proposed a clause to the effect, "that the persons comprised in the first class who engaged to serve as volunteers, should be bound to march in case of invasion; and, that all persons comprised in the other classes should remain and continue to exercise in the parishes till further orders." This clause was agreed to.—The next clause was, that, if his majesty ordered out any part of the

subsequent

subsequent classes, it should be chosen by ballot.—The next clause was for training the men for twenty-one days at furthest, and not less than fourteen days, till the 25th of December next. The next related to the number of men his majesty should draw out, in the first instance, upon the alarm of invasion. Agreed to.—The next required, that the muster-roll should make a report of the present and the absentees at the parochial drills. Agreed to.—The secretary at war then brought up a clause, enacting, that persons earning their livelihood by their daily labour should be paid one shilling for every day's attendance; and that the sum should be disbursed by the overseers of the poor, who should be reimbursed every month by the receiver-general, under the order of two justices of the peace. This clause also, after some opposition, was agreed to.—The secretary at war then proposed a clause, empowering sheriffs of counties to summon juries, to ascertain the value of property appropriated to the public service, in cases where the owners should be dissatisfied with compensation allowed by the lord-lieutenants.—The last clause proposed by the secretary at war, was the schedule containing the form of the muster-roll.—Mr. Tyrwhit (the prince of Wales's secretary) brought up a clause, giving the same powers to the lord-warden and deputy-warden of the stannaries, as to lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants: and also another clause, endowing them with the same military command in the stannaries, as lord and deputy lieutenants in the counties.

On the third reading of the bill, which took place on the following day, the following clauses were brought up:—a clause allowing persons who had more than one place of residence, to be enrolled in which place they should prefer:—a clause providing that, in case persons enrolled should, during the hours of training, misconduct themselves, they should be imprisoned a week, or fined five shillings; and a clause reserving the rights of the city of London.—A clause was proposed for allowing those whose religious scruples made them averse from exercising on a Sunday, to solicit any other day, but restraining them from receiving pay. The last clause brought up, was for granting to the lord-warden of the Cinque Ports the same power as lord-lieutenants of counties.—The question, being at length put, was agreed to, *nem. con.*

CHAP. VIII.

New Supplies rendered necessary by the War.—Army Estimates.—Ordnance Estimates.—Second Budget.—Regulations in the Committee of Supply relative to the Highlands of Scotland.—Compensation to the Prince of Orange.—Further Proceedings in the Committee of Supply.—Debates on the Property Tax.

THE recurrence of the war, and the necessary provisions for the defence of the country against the threat of invasion, rendered a further expenditure absolutely necessary; and the minister found himself

himself reluctantly obliged to call upon the country for new supplies.

On the 6th of June the house of commons resolved itself into a committee of supply; and the secretary at war said, that, in rising to submit to the consideration of the committee the army estimates on the new establishment, he wished to observe that they consisted of two parts: one of them related to those estimates that were not presented to the house at the commencement of the session. They were the usual estimates for supernumerary officers, pensioners at the royal hospitals of Chelsea and Kilmainham, the royal military college, and the military asylum. These estimates could not be presented before, because the whole of the expense could not be ascertained until the seven garrison battalions were complete. The second head of estimates related to some augmentation that had been ordered in the regular forces, to the militia and supplementary militia, and to some further expenses which had taken place in the barrack department. Those estimates which related to the supernumerary officers, pensioners at Chelsea and Kilmainham, &c. were much the same as before. The expense of the royal military college was greater than that of last year—it amounted to 8,110*l*. This increase was owing to a second company of cadets being formed. This institution being found to answer so well all the purposes for which it was formed, it had been thought expedient to add a second company of cadets. Any body who considered fairly the nature of this institution, would, he was sure, agree with him that it was an expense well laid out on the part of the public. He then proceeded to the royal military asylum. For this service he should move for a sum of 31,000*l*.; of this sum 21,000*l*. was to be applied to complete the building. He was sorry to say that the buildings which were completed cost more than had been originally estimated, though every attempt had been made to make the estimates as accurate as possible. This increase of expense beyond the estimate, arose partly from this circumstance, *viz.* that soon after the estimate was formed, the dispute with the northern powers took place, which caused a great increase in many of the articles used in the building. This, however, would, he hoped, be the whole expense of the building; and he should only ask 10,000*l*. for fitting up the rooms, &c. He next came to the second head of estimates, *viz.* those which related to the augmentation of the forces. The augmentation which had been ordered was not to a very considerable extent: for the committee would recollect, that, when the army was voted in December last, it was upon an unusually high establishment—the highest that ever was proposed in time of peace. It was thought that completing the army by a small augmentation would be sufficient; as the army voted was 130,000 men. The augmentation that would take place, would be principally in the cavalry. The committee would recollect, that, by the plan be proposed in December last, ten men per troop of the cavalry were to remain dismounted; those men were now to be mounted, and their place to be supplied with recruits; this would make 70 men per troop. There was also to be an augmentation in

in the foot-guards. The next augmentation arose from a regulation which had been adopted of abolishing the custom of field-officers having companies; in consequence of which, there would be three additional captains in each regiment. He would not now enter into any arguments upon the propriety of this regulation; he would only say that it was one which met with the approbation of the most experienced officers of the army. By this plan the situation of captain-lieutenant would be abolished, and he would of course have one of the three companies. Another of the companies was to be given to a captain on half-pay; and the senior lieutenant was to have the third company on condition of raising thirty men, and the senior ensign to succeed him on raising ten men. The expense of this measure would be about 35,000*l.*, *viz.* 26,000*l.* for Great Britain, and 9,000*l.* for Ireland. The greatest part of the expense of these estimates arose from the militia; it amounted to a sum of 1,267,000*l.* for Great Britain, and 480,497*l.* for Ireland. Contingencies 13,345*l.*; for clothing, 143,891*l.* The militia of Great Britain would amount to 60,893, supplementary militia 24,000; making (exclusive of officers, non-commissioned officers, &c.) the number of rank and file above 73,000 men. The militia of Ireland amounted to 18,000 men, making altogether above 90,000 men. And he was happy to say that a very short time indeed would elapse before they were all embodied and fit for service. The additional expense for the supplementary militia would amount to 416,000*l.*; the additional expense of the barrack department to 15,000*l.*, making the total expense for Great Britain 2,540,000*l.*; and for Ireland, 570,000*l.*: being altogether 3,110,000*l.* Having thus stated the general items, he would not trespass at present any longer upon the committee, but would be perfectly ready to give any gentleman every information in his power. He then moved the first resolution.

Mr. Windham preferred a regular army to a militia.—Mr. Pitt asked, Whether the force which it was now proposed to vote, included the whole of the regular force that was to be proposed, or whether they were to expect, in the present session, any more substantial augmentation to that which certainly was an unusually large peace establishment?

The secretary at war replied, that he had the satisfaction of saying that the attention of ministers had been directed to the preparation of a plan which appeared to them essential for securing, not only the domestic defence of the country, but also to enable us to put forth our arms in a manner that might be effectual for other objects.

Mr. Pitt said he was in a great degree satisfied by what he had just heard from his right honourable friend. He was happy to understand from him that ministers did not think that the present militia was all the additional force which the public service at this interesting moment required; and if they did not enter upon the subject at present, it was only because they had measures of augmentation in view which were not mature; that they had not laid before the committee the means of knowing the plan then for that reason; but that they were satisfied a considerable augmentation

augmentation must take place. Being of that opinion himself, he should hardly have occasion to make more than one remark; which was, that in his view of the subject, on the principle which ministers had adopted—that of more vigorous measures than had been hitherto ever tried to obtain that force which was of the best sort—that of supplemental force to the army, acting under commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the regular army, we were not in a state fit for war with France, until we were in a situation to avail ourselves of every opportunity which might occur for offensive as well as defensive operations. He would go further and say, that, as we wanted the means of offensive, we should have the more of defensive war. Mr. Pitt then proceeded to make several observations on the subject of the militia, relative to their numbers, &c. He knew, he said, that we had raised by ballot, without interfering with the agriculture or the industry of the country, 100,000 men. He knew, from the concurring opinion of almost all militia officers, that we could not hope to have, on the militia plan, officers for more than 70,000 men. He said, he would not go beyond that, without engrafting, on the militia, officers from the regular force. Some means ought to be applied in aid of the regular army. If any better mode could be devised than any which had been yet stated, he should be glad of it. He would engage to give it his support. The country must be put in a proper state of military preparation. The best means might, perhaps, not be readily seen: what he looked to, was the thing. It must have as much time for its consideration as was absolutely necessary to understand it, but no more: for whatever was wanted for the public defence, somehow or other must be obtained.

The chancellor of the exchequer was very glad that the questions put by his right honourable friend had given government an opportunity of declaring, that they did not rely, at the present crisis, upon the militia consisting of 70,000 men, great part of whom were at present in arms; that they did not rely upon the regular force of the country, which was, at present, greater than at any other period, except when an embarkation was about to take place; that they did not rely upon the brave and loyal yeomanry of the counties, but that they were prepared to bring forward measures for the purpose of providing a large subsidiary force, to be officered in the manner pointed out by his right honourable friend.

The first resolution was then read, and agreed to, as follows:—"That it is the opinion of this house that a sum not exceeding 29,337*l.* be granted to his majesty, for the pay of supernumerary officers, from the 25th day of December 1802 to the 25th of December 1803."

£.	266,004	8	11	for the in- and out-pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals.
	8110	8	11	for the royal military college.
	31,000	0	0	for the royal military asylum at Chelsea.
	218,270	11	1	for one regiment of light dragoons, and one West-India regiment retained on the establishment of the

the army; of an augmentation of dragoons in Great Britain, and to the three regiments of foot-guards.

31,000 0 0 for allowance to general and staff officers.
95,751 0 0 for the effective captains to the companies of cavalry and infantry, heretofore commanded by colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors.
1,747,570 0 0 for the militia embodied in Great Britain and Ireland, and miners of Cornwall and Devon.
38,345 12 7 for contingencies of ditto.
143,891 0 0 for clothing of ditto.
145,000 0 0 for increased subsistence to inn-keepers, and allowance of beer to non-commissioned officers and privates of militia, &c.
416,000 0 0 for supplementary militia.
300,000 0 0 charge of volunteer corps in Great Britain.
58,333 0 0 for barrack department.

Mr. Pole then rose to move the ordnance estimates, with respect to which, it was unnecessary for him, he said, to say much. If any explanation were required with respect to any of the items, he should be happy to give it. He should only observe, as to the outstanding claims upon the board of ordnance in Ireland, that when that board was dissolved, there were several claims of that nature upon it, and that commissioners were sent from the board of ordnance here to examine them, who, after the most minute investigation, reported, that the sum he should propose to be voted was due, and which was, by his majesty's command, carried to the account of the board of ordnance here. He then proposed to vote the following sums, which were severally agreed to:

For the service of the ordnance of Great Britain £.282,065 10 11
For Ireland - 35,000 0 0
For the outstanding claims of the board of ordnance of Ireland - 38,000 0 0

On the 10th of June, in a committee of supply, to which the estimates of the barrack-board, and those of the transport-office in Ireland, were referred, sir P. Stevens moved, that an additional number of 40,000 seamen, from the 7th of June, for seven months, be granted for the service of 1803, including 8000 marines. Lord Temple asked what number of men were now on board the fleet. Sir P. Stevens said, the number that had been voted was 80,000, but not more than 70,000 were on board as yet.

The first resolution was then put, and agreed to; as were the following:

£.118,000 for paying the said 40,000 seamen.
500,000 for victualling the same.
840,000 for wear and tear of ships.
70,000 for ordnance.
100,000 for hiring transports during the year.
65,000 for charge of prisoners for the year 1803.
20,000 for a similar charge.
24,933 for charges of barrack department of Ireland.

Also

Also that provision be made for payment of the clothing of the militia of Ireland.

Upon the report of the committee on the 11th of June, the resolution for granting an additional number of seamen was agreed to

On the 13th, the chancellor of the exchequer rose to move the order of the day for going into a committee to consider further of the supply to be granted to his majesty. The right honourable gentleman said, as it would be necessary for him to trespass a considerable time on the patience and indulgence of the house, the observations he should introduce would be those only which necessarily and naturally arose out of the official duty he was called upon to perform. Suffice it for him to state, that a very large majority of the house agreed in an address to his majesty, expressive of their approbation of the grounds of the present war, and their determination to support his majesty in prosecuting it with energy and vigour. He had only then to request the indulgence of the committee while he stated what were the sums voted for the public service, and what were the means, by which he proposed that the sums necessary to cover these votes should be raised.

SUPPLIES.

There had been voted for the navy -	£.	£.10,210,000
For the army there had been voted -	8,721,849	
There was to be voted for extraordinaries	2,000,000	
Extraordinaries of the preceding year, already voted - - -	1,032,151	
Total amount		11,754,000
Vote of credit for the present year -	-	2,000,000
Ordnance - - - -	-	1,280,000
Corn bounties - - -	-	524,753

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

England - - -	1,000,000	
Ireland - - -	363,339	
		1,363,339
Total of joint charge		26,879,000

SEPARATE CHARGE FOR ENGLAND.

Deficiencies of malt - -	118,840	
Deficiencies of ways and means for 1802 -	171,431	
American claims on awards, probably about	330,000	
Due to the India company - -	1,000,000	
To pay off exchequer bills on aids of 1801	2,781,000	
Interest of exchequer bills, &c. -	920,418	
Repayment to the bank - -	1,500,000	
Total separate charge -	-	6,821,679
Total supply		33,700,679

Brought forward	£.33,700,679
Deduct 2-17ths for Ireland on the joint charge, and the proportion of Ireland for civil list 140,224*l.* making	3,302,459
Total supply	30,398,220

The means of providing this sum would consist of three parts:—the taxes voted annually—the growing produce of the consolidated fund, and issue of exchequer bills; and lastly, an augmentation of the duties of excise and customs, and a separate tax on property. The last he wished to be considered solely as a resource applicable to war. The ways and means would then be as follows:—

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and malt voted annually	2,750,000
Exchequer bills, although authority had been given by parliament for an issue of four millions, take only	3,000,000
Surplus of the consolidated fund	0,500,000

Before Christmas, he ventured to calculate upon this sum as the produce of the consolidated fund. That calculation was formed upon the estimate and returns, as far as then ascertained, of the taxes laid in 1802, and it was fully justified by the accounts now upon the table. This, however, was not the proper time to enter into a discussion of the correctness of the estimate, because he did not then ask the committee for a vote upon the subject. He merely submitted the statement as part of the means for raising the resources of the year. When it came to be voted, it might be inquired how far the amount was likely to accord with the estimate.

It was proposed certain advances made by the bank, by an issue of exchequer bills, which it was hoped the bank, with that spirit of accommodation to the public service which they displayed last war, would, from the same motive, be now inclined to accept. The debt due to the bank on this head would, therefore, be paid by an issue of exchequer bills, on aids of 1804, to that extent - 1,500,000

Money in treasury, residue on bounties on hemp, &c.	37,782
Lottery	400,000

He then proceeeded to the ways and means by which he proposed to raise the amount of the sum which he had stated to be necessary for the service of the year. The three great objects to which he looked as the sources of this revenue, were the excise and custom duties, on which he intended to submit to the committee a large augmentation; and a tax upon property. If it should be the pleasure of the committee to agree with him as to the propriety, he wished it to be distinctly understood, that he considered these duties as appli-

applicable to war only; and he intended to propose that they should cease within a certain period, probably six months after the restoration of peace. It was his intention also, that there should be an increase of duty on sugar, of 4*s.* per cwt. or 20 per cent. on the duty now paid. He proposed also, that twelve and a half per cent. on the existing duty should be paid on all imports, with the exception of four great articles, tea, coffee, wool, and wine, which he did not reserve in the view of complete exemption, but with the view of subjecting them to the tax in a different manner. On this branch, combined with the preceding, he estimated the produce at 1,300,000*l.* He moreover proposed that one per cent. *ad valorem* should be imposed on all exports to any part of Europe, and three per cent. on exports to all other parts. This branch he estimated at 460,000*l.* An increased tax of one penny per pound was also to be laid on cotton wool exported, while manufactured cotton was to be exempted from tax as before. From this he expected there would be received 250,000*l.* During the war, he proposed likewise that the duty of tonnage on shipping should be continued, as it was not probable that it would be attended with any inconvenience. Here would arise, perhaps, about 150,000*l.*

These different items would be	
On sugar and imports	£1,300,000
On export manufactures	460,000
Cotton wool exported	250,000
Navigation -	150,000
Total on customs	2,160,000

As there would be some alteration respecting drawbacks, &c. he rated the net produce on the head of customs at two millions.

The next branch was the excise. It was not his intention to propose any alteration on the great mass of exciseable articles. He intended to confine himself to some leading ones, on which a war tax should, with the approbation of parliament, be laid. The first object then was tea—he proposed that an additional duty of 15 per cent. *ad valorem* should be laid on coarser teas, and 45 per cent. *ad valorem* on teas of a higher quality. The effect of this addition would be to raise the price of higher teas somewhat above what they were previous to the commutation act, and to leave the coarser teas somewhat lower. This he calculated at 1,300,000*l.* The next article was wine. In the year 1795, 10*l.* per pipe was imposed on wine; but it had been found by experience that the consumption had continued to advance, and that both the old and new duties had increased. He proposed, therefore, that 10*l.* per ton additional duty, should be laid on wine, the produce of which he estimated at 500,000*l.* The same considerations led him to propose that both foreign spirits and home spirits should be subjected to an additional tax. At present the rate was 5*s.* 2*d.* per gallon on foreign and home spirits; and his intention was that there should be an increase of 5 per cent. on the existing duties. The amount of the additional revenue he estimated at 1,500,000*l.* The next article of taxation was malt; at present, he should propose such an augmentation of tax, as would give to the public its full amount, leaving to the brewer the whole benefit of his profits, which were understood to be large and liberal. He

proposed, therefore, that an additional duty of 2*s.* per bushel should be laid on malt, and this he estimated would produce 2,700,000*l.* Last year, the additional tax on malt was 2,500,000*l.*; and as far as could be collected from the receipts already made, there was every reason to believe that it would be available to the full extent of the calculation. Allowing for the operation of the tax now proposed, there would be 1*s.* per barrel to be divided between the maltster, the brewer, and the consumer. The brewer might be allowed 8*d.* per barrel for the additional capital which the tax would oblige him to employ, and would afford him a sufficient profit on his trade.—The whole sums to be raised on the head of excise would be as follows:

Tea -	£.1,300,000
Wine - -	500,000
Foreign and home spirits	1,500,000
Malt - -	2,700,000
Total of excise	6,000,000
Customs	2,000,000
Customs and excise	8,000,000

In addition to these resources, on which he calculated with a degree of confidence, he had to propose another measure of extensive operation, which, in principle, resembled the income tax then repealed. The great outline of this proposed tax upon property, was to distinguish between that property which depended upon the skill and industry of individuals, and that which did not. Under the head of that which was less a dependent on skill and industry, was comprehended land, the interest of money in the funds, property belonging to corporations, &c. With respect to this species of property, there was less necessity for disclosure in applying to it any given rate of contribution. As to property arising out of salaries, trades, professions, it would be more necessary to investigate, and for that reason it would be requisite to employ the intervention of commissioners, somewhat upon the principle adopted in the assessment of the income tax. It was proposed, however, that the new commissioners should be invested with such powers, and act in such a manner, as to weaken, if not to remove, the objection as to disclosure.

It was proposed that, in regard to land, the tax should be laid upon the net rent, as far as that could be ascertained; and he conceived it could be generally ascertained without any unpleasant investigation. The rate proposed was 1*s.* per pound, or 5*l.* per cent. on the proprietor, and 9*d.* per pound on the tenant. In England, where, almost invariably, the tenant pays the poor's rate, that proportion of assessment would apply; but in Scotland, where the tenant does not pay any poor's rate, it was intended that the tenant should pay 6*d.* in the pound on his rent.

He had endeavoured to find out, by various inquiries and grounds of conjecture, what estimate might be made of the amount of the different branches of revenue that did not depend upon the skill and industry of individuals; but he was aware that what he could state on this subject was extremely doubtful. At the time of the income tax, the whole income of this nation was estimated at eighty millions; of this, the part that could be assessed might be taken at from sixty to seventy millions.

It

It would then stand thus:—

Lands and tithes		£.28,000,000
Houses, buildings, &c.		6,000,000
Scotland		3,000,000
Funded property, interest of money, &c.		18,000,000
Property from possessions in foreign parts		4,000,000
Arising from navigation, &c.		7,500,000
	Total	67,500,000
The assessment upon this would be		3,375,000
Rents of tenants might be estimated at 20,000,000*l.*; and 9*d.* in England, and 6*d.* in Scotland, would produce		500,000
Salaries and professions it must be very difficult to estimate, but say		200,000
The profits of trade must be still more difficult to estimate, and the produce of the tax must depend upon the success of the regulations adopted in the collection, yet making deductions of every kind, allowing for the operation of a scale by which persons not having more than 60*l.* a-year should be exempted, and that those between that sum and 150*l.* should pay on a declining ratio, he estimated this branch at		625,000
	Being in all upon property	4,700,000

At the time the income tax was imposed, it was calculated that eighty millions annually might be the property of the country; but it was proposed that a greater mass of property should be included in the operation of the present measure. The committee would, he doubted not, concur with him in thinking that every species of property ought to be made to contribute to the protection of the state. Funded property, though protected by public faith from any separate and direct charge, ought to be assessed equally with every other. It would be one of the objects of the present measure to effect this. It was proposed, however, in the first instance, that all persons having property in the funds, should make returns to the commissioners where they resided (and the commissioners would be constituted with a particular reference to that end), stating what property they had in the funds, in order to its being assessed along with their other means. If they did not make such return to the commissioners, it would be presumed that they waved their right to do so, and that they consented to their being rated 5*l.* per cent. on their dividends, which would then be made answerable accordingly. It was to be observed, however, in the first instance, that this mode of assessment would be entirely optional. It was understood, however, that all foreigners, not resident in this country, should be entirely exempted from the tax, and that their agents would be entitled to receive their dividends without any deduction.

The amount of the ways and means then would be—

Customs and excise duties as before -	£.8,000,000
Tax on property -	4,700,000
Total	12,700,000

A considerable proportion, however, of these resources could not be made good within the current year. He could not calculate upon a greater sum being collected than 4,500,000*l.* It was necessary, therefore, that 10,000,000*l.* should be raised by other means; and he had then to inform the committee, that he had that day contracted with several respectable bankers of London for a loan to that extent. It remained for him to state the terms. They were as follows:—

For every 100*l.* subscribed the subscriber received	
80 consols. at 58¼ - - -	£.46 14 0
80 reduced, at 58¼ - - -	46 14 0
The bidding was on the long annuity, and the lowest offer was 6*s.* 5*d.* - - -	5 12 3
Discount - - - -	2 6 3
	101 6 6

Being a bonus to the contractor of 1*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.*

He had to congratulate the house and the country upon the conclusion of a bargain, in circumstances like the present, upon terms so favourable.

There was then to be provided for the interest of sixteen millions, 3 per cents. created by loan.

There was interest -	480,000
Annuity - -	32,000
The whole charge of which, including the one per cent. for the extinction of the capital, would amount to	676,583

Towards making provision for this sum, it was his intention, in the first place, to attempt what had long been held very desirable, some alteration in the mode of collection of the receipt tax, and by which he hoped a considerable additional revenue would be gained without any inconvenience to the public. It was his intention that the person paying money should be entitled to demand from the person to whom he pays, a receipt, the duty on which, in no case, should be less than two-pence, nor above five shillings. He estimated the produce of this at 220,000*l.* It was likewise intended to make such additions to the consolidated customs in the bill then before parliament, as should produce 220,000*l.* By further regulations in the assessed taxes 250,000*l.*, making in all the sum of 690,000*l.* applicable to the payment of the interest of the loan.

He should now recapitulate the different articles of the

WAYS AND MEANS.

Malt in lieu of old - - -	750,000
Land-tax on pensions, &c. in lieu of old lands -	2,000,000
	2,750,000

Brought

Brought forward	£.2,750,000
Exchequer bills, of which leave had been given to issue four millions, but would be used only	3,000,000
Surplus of consolidated fund	500,000
Exchequer bills to repay advance by the bank	1,500,000
Money in treasury for hemp and flax bounties, &c.	37,782
Lottery between 3 and 400,000, taken at	400,000
War taxes. Increase on customs	2,000,000
War taxes. Excise	6,000,000
War taxes. On property, though calculated at 4,700,000l. taken only at	4,500,000
Vote of credit	2,000,000
Loan	10,000,000
	38,687,782

But of the above war taxes, it was expected that only 4,500,000l. could be made available within the year.

With respect to exchequer bills, it had been proposed that parliament should authorise the issue of five millions of exchequer bills, in 1804, to replace a similar sum withdrawn. At the end of the present year, the amount of exchequer bills, outstanding, would be ten millions.

The concluding remarks of Mr. Addington's speech were continued to some length. They tended chiefly to evince the propriety of the measures he had proposed. His object, he said, was to raise as large a proportion as possible of the supplies necessary for the public service in the course of the year. The extent to which he was anxious that this principle should be carried, was, that during the progress of the war, no accumulation whatever should take place to the amount of the public debt. It was his wish that an estimate of the expenses of the year should be formed on a fair and extended view of the exertions we were called on to make, and that the loan to be contracted for, should not be greater than the commissioners for liquidating the national debt possessed the means of distributing for the extinction of that debt. The adoption of this system of providing for the exigencies of the public service, without adding to the public debt, could not fail, at all times, but particularly at a moment like the present, to show to the government of France, that any attempt to conquer this country by a war on our finances is a hopeless contest; that it is out of the power of any enemy to break the national spirit by such attempts, which must end only in disappointment; that whatever the emergency in which we might be placed, we possessed ample resources to meet it with firmness, with energy and success. The effect of this on the powers of Europe must be powerful. It must show them, that, in associating with this country, in making a common cause with us in any great emergency, they incurred no danger, but united their exertions with a people who possess at once the spirit and the means adequate to the support of a great struggle. After some further observations, the right honourable gentleman concluded by moving the first resolution.

lution.—The question was then put on the different resolutions, and they were agreed to without opposition.

On the 15th of June, the order of the day being read for the house to resolve itself into a committee of supply—

Mr. I. H. Browne moved, that the second report of the committee for investigating the surveys of the Scotch highlands be referred to the said committee of supply.—Ordered accordingly.

Mr. Browne then moved, that a sum not exceeding 20,000*l.* be granted to his majesty, for the purpose of making roads and erecting bridges in the highlands of Scotland. One of the great objects in view was to improve the valuable fisheries in the eastern and western coasts of the highlands, by opening a communication between both sides of the country. By these improvements, the business of agriculture would also be promoted; and the country being thus rendered tolerable to its hardy and industrious inhabitants, they would no longer be induced to emigrate, as for many years past they had continued to do; and thus one of the most valuable sources for recruiting our armies with a hardy and valiant race of soldiers would be strengthened for our defence.—The resolution was passed.

On the 24th the chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the house resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider further the ways and means for the present exigencies of the state. The house resolved accordingly, and he then laid before the committee the terms upon which he had contracted for the lotteries. He said, that he had found it most prudent, on the present occasion, to reduce the prices and numbers of the tickets. Last year there were no less than 90,000 tickets, with a power of increasing them to 100,000. This year it was proposed that the number of tickets should be limited to 70,000, with the power of increasing them to the number of 80,000. He stated that the contract had been made to extend both towards the service of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the clear profit which would arise to the public would be 315,000*l.* sterling, which somewhat exceeded the profit of last year's lotteries. The number of tickets proposed in the present lottery would, at the rate of 18*l.* 3*s.* 0½*d.*, yield the total amount of 3,380,000*l.* It was his wish, and he was sure that it was the wish of the house, to guard against large insurances, which the plan adopted last year tended greatly to encourage. He had found, from experience, that considerable inconvenience, hurry, and confusion, usually arose from the mode of limiting the number of lotteries. It was then intended to raise, by three lotteries, the sum of 1,523,083*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* of which sum 1,166,257*l.* 9*s.* would be appropriated to the services of Great Britain, and the sum of 356,775*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.* towards the services of Ireland.

On the 21st of July a resolution passed for granting out of the consolidated fund, to the representatives of the late Jeffery lord Amherst, the annual sum of 3000*l.* in consideration of the eminent services of that nobleman in America; particularly, as it was to his meritorious services, in conjunction with those of the late general Wolfe, that we were indebted

debted for the valuable annexation of Canada to the crown of Great Britain.

In the committee, on the 25th, lord Hawkesbury introduced the subject of "compensation to the house of Orange." He said the obligations this country owed to that house were greater than ever were due by any country to any great family at the head of a national government. Upon every occasion, the steady attachment of that illustrious house was strongly and uniformly marked towards this country. It was a fact too well known to require recapitulation, that the illustrious prince at the head of the house of Orange had, in the strength of his attachment to Great Britain, lost every thing which belonged to him, whether as sovereignty, rank, power, or private property, in the late contest. In the negotiation of the treaty of Amiens it was stipulated that some compensation should be made him, in consideration of which he had agreed to surrender all claims to the sovereignty and other rights in the United Provinces: whatever was the compensation stipulated, it had not been fulfilled according to that stipulation; and the only part of the agreement which had been performed was now again violated by the recent aggression of France. The house must recollect, that in the course of the war very eminent services were rendered to this country by the prince of Orange, and that a very considerable Dutch fleet was surrendered to England in his name. He trusted, therefore, the house would feel the force of the claims of the house of Orange upon the justice and generosity of the British nation. The modes which he should, with the leave of the committee, propose, were two—either to vote a given sum as a complete and final indemnity in consideration of all their losses, or else a small sum promptly, and another by way of annuity. He should himself prefer the latter, as the more eligible mode; and therefore proposed it first, namely, a sum of 60,000*l.* in money, and an annuity of 16,000*l.* per annum. By this latter sum he wished it to be understood that all the pensions to minor branches of the family for their services and attachment to this country were to be covered; and he concluded with a motion to that effect.

After some opposition, the resolution for the grant of 60,000*l.* was agreed to, *nem. con.*

Lord Hawkesbury then moved that there be granted to his majesty, out of the consolidated fund, the annual sum of 16,000*l.* as an indemnity to the illustrious house of Orange. This resolution was also carried.

It was then moved, that the sum of two millions be granted as a vote of credit; which was agreed to.

On the 27th the chancellor of the exchequer prefaced the resolutions he had to propose by observing, that at an early period of the year it was proposed to raise three millions for the payment of a like sum advanced by the bank, of which 1,500,000*l.* had been actually paid; but in consequence of the renewal of the war, an application was made to induce them to take the remainder in exchequer bills; which was agreed to for the public convenience. He then proceeded to make his several statements to the committee.

ESTIMATE

ESTIMATE of the SURPLUS of the CONSOLIDATED FUND, to 5th of JANUARY 1804.

Total sum proposed to be voted to the 5th of January 1804			£.6,500,000
Received, on January 5th, 1803, after completing the grant for the service of 1802	-	302,329	
Received, on April 5th, 1803	- - -	1,037,332	
——— on July 5th, 1803 (nearly),	-	1,186,000	
		———	2,622,661
	Remained to make good	-	3,877,339
Income, for two quarters, to January 5th, 1804, together supposed double the July quarter, 1803 (adding 200,000*l.* for the expected produce of duties, 1803)	-	17,650,000	
Deduct charge on Oct. 10th, 1803, supposed equal to April 5th, 1803, after deducting 198,500*l.* paid in that quarter for the half-yearly dividend in Oct. 1802, to those who had not completed their payments before the 7th of Oct. 1804 -	5,560,500		
Ditto, 5th Jan. supposed equal to July 1803, with the addition of 320,000*l.* for the charge of a new loan - -	7,858,000		
		——— 13,418,500	
Expected surplus in two quarters, ending 5th Jan. 1804 - - -		4,231,500	
Deduct the sum remaining to be made good		3,877,339	
Estimated surplus above the proposed grant	-		354,161

N. B. The only articles of extraordinary receipt in the quarter ending 5th July, were arrears of convoy duty and income duty, amounting together to 341,706*l.*

The produce of permanent taxes, in the quarter ending the 5th of July, compared with their produce in the two succeeding quarters, for the four last years, omitting the duties imposed on each year respectively, appears by the following table:

1799.			Increase.	Dimin.
Quarter ending 5th July		£. 5,488,802 2		
		10,977,604		
10th October	6,865,440			
5th January 1800	6,329,507			
		13,194,947	2,217,343	
1800.				
5th July		5,695,619 2		
		11,391,238		
10th October	5,838,793			
5th January 1801	5,810,471			
		11,649,264	258,026	
1801.				
5th July		5,628,000 2		
		11,256,000		
10th Oct. and 5th Jan. 1802		12,518,000		
			1,262,000	
5th July		7,093,000 2		
		14,186,000		
10th Oct. and 5th Jan. 1803		14,016,000		
				170,000
Increase in three years			3,737,369	
Deduct diminution			170,000	
			3,567,369	
Average increase			891,842	

The following resolutions were then moved, and agreed to:

1. That towards raising the sum of two millions voted in the committee of supply, the sum of 1,500,000*l.* be raised out of the consolidated fund, and be supplied by exchequer bills.

2. That towards payment of money advanced by the bank, the sum of two millions be also raised by loans of exchequer bills, to be made good next year.

3. That it appears that the sum of 1,500,000*l.* stands as the surplus of the consolidated fund.

The house resumed, and the report was ordered to be received the next day.

On the 29th of July, in a committee of supply, the chancellor of the exchequer stated, that the four

four sums he should first move were sums to reimburse the civil list for like sums, ordered to be advanced therefrom by his majesty, pursuant to votes of that house; and he therefore moved—

To Mathew Martus, esq.	£.639	17	6
To Ch. Th. Felton, esq.	534	15	0
To Wm. Chinnery, esq. for the expense of transporting convicts	822	9	1
To ditto, for expenses at Norfolk Island	471	5	0
For printing the Journals, bills, and votes of the house of commons for last year	3000	0	0
To discharge arrears of the police offices	960	8	6
To Mr. Soan, architect, for plans and elevations for repairs and new buildings in the house of lords, in the year 1794–5	1000	0	0
To make good a defalcation of a subscriber to the lottery	240	0	0
Fees and expenses disbursed to Dr. Jenner, by order of the house, in order to net him the sum voted for his valuable discovery of the vaccine inoculation	725	0	0
To the board of agriculture	300	0	0
To the British museum	3000	0	0
To the veterinary college	1500	0	0

In a committee of supply, on the 1st of August, the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the petitions of Mr. Martin and Mr. Dubois be referred to it. The claim of Mr. Martin, he said, had been already admitted and voted by the house; that of Mr. Dubois came recommended by nothing so much as the peculiar hardship of the case. When the British forces were in the southern part of the American states, very essential services were performed by the family of Mr. Dubois; and the petitioner himself, though very young at that time, displayed so much alacrity and zeal, that they were warmly acknowledged by generals Balfour and Craig. This claim, as an American loyalist, might have been proved, and would have been admitted before the commissioners, but Mr. Dubois, who was then a minor, received intelligence that his estates in America had not been confiscated. In order to regain them, he went over to that country, and, after long delays and numerous applications, failed of obtaining the benefit of the treaty from the American government, and did not return to England till the year 1800. What he meant to propose was by no means an equivalent to his losses; for he did not even expect any thing like a compensation; and he should therefore propose that 5320*l.* be granted to make good the claims of Mr. Dubois, as an American loyalist. The motion was seconded by Dr. Lawrence, and the resolution agreed to.

Agreeably to the resolutions of the committee of supply, a bill was introduced into the house for a tax on property. On the question for going into a committee on this bill, the 5th of July, the chancellor of the exchequer, in answer

answer to a question, how far the bill was intended to affect landed property, said, that in all circumstances where the owner of land let it out, only five per cent. was payable—that is, 1*s.* in the pound; where the owner of land had the same in his own hands, and was, in fact, his own tenant, then he was to pay 1*s.* 9*d.* that is, 1*s.* as landlord, and 9*d.* as tenant. He afterwards proceeded to observe, that the present tax was to be applied to the same purposes, and hinged on the same principle, as the old income tax; but the mode of collecting it was better, because it was calculated to avoid any disclosure of the circumstances or property of the parties paying the tax. By the mode of charging land and money at interest, no disclosure whatever took place. In a commercial country, it was unquestionably most desirable that no disclosure of circumstances should be made, further than was absolutely necessary to secure the payment of the tax; and a plan would shortly be submitted to parliament on that head, which he hoped would meet with general approbation. Another advantage was, that the execution was infinitely more easy and simple to the commissioners than it was before, as persons now would not be in a situation in which they would have to decide between their interest and their duty. Another circumstance highly in favour of the present measure was, the mode of levying the tax on money borrowed on mortgage, bond, &c. In the present case, the debtor was to pay the whole of the tax, and deduct it out of the sum borrowed, when called on to pay the same by his creditor; so that 19*s.* in the pound would, in all cases, be a legal tender; and it would be attended with the advantage of concealing the circumstances of the debtor's case.

These, he said, were some of the leading features of the bill. The measure he now submitted to the house was such as he thought would draw fair and equal contributions, by taxing income and other species of property as nearly on a par as might be.

Mr. William Smith opposed the tax. He observed that, if every man in the state were to be taxed, in order to contribute equally to the present exigencies, the present method was not the proper one to be adopted; for it was not consistent with the usage of the house, except in one instance: for though the title of the bill expressed that it was a tax on property, it was, in fact, a tax of five per cent. on income; a tax which would undoubtedly bear heavily on all ranks of society. There were two species of property embraced by this bill; the one was the produce of labour and exertive industry, and the other that kind of property which was enjoyed by the rich without labour. It generally happened in such a tax, that the species of property acquired by industry was liable to be taxed with the greatest uncertainty. In his apprehension, a person who contributed by his personal industry toward the welfare of the state, ought not to be burdened equally with the person who did nothing. The disproportion was really enormous, and it was impossible for any man cordially to say that he thought such a tax equal. It was also highly objectionable with respect to the disclosure of the incomes of professional men; for, whatever the convenience

convenience arising from that disclosure in other cases, it must certainly fall peculiarly hard on that class of individuals; and he thought that even on that account it ought not to pass. The raising of money was not the only object properly in view: we ought to adopt those modes which most aptly tended to keep the people in good humour, and exact those taxes which would make the nearest approach towards equality and impartiality; for, though such might not be most convenient to the state, he was certain they would be most convenient and agreeable to the people. He spoke not merely his own sentiments on this occasion, for he had consulted various authors on the subject. He had found that scarcely one writer gave sentiments favourable to a tax on property. Hume was of opinion, that though such taxes were liable to less expense or trouble in the collection, yet they were the most unequal. Mr. Adam Smith said, that in every state it had been a maxim of every wise government to avoid the disclosure of the property of individuals; and that author had repeated his opinion over and over, in various parts of his work; making only one exception of a small aristocratical state in Switzerland, where such a mode was followed without any detrimental consequences, owing to its having no trade.

He was convinced in his conscience that the merchants of London would rather pay a tax to double the amount of that proposed, than submit to the disclosure proposed by this bill.

Lord Hawkesbury observed that the grounds of the hon. gentleman's objections appeared to be two, in which he agreed with him—namely, that no tax which could be proposed would be found perfectly equal: secondly, that when that was the case, we should endeavour to make them as equal as possible. The hon. member, however, after having laid down these principles, appeared to have lost sight of them. He had by no means proved that this tax was more unequal than any other he could devise: but whether this tax be more unequal than a tax on consumption, he had to observe, that, knowing it all along to be the object of government in laying on taxes on consumption, that they might bear equally on different classes of the community, he conceived that one of those methods was quite as impartial as the other. In such cases, it had been found expedient to tax one or two articles, while others were left unaffected. This might be the subject to many complaints of partiality from individuals. In the present, however, the tax was not laid on one or two articles; it would bear as equally as possible on all classes of the community. He would admit that the class of articles might be fully as unequal in its effects; yet he would call on that hon. gentleman to prove that it was more unequal than any other that could be devised in the present situation of the country. The objections made against the bill, therefore, appeared to him not founded in argument against either its principles or application; but because it did not go nearer to that which might be styled perfection. The hon. member had alluded to its pressure on the laborious and industrious classes: this, however, was a principle never acknowledged by the legislature of this country.

country. It was one inconsistent with the whole train of taxation on society; it was not acknowledged in the land-tax, nor in any parish or poor-rate. These had been all along laid on the land; but, comparing all the rates of taxation, as they respectively bore on the different classes of society, and admitting the full statement of each, he could not think, that, under all circumstances, they bore more severely on one class than on another. He fully admitted, that equality, in the burdens of taxation, was the duty of government; and the present mode, he was convinced, was in perfect conformity to the principle.

Mr. Erskine by no means assented to the principle of this bill as a permanent mode of taxation, but merely as a means of providing against present danger; and he trusted the country would cheerfully acquiesce, and bury all differences of opinion on the subject. He concluded by moving, that "the speaker do leave the chair."

The speaker then left the chair, and the house resolved itself into a committee on the bill; when the chancellor of the exchequer said, that the object of this committee was to conjoin the provisions of the income and property-tax bills in one bill; then to have the bill so conjoined, reprinted, and distributed among the members. The report of the committee was taken into consideration on the 13th of July, when Mr. W. Smith again rose, and entered, at very considerable length, into the principle and provisions of the bill. To the former his objections were so decided, that he declared he should feel it his duty to take the sense of the house upon it in that stage. His objections to the inequality of the tax, to the mode of collection, and to its operation, particularly as to the landed interest, he perceived were not at all removed, though much was promised on a former day. That the funds ought to be taxed according to the objects of this bill, he readily admitted; but he was of opinion that they ought to be taxed in a larger proportion than land; because the latter was subject to many burdens from which the former were entirely exempted. As to the tax on trade, his grand objection was, that if the tax were to be levied at all, it should be equally collected; and that appeared to him impossible, unless by the establishment of an inquisition, which would be much more intolerable than any tax; and this inquisition too to be renewed yearly, in the same way as that under the former income bill. To such means of raising the supply, every wise statesman, and every benevolent man, must, in his judgement, be adverse. If the tax, however, was to be persisted in, equality of payment was desirable; but how was that to be obtained? By disclosures which could not be enforced but by a violation of every principle of freedom, and an outrage upon every feeling of pride. The right honourable gentleman on the treasury-bench had stated, that, without this measure, no means could be devised of imposing a fair contribution suited to the circumstances of men; but he would maintain, that it was a mistake to suppose that this was such a contribution as he described. It would press on the trading community very little indeed; for they would make the consumers pay, as they uniformly did, every tax levied upon them; they would remunerate themselves in their increased

creased profits for any burdens imposed upon them. If traders could not compensate themselves so in this instance, the tax would be still more unequal. The house was therefore placed in this dilemma, that it must either impose a very considerable burden on the consumers, or a very unequal tax upon the traders;—upon the higher class of whom, he admitted, this tax would not press much. The honourable member stated, that his last, but not least, important objection to the bill, was its extreme length and complexity. It was necessary to be understood by all classes of the community, and yet it was so long, that he verily believed nineteen out of twenty would not attempt to read it; and, from its complexity, he ventured to say, very few would understand it. The principle, he repeated, was such as all the best writers disapproved; and the practice, as manifested during the continuance of the former income act, was even more mischievous than the writers appeared to calculate.

Mr. Pitt observed, the honourable gentleman had said, that, as far as this measure differed from the former income-tax, he thought it less exceptionable. For himself, he would say, that if it should turn out from experience to be better, he should be very happy; but if not materially altered from its present shape, he was much afraid it would not. With respect to the principle of the measure before the house the honourable gentleman quoted authorities to show that it was objectionable. The same authorities, however, with others also who had great names, might be chosen as the roots of any opposition to the constitution, or the government. Among all the observations of the honourable gentleman, he recollected only one that was new; and that was this—that, if even, as he termed it, a holy office of inquisition for collecting the tax proposed by this bill were appointed from the trading part of the community, the only effect of it would be to squeeze out of them nothing. Though this statement might reconcile some people to the bill before the house, he confessed it could not have that influence with him.

With respect to the provisions of the bill under consideration, there were many of them of which he strongly disapproved. The modes of disposing of capital should not, by any means, be interfered with, through the operation of a partial tax, tending to encourage the application of that capital to one mode in preference to another. Those modes were various. One liked to employ his capital in a business which required great labour, and from which he looked for proportionate profits; another sought to derive profits from his capital in great risks; and a third chose to indulge in laziness, and to enjoy a small profit in security. Of the latter, some resorted to the funds, and others to land. It struck his mind, that any attempt to meddle, by a legislative measure, with this, the usual and spontaneous distribution of property, would be highly injudicious and unjust; would be extremely unequal, and tend to violate the very character of an income-tax. These general observations he should apply to some clauses of the bill. His objections referred to the principle of the abatements on small incomes, in which landed proprietors who occupied their own property, and small annuities in the funds, were most unequally

equally treated (the latter, in fact, involving little short of a breach of public faith); and those too of that class of persons who were really entitled to compassion. It was proposed in the bill to make various abatements to persons having an annual revenue not exceeding 150*l.*; and all under 60*l.* a-year, to be entirely discharged from the tax. From this exemption, however, the landed proprietors and receivers of interest in the funds to such amount were excluded. He could not conceive the grounds upon which this exclusion was professed to rest. It certainly was, with respect to the funds, a breach of the principle upon which loans had been contracted for; and what effects such an innovation was likely to have upon any future loan, he would not pretend to say; but he would maintain, that it was a breach of promise to the contractors for the loans. For this strange difference in the application, he was aware of but one argument which was advanced; namely, that it was fair to take a distinction between the profits of capital employed in industry, and that not arising from the same source. The distinction he thought the very reverse of wisdom; for, if an equal tax was imposed on the revenue of the land-owner and the profits of the man in trade, the deductions should be the same in both, and that was consistent with the principle of an income-tax. No premium should be given to men to employ their capital in a particular way; and nothing could be more iniquitous than to grant such premium of the revenue of the poor land-owners occupying their own ground, and the smaller annuitants in the funds. If it were deemed a good principle that the distinction he had alluded to should prevail, he should wish to hear upon what grounds it was not extended fully, that no difference was taken, only in revenues under 150*l.* a-year? Why, he would ask, should persons of humble revenue in the funds and in land be made the sacrifices of this singular difference, while those of superior revenues were left quite untouched? He deprecated, in the strongest terms, a distinction pregnant with so much injustice in principle, and so much mischief in practice.

Mr. Pitt next proceeded to consider the policy of the tax, as now modified, in its operation on funded property. He called the attention of the house to the situation of many of those who were to be made liable to the whole tax without any abatements, who had claims to abatement much more powerful than numerous classes of possessors of other property to whom abatements were extended. When it was considered that many of those to be affected by it, were the aged and the infirm, altogether incapable of increasing their income by any exertion of their own; when it was reflected that they were in possession of no capital which could admit of increase; that the wretched pittance could receive no possible augmentation; exposed to the unavoidable vicissitudes which the fluctuation of the funds experienced, and destitute even of the imaginary advantages of hope—was it, he would ask, consistent with humanity, far less justice, to lay them under a pressure so severe? It was hard, that, under these disadvantages, they should be exposed to a fresh burden, which could not fail to add to difficulties already unavoidable. The principle of the bill, as it now

stood, was in itself unfair; and, at all events, if it were allowed to remain, the same regulation ought to be extended to property in the funds as to all the lower species of property. But, above all other considerations, he deprecated the proposed regulation as inconsistent with national good faith, and as calculated to strike the first blow against that credit for which the country had been so long distinguished. In every loan-bill, the fundamental principle was, that there should be no deduction from the dividends of those who became the creditors of the public. There was no violation of any compact with the public creditor in making property arising from the funds to be considered as a part of general income; but, from the moment that the funds were separately taxed, what foundation could the public creditor rest upon in any future loan which it might be necessary to raise for the public service? Never, at any period, was it more important than at the present moment to preserve the public credit from the slightest suspicion. It would, indeed, be a most extraordinary and most unaccountable circumstance, if, at the time that we were, for the purpose of upholding the character of parliament, and maintaining the good faith of the country, paying every year upwards of six millions to the extinction of the national debt, we should, for the sake of gaining a revenue of a few hundred thousand pounds, resort to a tax which might strike at the root of public credit, and materially injure the future resources of the country. Such a step was peculiarly unseasonable, at a moment when the propriety of raising a large portion of the supplies within the year had met the universal approbation of all parts of the house. It might produce consequences on the public credit which he would not then pretend to describe. They might, however, unless counteracted by wiser measures, be long experienced by consequences of the most disastrous nature. After adding a few more observations of this head, the right honourable gentleman sat down by declaring his resolution, as soon as the motion for taking the report into further consideration was disposed of, to move an instruction to the committee in terms of the concluding part of his speech.

The attorney-general could not by any means admit that there was a single provision in the bill in the slightest degree inconsistent with the national good faith. He allowed, with his right honourable friend, that, in every act of parliament by which a loan was raised, there was a special provision, that the property to be funded for the public creditor was to be held sacred. There was nothing, however, in the bill at all incompatible with the stipulation. The capital of the property in the funds was not to be taxed more than the capital of property of any other species. The engagement of the public creditor, was, not that the property in the funds was not to contribute any thing to the public service, but that it should not be taxed, except in case where every other species of property was included. This, he was sure, was the precise principle of the bill; and he was at a loss to see how it was so far liable to any particular objection. But it was observed, that, on the tax proposed to be levied on the funds, there were to be exemptions. The same principle, it was, in the first place, to be recollected,

collected, was applied to landed property, and to income arising from interest and annuity. The exemptions and abatements which had been formed, were arranged on what he could not but think founded in fairness and justice. They were to be founded on a mixed consideration of capital and industry, and referred only to the lower classes of income. In these, the amount of capital was very inconsiderable; and it was to grant to the small trader that allowance which was due to his personal exertions, that the scale of abatements had not proceeded beyond a hundred and fifty pounds a-year; because, beyond that sum, capital necessarily increased, and labour was not confined to personal exertion; but the extension of capital rendered necessary an augmentation of assistance. There was, however, in this, no unjust or partial pressure on property in the funds. If those who possessed property in the funds chose to withdraw and invest it in some speculation, where, to render it productive, personal exertion was necessary, it would just experience the same indulgence as was at present provided by the bill to those whose profits arising from capital were less than one hundred and fifty pounds a-year. He did not deny that the present clauses of the bill, as far as the tax on the funds was concerned, might be simplefied and improved. This, however, could be very easily done in the committee. He was very much disposed to think, that any alteration to the extent his right honourable friend proposed, would necessarily occasion much of that disclosure of circumstances which it was so much the wish of the framers of the bill to prevent as far as possible. At all events, however, whatever improvements might be introduced, could be better suggested in the committee than proposed in the form of instructions. This he could not but consider an irregular mode of proceeding.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, it was highly important to have it ascertained, how far the tax was at all calculated, in the remotest degree, to interfere with the national credit, which was, under every possible consideration, to be preserved inviolate. It was not meant that any distinction should be formed betwixt the different species of capital. It was to the income arising from this capital that the provisions of the act were to apply. The various species of capital were proposed to be divided, into capital in landed property, property in the funds, and money arising from interest, or annuities. The other denomination of property to which the act was to extend arose from income dependent on personal exertions, or arising from professions. It was in this that distinction was to be founded. Every exertion had been made to render the operation of the tax on income and capital as equal and impartial as possible, while means had been employed to prevent the tax applicable to capital from being superadded to personal labour and industry. On this principle the ratio had been established from sixty to a hundred and fifty pounds a year in estimating the exemptions and abatements. The funds stood exactly on the same footing, in the application of the tax, as landed and other species of property, which had been repeatedly specified in the course of the debate. Unless, therefore, it could be shown that the funds were exposed to any tax exclusive of other pro-

perty; unless the operation of the tax could be shown to be more directly oppressive, then it was impossible to prove the existence of any violation of the public faith. He finished by declaring his opinion that the proposition for instructing the committee was unnecessary and irregular. It could only embarrass the proceedings of the committee, without at all binding their decisions. He expressed a hope that his right honourable friend would not insist on pressing his motion. Mr. Pitt, so far from having heard any reasons to induce him to withdraw his proposition, declared his express determination to take the sense of the house on the subject.

Sir Henry Mildmay observed, that the present bill imposed an income-tax upon the full produce of landed property, without any deduction for interest or annuities charged upon such property. This was a principle which he considered as extremely unfair; and, unless he was assured that there was a disposition on the part of his majesty's ministers to obviate this objection, he should vote against the speaker leaving the chair. There was one point on which the bill would have a most severe and unequal operation, contrary to its avowed principle; namely, that of a fair, equal and proportionate tax; for, it made no exemption whatever in favour of persons having large families, if their income exceeded 150*l.* a-year; so that, whether a man was single, or had a family of twelve children to support, there was no difference in the operation of the tax, though it must fall with a weight infinitely more oppressive in the latter than in the former case.—The chancellor of the exchequer wished to apprise the honourable baronet, that a provision was intended for the purpose he proposed; and desired to know, if an exemption from the house and window-tax, in favour of persons with large families, would not go a great way towards the object he so earnestly desired.

Lord Hawkesbury expressed some regret at the resolution taken by his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt), to press a motion for instruction to a committee, which, if even it were consistent with parliamentary forms, was still unnecessary, because it would give the committee no powers which they would not have without that instruction. The cases wherein it was necessary to vote instructions to committees, were those wherein some new provision or clause, different from any thing in the bill referred for their discussion, was necessary to be adopted. In this case, however, there was nothing in the nature or substance of the regulation proposed by his right honourable friend, which the committee might not adopt as amendments to the bill, without any such instruction; and, therefore, in his mind, it would be the better way to let the house go into the committee unembarrassed by an instruction, which would be mandatory upon them, if they did not think fit to adopt the proposition.

When, however, the report was brought in, Mr. Pitt rose to make his promised motion; which stated, "that it be an instruction to the committee on the bill, to insert a clause for exempting all income arising from lands, or from property in the funds, in the same manner as income arising from any other species of property, profession, or employment."

A pretty long conversation then ensued

ensued betwen the speaker, Mr. Pitt, the chancellor of the exchequer, sir William Pulteney, the treasurer of the navy, Mr. Giles, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. H. Lascelles, Mr. Tyrwhitt, and sir E. Hartop. After which, upon the question being put, a division took place, when there appeared—against the instruction, 150—for it, 50.

The house then went into a committee on the bill. The several clauses not objected to were gone through. The next day, the house having again resolved itself into a committee on the bill, it proceeded some length in considering and discussing it paragraph by paragraph. After which, the chancellor of the exchequer rose, and said he considered the sentiments which had been thrown out last night, with regard to exemptions; and he was decidedly of the opinion he was then of—that no breach of good faith could possibly attach on the supposed distinction between income arising from trade and other species of income. He would beg the committee to advert to the principles of the bill, in considering of the propriety of the alteration about to be submitted to them. It was proposed to make a distinction between the income arising from capital, and that arising from bodily labour and skill. In those cases where the income was produced by a combination of interest from capital and that arising from bodily labour, it was his wish to grant indulgence, so that no person should pay more than 5*l.* when his income amounted to less than 150*l.* The interest arising from capital was then one which might be fairly fixed with the tax. He meant to propose an exception from the principle of the bill, in so far as regarded that sort of income which arose not from bodily labour, but from the learned professions, which was even more extensive than that arising from capital. Of all the cases of hardship to which this tax could apply, he conceived that it was most severe on the income arising from that species of industry. It would not be the policy of parliament, at this time, to exclude the income arising from that source, however, from contributing a fair sum towards the present exigencies. There was no one who arrived to great attainments in such professions as he alluded to, who had not acquired a considerable proportion of capital; and you are, therefore, said he, to combine the advantages which he thus derived, not from bodily labour, but from the labour of the mind, with the income arising from his capital. Almost every person engaged in trade may carry on that trade by means of representatives; but persons engaged in the learned professions must give in person that advice which was necessary; for no proxy could possibly be admitted. It was absolutely impossible to apply an unobjectionable mode of taxation. He felt the difficulty of extending the exemptions on account of creating a prodigious addition to the trouble of the commissioners. It did not appear to him, however, to be unjust or irrational to make a distinction between capital arising from trade yielding a large interest, and that which yielded a moderate income. No defalcation of any consequence would arise from the proposed exemption. There was no ground for a charge of violation of faith. It might be a matser of surprise to the committee,

that, after considering the subject with great anxiety, he should now feel disposed to think, that, under the present circumstances, the public creditors should enjoy some exemption from the present tax. He was inclined to join in the wish, which was pretty generally expressed last night, to extend the exemptions to persons deriving their incomes from land to the amount of 150*l.* and to propose a scale for that purpose; but he must fairly own that he did this with great difficulty. It was a difficulty, however, which he was satisfied might be got the better of at the expense of what was highly important towards the preservation of the bill—the avoiding disclosure, and contributing towards the ease of collecting the tax.

Mr. Pitt, and several other members, each made a few observations; after which, a long conversation was carried on between the attorney-general, Mr. Calcraft, Mr. Plummer, &c. on the subject of the improvement of farms on lease, which improvements it was proposed to tax according to their value. Mr. Plummer at length notified his intention to move, in a future stage of the bill, an amendment; as he considered the present clause a most serious discouragement to farmers, and, consequently, as being likely to injure the interests of agriculture.—Mr. Calcraft, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Sturges, Sir H. St. John Mildmay, the chancellor of the exchequer, the attorney-general, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Giles, the lord mayor, and several members, shared in a long and desultory discussion on some clauses, and proposed amendments. In the course of which, speaking on the head of estates principally productive by fines, Mr. Pitt observed, that such fines did not fall properly under the denomination of capital, but did certainly constitute a part of income, as they formed the means of subsistence, upon which, undoubtedly, an average could be easily made out. Such, for instance, he said, were the lands of the church, of the deans and chapters, of the bishops, of public schools, and of that respectable body whom he had the honour to represent in that house. All these different descriptions of property must necessarily be liable to the operation of the tax upon income, according to the average ascertained.

The consideration of the bill was resumed on the 15th. When the clause which required the occupiers of land to pay at the rate of 9*d.* in the pound on their rent, was read, Mr. Pitt observed that the principle now admitted on all hands was, that every person should pay at the rate of 1*s.* out of every 20*s.* of his income. It appeared then, that, when the bill proposed to take 9*d.* per pound from the tenants, it was assumed that that would amount to the same sum as 1*s.* in the pound on his profits; or, in other words, it was calculated that his annual profits were equal to three fourths of his rent. The bill, however, ought to declare the ground on which this estimation was taken, in order that the principle might be rendered manifest. The rent alone, however, could not show the value of the tenant's profits; for, of two farms producing the same average crop, one might pay a much higher rent to the landlord, on account of its paying less or no tithes and poor-rates. In such a case, the estima-

tion

tion of the profits by the rent would be very unfair. The bill proposed very justly that the tenant in Scotland should pay 6*d.* in the pound, because, there being no poor-rates or tithes in that country, the landlord received a higher rent than in England. As it was presumed by the bill that the English tenant's profits were equal to three-fourths of the rent, so it was supposed that the Scotch tenant's profits were equal to one half of his rent. The principle of the estimation, however, ought to be declared, that it might not appear there was a boon given to Scotland where none was intended. A better criterion of the profits of the farmer ought also to be adopted; and he believed that would be found in the aggregate of the rent, tithes, and poor-rates.

A good deal of conversation ensued upon this suggestion. A discussion at length took place between the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Calvert, Mr. Calcraft, and others, respecting the manner in which the value of land was to be ascertained, and concerning the propriety of taking the poor-rates as a criterion. It seemed to be agreed that this method was very uncertain, and ought to be resorted to only in case of necessity. Mr. Calvert proposed that houses not taken for the purpose of farming should be exempted. The attorney-general saw no objection to the amendment at present, but reserved to himself the liberty of altering it, if it should appear improper upon further consideration. The chancellor of the exchequer moved the abatements, of which he the preceding day gave notice, with respect to the scale of charges to be fixed upon landed income from 60*l.* to 150*l.* a-year, which was agreed to.

In the committee, the next day, several very important alterations were made. The clause for empowering surveyors to examine property in order to estimate its value, was so amended as to do away the power of entering dwelling houses, which was originally given by the bill. All the clauses relative to the mode of collecting the tax at the Bank were struck out, in consequence of the chancellor of the exchequer declaring it to be his intention to substitute others in their stead when the committee should have gone through the bill. He stated, that upon consideration it had been thought advisable not to require that the portion of the tax to be paid by funded property should be stopped out of the dividends at the bank. It would, therefore, be the object of the new clauses to direct that the stockholder's return should be made in the same manner as those of other persons. If, however, after the expiration of six months, no return should be made, it was intended in such cases to give the power of collecting the tax at the bank in the manner first proposed. The chancellor of the exchequer also introduced an amendment, which not only exempted stock already purchased by foreigners from the tax, but also all funded property which might, during the operation of the act, be acquired by persons not subjects of his majesty, and not residing in the British dominions—which was agreed to.

On the 27th, the chancellor of the exchequer, among other exemptions from the tax, mentioned one in favour of persons having numerous families upon incomes from 60*l.* to 400*l.*, for each child above two, or for three or more children, 4 *per cent.*; upon income from 400*l.* to 1000*l.*, for ditto, 3 *per*

cent.; upon income from 1,000*l.* to 5,000*l.* for ditto, 2 *per cent.*; and upon income, from 5,000*l.* and upwards, 1 *per cent.* It was his wish to carry the intention of the house into effect, by granting exemptions to all under 60*l.* a-year; and to grant abatements in favour of those above 60*l.* and under 150*l.* We think it unnecessary, in this place, to take any further notice of the discussions on the subject of this bill. It is sufficient to observe, that it was read a third time and passed on the 1st of August.

CHAP. IX.

Irish Finances.—Proposal for the Perpetuation of certain Taxes there—withdrawn.—Irish Budget.—Loan.

THE only financial measure of importance respecting Ireland, which took place at an early period of the session, was the perpetuation of certain taxes there.

On the 2d of March, Mr. Corry moved the order of the day; and the house accordingly resolved itself into a committee, for the purpose of taking into consideration Mr. Corry's intended proposal for rendering permanent several taxes, usually passed by the parliament of Ireland from year to year. Mr. Corry rose and observed, that the usual taxes he should move to render permanent, were those voted annually, as the funds for paying the interest of loans borrowed, from time to time, for the public service; and for which interest they were the appropriate security to the public creditor, and must necessarily continue so to be, for the maintenance of the public faith, until those loans should be paid off, or until parliament should, in its wisdom, think proper to devise some other fund. The object of his proposal then would be, to render those taxes permanent, which, as the law then stood, would expire on the 25th of the present month. The interest, to the payment of which they were devoted, was that of all the debts contracted in Ireland during the whole of his majesty's reign, to which none of the consolidated fund of Ireland was liable, without recurring to parliament. The taxes he would propose to continue the same as usual, with some very trivial difference; and the several resolutions he had to propose he would class under the several heads of import duties, export duties, bounties, drawbacks on foreign goods to be exported, tonnage duties on foreign vessels, and all inland duties of every description, whether of assize or assessed taxes; and any trivial difference in the schedule he had then to propose, from those of the last and former years, he should be ready to explain, if any member desired it. One point in particular, was some small rise upon the rate of licence charged to grocers, tobacconists, and other persons trading in large towns, which he was confident would not be considered excessive, or in any degree incompatible with the circumstances of those persons. With respect to the drawbacks, it was a provision made in favour of the importer, enabling

enabling him to draw back the whole of the duty paid on foreign goods imported, for which either he could not find a market at home, or, from a better market elsewhere, he might be induced to export; and this regulation was made with a view completely to answer the purpose of the bonding and warehousing system which it was in contemplation to extend in this country in the course of the present session. With respect to the duties on home-made spirits in Ireland—a subject upon which there had been much of discussion, and much of erroneous apprehension gone forth—no alteration whatever was contemplated under the resolutions he had to propose; and he wished particularly this circumstance to be noted fully, and understood by the persons most concerned in that trade. It was a business of so much importance, that those concerned might rely no alteration was now intended, nor would any ever be attempted without due notice; and he felt it necessary to make this declaration, in order to prevent those speculations which men might be tempted to make on the article of spirits, and the different materials connected therewith, with a view to extraordinary rise, but equally probable of ruin to the speculator. The only alteration which could be considered in any degree material, was a rise upon the licence-duty upon the retailers of spirits in three principal towns, in addition to the other great towns already charged with extraordinary licences. There was a circumstance, however, highly important to the traders between Great Britain and Ireland, which would be adopted, and which would greatly disembarrass the business of commercial men on both sides the channel, as well as materially simplefy and facilitate the collection of the duties. There existed a material difference in the particular denomination of many commercial articles in the trade between Great Britain and Ireland, in the books of rates of the respective countries; so that the article exported from one country under one name, was received in the other by a quite different appellation; a circumstance productive of much confusion and irregularity; but such a regulation would be made in this instance, as completely to remedy the difficulty, and enable the Irish merchant to import many articles at a retailable duty, for which he then paid a duty *ad valorem*. Having explained his purpose thus far, Mr. Corry proceeded to move his first resolution.—After some objections from several Irish members, the resolutions were agreed to.

On the report of these resolutions on the following day, Mr. Sheridan objected to such a measure, in the first instance on account of the short time the house had to deliberate upon it; and he wished to know what pressure there was, at the present moment, which could make it necessary for parliament, all at once, to recede from the long established mode of raising these revenues? Could not the taxes be voted for another year, and insert a clause in the bill to enable parliament to amend or alter it in the present session? This would certainly be the most fair and candid mode of proceeding. If this were not done, he would certainly take another opportunity of opposing the measure.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, the principal object in making these taxes perpetual, was, that the public

public credit of Ireland should rest on as solid a foundation as it did in England. He then re-stated the reasons why this measure had been so long delayed, and why it was necessary it should be speedily carried into effect. He was not aware that any objection would have been made to the principle of this measure. Perhaps the voting the taxes annually in Ireland was a wise measure: under the circumstances in which the parliament of that country stood, it might have been a necessary check in its hands; but he saw no reason now for having the revenue continued on that footing. Its permanence was inseparable from the public credit of that part of the kingdom. The practice of Great Britain was now equally applicable to Ireland. Why should there be a difference between the two countries? Why should the revenue be permanent in the one, and only annual in the other? If any such thing was to be proposed as that of making the revenues of Great Britain annual, instead of permanent, the effect would soon be felt in the depreciation of our public funds. The resolutions were then agreed to, and a bill ordered to be brought in on the same. When, however, the order of the day, for the house going into a committee on the bill, was read, Mr. Corry rose to inform the house, that, in consequence of several objections made to the bill by a number of friends, both public and private, particularly from that part of the united kingdom which the bill went most materially to affect, as to the time of notice chiefly; and in consequence, also, of the arguments which had been used by some honourable members of that house, he should only propose to vote the old taxes for one year, as usual. He then moved that the order for going into a committee on the Irish duty bill be discharged. It was withdrawn accordingly.

The house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means on the 20th of June, Mr. Corry brought forward the Irish budget He stated that the business of Ireland had not, since the parliament of the two countries had been united, occupied any undue portion of the time of the house. He hoped that if, upon such an occasion as the present, he took up more of its time than he was accustomed, he should be excused. He should confine himself, however, strictly to the resolutions to which he wished particularly to call the attention of the committee. After a few more words, Mr. Corry proceeded to submit to the committee the points which he had to state.

The charges of Ireland, he continued, consisted of what she was to bear conjointly with England, and what she was to sustain separately, in consequence of her separate debt, and her separate undertaking before the union. The amount of the joint expenditure had been already stated. Those services consisted of the army, the navy, the ordnance, the vote of credit, the corn bounties, the American claims, and miscellaneous services; these amounted to 27,000,000*l.* Of this sum, the part which was to be borne by Ireland was, in British money, 3,187,000*l.*, and in Irish, 3,450,000*l.* He said, as the accounts were kept in Irish money, he should state the rest of the accounts in Irish currency. To this sum was to be added, the separate charges which Ireland was to bear, consisting of the interest, sinking fund, and other

other charges of her debt, including annuities, and every species of charge, which amounted to 2,040,000*l.* The next head, or separate charge, was the compensation instalment, payable in Ireland, and he was happy to state that this would be the last application to parliament upon that subject—this amounted to 300,000*l.*; for inland navigation, 150,000*l.*; and for treasury bills payable in 1803, 386,000*l.* These sums made together about 2,870,000*l.*; and when added to the sum which Ireland was to bear as her proportion of the joint charge, would make 6,328,000*l.* To this was to be added 150,000*l.* as the proportion to the British civil list, which would make the whole of the charge to be borne by Ireland 6,478,000*l.* There was the sum of 700,000*l.* in treasury bills (which were nearly the same as exchequer bills in England) in the possession of the bank of Ireland, which did not circulate; which the bank of Ireland were disposed to renew, and which there was authority under an act of parliament to renew. He had now done with the charges. He came next to consider the means by which those charges were to be defrayed. The balance remaining in the exchequer of Ireland, which had some resemblance to the surplus of the consolidated fund in this country, amounted to above one million, from which, deducting the arrears of payments which were due and payable up to that day, there would remain a neat balance, applicable to the service of the year 1803, of 550,000*l.* The revenue of Ireland he would take at 3,000,000*l.* The lottery, the amount of which he would take from the produce of that of last year, 200,000*l.* These sums, added to the proportion of the loan which was raised for Ireland, which amounted to 2,160,000*l.*, would make the ways and means amount to 5,960,000*l.*, which, deducted from the total charge of Ireland, would leave a balance to be provided for of 562,000*l.* In order to meet that sum, it was proposed that a loan should be raised in Ireland to the amount of 1,000,000*l.* If that sum should turn out to be more than the services of the year required, it would be transferred to the consolidated fund; at the same time it would produce that which he hoped would not be considered as an excessive sum in the exchequer of Ireland, in times of such emergency and possible danger. And he trusted, this measure of precaution would not be considered as a measure of improvident profusion.

It now remained for him to state the taxes which he should have the honour to propose. Before, however, he entered into that part of the subject, he hoped it would not be considered as irrelevant if he said a few words respecting the trade of Ireland. In the last session of parliament he had the unpleasant task of stating, that the balance of trade was against Ireland. He had not the satisfaction to state that of 1802 though much better than the former, to be such as the committee would wish. By the official papers before the house, the balance of imports and exports for the year 1802, would appear to be still against Ireland; but he had this consolation to offer to the committee, that the official values did by no means give a just account of the trade, or its resulting balance, either in that country or in this, in an account intended to exhibit a balance of trade by the value

value of imports and exports. The true value of imports was that which was paid for the articles to foreign countries; and the true value of exports was that which was received for them from foreign countries.

In the account of the official value of imports, the articles were valued below the rate at which they might be sold on the wharf at importation, including the charges of freight and insurance, &c. The true rate, in a national account of this nature, would be the price paid for the articles at the place where they were purchased. As to freight and insurance, there were great advantages in a country possessing like Great Britain her own shipping, and making her own insurance, and paying of course no part of those charges to foreigners; those charges, although they were to be paid by the consumer, were no part of the price paid away by the importing country for the articles purchased, and ought therefore not to be introduced into the account of the balance of trade.

In the account of official value of exports, the articles were valued at the first cost on the shipping wharf; and the value there taken being the measure of the duty to be paid on exportation, it is probably a close and scant, rather than an excessive value; but when those exports were sold at a foreign market, the prices paid, and the returns made to the exporting country, include the further charges of those duties on export, of freight, of insurance, and of the merchant's profit, all of which centered in the exporting country, and constituted a part of the value gained by that country, and were of course to be included in a national account of the balance of trade.

The consequence of this was, that the official value in the case of imports was nearly 30 per cent. below the real value; but in the case of exports, the difference between the official and the real value, might be estimated at 60 per cent. Taking this into consideration, the trade of Ireland would stand with her exports exceeding her imports, although, judging from official value, the contrary might appear from some papers which had been presented to the house. Besides, in the imports, there was a considerable proportion of raw materials; from which they might draw this consolation, that the manufactures of the country would be proportionally benefited. He stated these subjects generally, because he hoped it would be a matter of satisfaction to gentlemen to hear them, and that it would afford some consolation to know, that if there were considerable drains upon that country, at least there was a prospect that they would not continue to the same amount. He would not, however, pledge himself that this effect would be produced this year, or in any specific time. He had last year made some favourable predictions respecting the trade of Ireland, though he did not state that the balance of trade would be such as he wished it to be. Those predictions, however, had turned out to be well-founded. With regard to the linen-trade he had observed, that the great advantages which were given in this country to foreign linen, the scarcity which was then but just over, and which certainly had, in some degree, prevented the sale of that article, had not so completely passed away that he could trust much to an increase in the export of that article; and it had not increased much; but he had

had the satisfaction to state, that in the course of that current year the stock in Ireland had been almost cleared off, and he had no doubt but he should have more reason to rejoice at the state of that trade for 1803, than he had for 1802. But if in the article of linen there was not much subject for congratulation, there certainly was great ground for satisfaction in contemplating the trade in provisions and corn. With regard to provisions, the demand which was necessary at the commencement of a war, for the outfit of fleets, &c. must of itself be very great; but, independent of that, the exportation of that article, as well as of corn, had increased so as to turn the balance in favour of Ireland, in the way he had stated. In the last session he had estimated the export of provisions for the last year, at from 200 to 250,000*l.* increase above the former, and it proved to have that increase; whilst corn, which he had estimated at an increase of 400,000*l.*, had exclusively of a dimunition of imports, which in the preceding year had amounted to above 200,000*l.* increased to the real value of above 600,000*l.* of export.

In regard to the revenues of Ireland, Mr. Corry said, he had last year delivered it as his opinion that they would increase in comparison with the preceding year, and had stated the probable increase at 300,000*l.*; in fact, it had increased nine hundred and odd thousand pounds. In the present year, however, he was sorry that he could not hold out hopes of a similar increase. He could not even state that they would keep up to three millions and a half. He thought it more safe to take them at three millions, because certain articles had, in the imports of last year, been excessive, which denoted a considerable stock now in the country, particularly sugar. The arrears of the assessed taxes had also been collected, amounting to 150,000l., and the collection of the current year would accordingly be comparatively less than that of the last by that sum.

It now remained for him to state the taxes and duties which he had to propose. His statements upon this head would be short, because they were not new in principle, or extravagant in amount. The first duty he had to propose was, an increase upon the imports in the customs and excise of 10l. per cent. This duty could only attach upon articles of foreign produce; because, by the compact of union, they could not attach upon articles imported from this country. This he estimated at 140,000*l.*—The next proposition he had to make, was an increase of duty upon the exports. He thought it necessary to state, that it was not the sense of the union compact that the taxes of the two countries should be certainly not equal in amount, but not even common, or upon the same articles. The taxes were to be distinct and several, though dependent upon the power of parliament; but whenever it happened that it was consistent with the interest of Ireland that the taxes, particularly with regard to foreign trade, imposed in this, could be adopted in that country, it would always be advisable to adopt them, in order to go forward in the road of assimilating the two countries as much as possible. It was, therefore, with great satisfaction that he now found it would not be inconsistent with the interest of Ireland to adopt the tax which had been imposed

imposed in this country upon exports. This tax at one and three per cent. would, he was sorry to say, produce not more than 17,000*l.* The next tax he had to propose was upon an article which was well able to bear it, and which ought to be taxed to the utmost extreme, so as not to afford encouragement to the illicit dealer. He meant a tax upon home-made spirits. This article was one that was so destructive to the morals, the industry, and the health of the lower classes of the people in Ireland, that it certainly was a fair object of taxation, as far as could be done without encouraging the private distiller. The tax he should propose upon this article was 9d. a gallon, which he estimated would produce 150,000*l.* As it had been always usual to lay a duty on foreign spirits, when a duty was imposed upon home-made spirits, he should propose a duty of 9d. per gallon on foreign spirits, exclusive of the 10 per cent. upon importation, and this he estimated at 30,000*l.* With respect to the imports, there was one article which he proposed to exempt, and that was tobacco, which had decreased in its importation from 9,000,000 to 7,000,000*lbs.* Great apprehension was entertained by the dealers in that article, that an additional duty would be very prejudicial to that branch of trade; he had, therefore, not included it in the general increase of duties, but would let it stand over for further consideration. The last article upon which he had to propose an additional duty was malt. Malt was used to a certain degree in distilleries. It was supposed that one half of the grain they used was malted. The burthen would not, however, fall heavily upon the distiller, it would fall principally upon the brewer. The brewery of Ireland had very much increased since the stoppage of the distillery, when the lower class of people had taken to drinking beer instead of spirits. If, however, the brewer felt an additional burthen, it would be some satisfaction to know, that the burthen would be but small; for the duty he should propose of 1s. a barrel upon malt, would not be more than 9d. a barrel upon beer. This tax he estimated at 140,000*l.* The whole of these additional duties would, according to his calculation, produce 380,000*l.* The interest and charge upon the loan for Ireland and England, would be 148,000l. The interest and charge upon the loan in Ireland would be 65,000*l.*, making together 208,000*l.* So that the amount of the duties would exceed the interest and charges of the loans by 173,000*l.* It might be asked why, when he had only 208,000*l.* to provide for, he should propose taxes to the amount of 380,000*l.* His answer was this—in looking to the state of the empire, he would take for the next year either of two alternatives, war or peace. If they should have peace, the surplus of duties on the present occasion would afford the means of reducing the duties upon some articles which could not be maintained in time of peace, such as foreign spirits and tobacco, from the facilities of smuggling; but if, on the other hand, the war should continue, those duties would go in aid of those exertions which he was sure the wisdom, the vigour, and the animation of the people of Ireland would lead them to make, after the example which had been shown them by this country. He concluded by moving his resolutions. There was no objection deserving

serving of notice to these resolutions and the bill, pursuant to the motion, was passed on the 11th of July.

Mr. Corry gave notice, on the 4th of July, that he should in the committee of ways and means on Monday (it being then Saturday) move for a provisional permission to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to raise one million by exchequer bills, by loan from the bank of Ireland, in case the loan for that sum already voted to be raised in Ireland should not be filled upon reasonable terms. Accordingly, in the committee, on Monday, Mr. Corry moved a resolution for raising one million in this manner, which was agreed to. The bill on this occasion passed the 16th of the same month.

CHAP. X.

State of Parties after the Commencement of the War.—Earl Fitzwilliam's Motion in the House of Lords for the Censure of Ministers—Colonel Patten's Motion to the same Effect in the House of Commons.—Further Motion of Earl Fitzwilliam.

IN a former chapter we had occasion to notice the growing coldness between the late chancellor of the exchequer and his old, and perhaps natural connexions, who at this period held the seals of office. From the uncordial manner of the two parties in the house of commons, it was conjectured by many, that the pledge of "constant, active, and zealous support" would not remain long unforfeited; and that the first casual lapse of ministers would bring down upon their heads the thunder of that eloquence, which had been so lately and so loudly exerted in their panegyric. No occasion, however, seemed to present itself. Mr. Pitt had warmly approved of the war; and in all their subsequent conduct there was nothing to arraign. It was necessary, however, to attempt their removal: but the several parties who conducted the attack did not as yet seem to understand each other's views; nor had either the whigs or the tories yet brought their minds to that point, where principle was to be sacrificed to place, and where a long and rooted hostility was to exhibit the political miracle of a sudden conversion into the tenderest friendship. The attack, therefore, was but awkwardly conducted: nor were the movers of the question in each house such as added much weight to the cause they had undertaken. The political versatility of earl Fitzwilliam repressed the confidence which might otherwise be placed in his assertions; and colonel Patten was a man without influence, and almost without a name.

The enterprise was nevertheless resolved on by some of the warmest among the new opposition, and it was thought to be encouraged, at least as an experiment, by some statesmen of more experience, and of a graver character.

On the second of June, earl Fitzwilliam rose to propose a motion relative to the proofs of insolence, aggression, and encroachment displayed by the French government since the conclusion of the treaty, and the responsibility which ministers had incurred in not having

having, at a much earlier period, laid the evidence of this hostile spirit before both houses of parliament. In bringing forward the motion he meant to submit to their lordship's consideration, he begged it to be understood that he was actuated by no motives of personal hostility to ministers. On the contrary, for many of them, individually, he felt the greatest esteem, and no man was more ready to do justice to the respectability of their private characters. But no consideration of this nature should induce him to desert a duty, which he felt he owed to their lordships and the country. It was on public views that he brought forward the business, and on public grounds he should only ask their lordships support. Having stated this in explanation of his object in then rising to address the house, his lordship went on take up the consideration of the general subject, and in the course of his observations adverted to all the acts of aggression and aggrandisement on the part of the French government from the time the preliminaries of peace were signed, and the corresponding conduct of ministers. On the part of the French government, there had been many acts of insolence, of violence, and aggression, every one of which ought to have been the ground of serious remonstrance, as being diametrically opposite to the principles of the treaty which ministers had avowed at the time when the treaty was concluded. When the French government had agreed on preliminary articles of peace, his lordship begged the house to to consider what was the line of conduct which it had pursued. Was this a conduct of a conciliatory nature? Was it of a nature that could at all induce a hope that peace might be preserved in the true spirit of peace? A very contrary spirit had on every occasion been evinced. On this part of his argument his lordship referred to the extraordinary step taken by Bonaparte, of procuring his appointment to the presidentship of the Italian republic: and asked, was an object of this magnitude, taking place during the interval between the signature of the preliminaries and a definitive treaty, a matter of light importance. Was it one to which with reference to such a definitive treaty, no attention ought to have been given by ministers? The fact, however, was, that ministers had made no remonstrances: and it was from the knowledge that they had on this, as well as many other acts of violence and aggression on the part of the French government, not made any remonstrance, that he had felt it his duty to bring the matter under discussion. It was in February 1802 that this very extraordinary measure took place, and it was with the knowledge of this decisive proof of the disposition of the French government that the definitive treaty had been concluded.

But what had been the spirit of encroachment displayed by the French government after the treaty was concluded? A very few months elapsed, when by a convention, of the grounds of which ministers had not given parliament and the country the smallest information, Parma and Placentia were ceded to France. It was in the month of June that this new acquisition of territory was obtained, and still no remonstranoe was resorted to by ministers. The French government, profiting by this spirit of forbearance, and actuated by a thirst

thirst of power which acknowledged no bounds, resolved that no opportunity of aggrandisement should be overlooked. In the month of September, Piedmont was declared to be an integral part of the French republic; and thus, whatever hope might have been previously entertained of the restoration of the liberty of Italy, it was now destroyed. It was henceforth left to the mercy of France; for who was ignorant that in every great contest Piedmont had been considered as the key of Italy? The first step which ministers had taken, which at all indicated a determination to resist this ambitious spirit, was the issuing of orders for retaining possession of the Cape of Good Hope. On what circumstances, however, he begged their lordships to consider, were these orders dispatched? Was it on receiving intelligence of the determination of Bonaparte to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland? It was of importance to observe how the the conduct of ministers on this subject ought to be considered. When they determined to interfere, they ought to have known what effect their interference was likely to produce; for if, from the circumstances of the continent at the time the remonstrances were made, it appeared that they could be productive of no beneficial consequence, the remonstrances were in themselves highly inexpedient.—Now how did the case stand after it was fairly considered? The fact was, that on the 3d of October Mr. Merry sent a dispatch to ministers, informing them of the exertions made by a Swiss deputy to procure the interference of some of the ministers of the great powers of Europe in behalf of this persecuted country. In this dispatch it was stated that the application had been ineffectual. Most of the ministers were not only not disposed to listen to his application, but they were afraid of admitting him within their threshhold, from a dread of giving offence to the first consul. With the knowledge of all this, ministers did interfere when they must have known that interference could not be beneficial. They had passed over the fairest opportunities of dignified and effective remonstrance, and had made a show of remonstrance when it could not with the smallest dignity be employed.

But the cases to which he had alluded were not all, which, though forming just ground of complaint, had not been taken up with sufficient spirit by ministers. His lordship, among other things, alluded to the manner in which British subjects had been abused, and British property confiscated, which did not appear to him to be made the ground of sufficient remonstrance. Our claims to reparation and redress had not been urged with that spirit, and that energy, which the extreme importance of the subject required. Having dwelt a good deal on this point, his lordship proceeded to the direct point at which ministers had chosen to make their final stand, and had thought proper to assume a determination no longer to submit to the insults and aggressions of the French government. After all the instances of aggression which had occurred, after all the proofs which had been given, of a disposition altogether inconsistent with the independence and safety of other states; after the most unequivocal demonstrations of a mind incurably hostile to

this country, ministers had instructed lord Whitworth to express to the French government their readiness to give up Malta agreeably to the conditions of the treaty. Having given such instructions, attention was naturally directed to the circumstances which produced the subsequent determination of ministers to retain Malta, as a means of additional security against the future views of the French government. Lord Hawkesbury, in consequence of the report of Sebastiani, disclosing the views of the French government, addresses a note to our ambassador, stating that ministers expected that additional security to which their views gave them a fair claim. Till the middle of February, the ambitious designs of the French government were not resisted by ministers; and at length they took their stand at a point which, compared with various other causes of offence, was very secondary in real importance.—From all the considerations he had stated, he conceived himself fully warranted in drawing the inference which he meant to found on his first proposition, that ministers, in full possession of sufficient proofs of the hostile mind of the French government, of its uninterrupted insults and aggressions, from the time that the treaty of peace had been signed to the day when his majesty's message of the 8th of March was delivered, were highly censurable in not declaring what was the real situation of the country. At the time that they were sufficiently sensible of the existence of this spirit, they continued to hold out to parliament and to the country the hope of the continuance of peace. At the very moment when there could remain no reasonable expectation of the maintenance of peace, the public was deceived with the expectation that there was a prospect, not of short, precarious, but of solid and permanent repose from all the miseries attendant on war. Parliament and the public had, at all times, a clear and undoubted right to know, from the servants of the crown, what was the real situation of the country. This information ministers had most assiduously concealed; and while they sheltered themselves behind responsibility, the country was brought into a situation more critical and more dangerous than had ever been paralleled in the records of our country. It was proper, at a time when all ranks would be called upon to contribute great sacrifices for the public service, that they should have confidence in the talents and knowledge of those by whom these sacrifices were to be applied for the service of the empire. It was necessary, too, when we were engaging in a contest in which the opinion or mediation of other powers might be required, that the character of the government of the country should be such as to command respect. On these principles he wished the conduct of ministers to be considered. For the reasons above stated, he could not admit that his majesty's present servants were qualified to secure confidence with the country at home, or inspire respect among governments abroad. The noble earl concluded his speech, after a few observations to the same effect, with moving several resolutions, of which the two following were the most important:—

1st. "Resolved, that it appears to this house, from the declaration issued by his majesty on the 13th instant,

instant, and laid before this house by his majesty's command, that the conduct of the French republic towards this country during the whole period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty of peace, is considered by his majesty's ministers as having exhibited *one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult;* and as necessarily creating a *thorough conviction* of a system deliberately *adopted by France for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his majesty and his government.*"

2dly. "Resolved, that his majesty's ministers having, throughout the whole period, from the definitive treaty of peace to the breaking out of the present war, neither communicated to parliament any knowledge of the sense which they now appear to have entertained respecting the conduct and system of France, nor any regular information of the particulars on which the same was founded, or the steps taken by his majesty's government thereupon, have thereby withheld from this house the necessary materials for the due and full discharge of its constitutional functions; and that by encouraging throughout the country an unfounded security and confidence in the permanence of peace, they have embarrassed and perplexed our commerce; have deceived the expectations, and unnecessarily harassed the spirit of the people; and have materially increased and aggravated the difficulties of our actual situation."—Lord Fitzwilliam moved a third resolution for a vote of censure on ministers for their conduct. On the question being put on the first resolution from the woolsack,

Lord Limerick rose, and vindicated the whole conduct of ministers. A great deal had been said about the responsibility under which ministers attempted to shelter their conduct, and it was made the subject of complaint that ministers had not, at a much earlier period, put the house in possession of information relative to the ambitious and insolent views of the French government. The conduct of ministers respecting Switzerland had been condemned. What was the simple state of the case? The ministers of all the great continental powers had been addressed with the view of obtaining their mediation with the first consul to avert the evils with which Switzerland was threatened, and which afterwards it so fully experienced. To these applications no sort of attention had been given, except by the ministers of this country. Was a disposition to listen to the remonstrances of a brave and injured people, a ground of censure? Was it a subject of fair complaint, that a hope was held out of a determination to give every degree of support which was likely to be effectual in a contest for usages and for privileges endeared by every consideration that was most cherished by the heart of man? But this general principle of the interference of ministers respecting Switzerland, appeared to be condemned. As to the manner in which the interference had been conducted, he was confident there was as little room for just complaint. Depraved as the powers of the continent had shown themselves to be, ministers had no choice left but to make a separate remonstrance to the French government. Such a remonstrance, their lordships were aware, had been presented by ministers; and if it failed of effect, neither the honour nor the general character of the

country were at all compromised. Under such circumstances, what had ministers done? They sent a confidential agent to Switzerland, not to foment a spirit of rebellion, not to delude them with false hopes and expectations of success—but to ascertain the real dispositions of the people, to find out what was their abilities for effectual resistance, and to see what prospect there was that with such assistance as might have been given by this country, there was any probability that this resistance would promote the end which was so eagerly coveted. On inquiry it was ascertained, that, with all their detestation of French persecution, with all their enthusiastic devotion to the liberties and manners of their fathers, successful resistance was impossible, and therefore ministers found further interference unnecessary. He appealed to their lordships, whether in this conduct there was any thing unworthy of the ministers of a great country?

Ministers had been loudly accused for not having sooner declared their opinion that war had become necessary. For this objection he saw no solid ground. The circumstances under which the peace had been concluded were to be considered before such an objection could be fairly started. It would not be contended that ministers were not desirous of the continuance of peace. On this they rested their pretensions to popularity, and it was not at all likely they would do any thing to destroy the good opinion which had been created in their favour, by rashly plunging the country into hostilities. He desired noble lords to look at the conduct of ministers, and then judge of their sincerity for the continuance of peace. Malta was the grand point in dispute, and to remove the ground of difference in the dispute, no efforts had been omitted. They had sedulously endeavoured to procure the assent of the guaranteeing powers; they had given every facility for the election of a grand-master; they had pursued this object in a way the most calculated to evince their determination to act in the true spirit of peace. They found, soon after the conclusion of the treaty, that the French government, instead of discovering a spirit of conciliation, evinced a disposition rancorous and hostile. They received a proposal infamous and outrageous in the highest degree, a proposition to curtail or suppress the most valuable privilege and the firmest support of the British constitution—the freedom of full and fair discussion. To such a proposal ministers of course refused, in the most explicit terms, to accede; but even here their language was characterised by mildness and moderation. To a most detestable and cruel demand—for detestable and cruel he must call any demand to drive from our land the representatives of a family once eminent for wealth and power, but now eminent only in misfortune—the answer of ministers was at once firm and dignified. It was hardly necessary for him to remind their lordships of the circumstances in which such demands were advanced by the French government. While our ministers were called upon to banish the remains of an ancient nobility, and the wreck of a venerable priesthood, men exiled from their country as traitors—men who were anxious to spread among their countrymen the flame of civil war, and

and to plunge the dagger into the hearts of their brethren, were cherished, protected, and honoured, at the consular court.

It had been objected to ministers that their orders and counter-orders respecting the Cape betrayed want of firmness and consistency of character. When, however, the plain fact was considered, the objection would instantly vanish. Ministers had reason to believe that a plan was in contemplation, by which Holland was to be incorporated with France. Under such an expectation, it was clear that the Cape would necessarily fall into the hands of France the moment it was surrendered. It was on this principle that the order for retaining the Cape was founded; and it was not till an explanation on the subject was obtained, that a second order for its evacuation was dispatched. After this explanation had been obtained, ministers had no pretence for refusing to comply with the terms of the treaty. The noble lord from this passed to the consideration of Sebastiani's report. He condemned it in very energetic terms. It appeared to him to express such clear evidence of the insidious designs of the first consul, both with respect to Egypt and the Ionian isles, that if ministers had not laid hold of it in establishing a just claim to further security on the part of this country, they would have forfeited all claims to public confidence. He touched on the article which appeared in the Hamburg paper, which had excited so much attention, and called forth such just indignation. It was one of the foulest and most malignant libels that ever was published against the government of an independent country. He threw out some important strictures on the character of M. Rheinard, by whose influence it was inserted.—This was no tyro in politics, no pupil in the study of diplomatic address: he was bred up in the school of the most outrageous times of the revolution, and he had received various proofs of the confidence of his consular master. The act of insertion was, therefore, to all intents and purposes, an act agreeable to the first consul. Under all these considerations, ministers had called for additional security, and what had been the conduct of the French government? Had any offer of security been obtained? On the contrary, had not that arch-master in intrigue, Talleyrand, declared that the question between the two countries lay within a very narrow compass. It was simply Malta, or war. Retain Malta, and war would be considered to be declared. Such was the language of the French government. His lordship, after a few remarks, sat down by declaring his approbation of the conduct of ministers, and his consequent disapprobation of the proposition.

Lord Darnley remarked, that it was not only in the conduct of government since the signature of the peace of Amiens, but on a general view of their whole conduct both before and since, that an adequate and impartial judgement could be formed. In his opinion, the original sin was the spirit of concession to the encroachments of France, which they had manifested soon after the signature of the preliminaries. If they had pursued a contrary line of conduct, if they had at once given Bonaparte to understand, that in the low and almost humiliating terms of peace to which they had consented, they had gone the utmost length of con-

cession, and that they were determined to make their stand against any further extension of the power of France, in all probability he would have given way, when he found them really in earnest, and prepared if necessary to renew the war. On the other hand, if he had not yielded, and had forced us again to have recourse to arms, we should have taken them up under every advantage, which we had now given up, by disarming our forces and relinquishing our conquests. What had happened since the peace, as proved by the papers on the table, was the necessary consequence of that system of concession and humiliation thus early adopted; since it was the invariable consequence of submission under insult and oppression, to provoke a repetition of them, and at length to be driven to resistance under every disadvantage, as was the case in the present instance. He would go through the whole detail of those acts of insult and aggression, so justly complained of in his majesty's declaration; but first of all, he would beg leave to advert to one, which appeared first in the papers, but on which, in his mind, sufficient stress had not been laid—he meant the detention and confiscation of the vessels. He asked, what could be more flagrant than the case of the vessel which was forced into a port of France by stress of weather, or of that which was confiscated, because the captain had a few knives and plates for his own use, of English manufacture?—Were not these acts of injustice and hostility? and yet, as far we know, said he, no notice was taken of them, except in the presenting a few whining remonstrances at Paris, which were treated with silent contempt. After adverting to the several subjects of Malta, Switzerland, and the Cape, lord Darnley said, he should assent to the propositions moved that night by the noble earl, because he thought they could not be controverted.

Lord Mulgrave observed, that the objects of the French government were three, and that these formed the leading points in Bonaparte's views. The first object was to destroy the resources and wealth of this country in India, by getting possession of Egypt; the second was to exclude from the continent and from France every article of British merchandise; and the third object was to overturn and destroy the independence of this country. Ministers had, undoubtedly, an awful duty to discharge. He trusted, however, that measures would be instantly taken to renovate and restore those forces which had been disbanded. When these measures should be brought forward, it would then be as much the duty of every noble lord to enter fully into their spirit, as it was at present the duty of the house to abstain from all retrospective questions or debate whatever. If the measures which would then be submitted by ministers should be deemed ineffectual, then the house would employ its wisdom in correcting and improving those measures. Above all, his lordship deprecated any discussions which could turn aside for an instant that proud and angry spirit manifested by the country against the conduct of France. It would tend to unhinge the unanimity so conspicuously demonstrated, and might add a doubt to the anxiety of Europe, which viewed Great Britain as the only champion of civil liberty remaining. He could not

not, on these grounds, be induced to support the original motion, as he could not vote for the previous question, conceiving that no question could be previous to that which concerned the dearest interests of the country. He lamented the debate which had occurred, and, in order that there might be no more of it, he moved that the house should then adjourn.

To this lord Hobart strongly objected, and pointed out the great injustice the house would manifest in supporting the motion of adjournment. No such motions as those moved that day by the noble earl were entertained, or brought into discussion; but there was something of higher consequence to be taken into consideration than the personal feelings of himself, or any other of his majesty's servants—the character of the government existing as it did at present. If the ministers were to be censured and disgraced under the present circumstances, it would naturally follow that they ought to be dismissed, or the measures necessary to be pursued for the defence of the country would be enfeebled and rendered inefficient, and of little utility. Considering the arduous and difficult task that ministers had to perform ever since they came into office, undoubtedly many of their acts might be highly questionable; but he was conscious that the more their conduct was examined, the more it would be found that every step they had taken had been taken with great anxiety, with great caution, and with a most earnest endeavour to avoid the depriving the country of the continuance of the blessings of peace.

Lord Grenville observed, that the charge in general against ministers was, that, not by accident, but by a deliberate systematic conduct, they precluded parliament from that knowledge of public events which was indisputably necessary to the performance of its duty. As to this point, the charge of not communicating essential information to parliament, one noble and learned lord (lord Ellenborough) had said, of all the charges this was the most trivial and unfounded. He challenged opposition to point out when ministers should have come down, and what they should have communicated; which challenge his lordship accepted, in spite of the danger of including himself in the charge of consummate ignorance. He would undertake to say distinctly, when they should have come down to parliament, what they should have communicated, and the mischief arising from their not having done so. He might refer, he said, in investigating this subject, to the ministerial defence of the preliminary articles; in supporting which ministers declared there was nothing in the person who ruled over France, or in the circumstances of the times, that should render the peace less likely to continue than any that ever was made. He would, however, commence his observations where ministers were inclined to make their stand, viz. at the definitive treaty. The abolition of the Spanish priories, and subsequent destruction of the Spanish langue at Malta, he had reason to believe took place before the signing of the definitive treaty. He believed this event took place in March 1802; whereas, in May following, ministers

contended that peace in all its articles was practicable. The definitive treaty was now said to be an experiment; if so, it must mean an experiment leading to peace, and to ascertain whether the great sacrifices we then made were likely to produce the objects for which they were ostensibly made. As soon as peace, in so material an article as Malta, became impracticable, it was the duty of ministers to say so. When the house went up to his majesty with the address on the definitive treaty, ministers were in duty bound to disclose the impracticability of executing the treaty, arising from the known abolition of the Spanish priories at the instance of France. Not doing so, was putting a delusion on parliament, and suffering them to think and act on a supposition of facts not true.

This happened the 14th and 15th of May. The session lasted six weeks after; yet no communication took place, and parliament were suffered to proceed in confidence in making reductions, and ministers themselves went on executing the treaties. The session ended on the 9th of June. In the speech made on that occasion by the speaker of the house of commons, it was obvious he had heard nothing of the impracticability of executing the treaty, as he spoke of peace, and thanked his majesty for giving the people repose and safety. His majesty's speech on the conclusion of the session had similar expressions. Who would think that, at that very moment, his majesty's ministers were in possession of facts that rendered peace impossible? One noble lord had said, that such communication was unconstitutional; whereas, his lordship maintained that it was a public principle, and that in no circumstances of the country, any way similar, had the fullest information been withheld. For the last 30 years, connexions with the continent had been more rare than formerly. He had always condemned this policy, though others might differ. But in this time, and during the reigns of George First and Second, communications from the king to parliament were matter of ordinary intercourse. In the reigns of William and Anne, still more so. The latter had sometimes asked the opinion of parliament as to pending treaties.

From these instances, his lordship said, that frequent and particular communications to parliament were sanctioned both by principle and practice. Now, so little had his majesty's present ministers treated parliament with that constitutional respect, that, so late as the opening of the present session, not one word was said that any thing had occurred, or existed, that threatened the breach of the treaty, though by the papers it was evident every point of dispute, except one, had then arisen.

As to the political relations of France, his lordship was at a loss to conceive what instances of great violence and aggression France could be guilty of to the powers of the continent, without affecting our domestic interests and security. The particulars of those aggressions were the isle of Elba, Parma, Placentia, Piedmont, Italy, Germany, Egypt, Malta, and Switzerland. He should not ask why France was suffered to annex Piedmont, without

without any interference on the part of his majesty's ministers. He should say nothing of their conduct with respect to Italy and Germany, although he believed that there were many better opportunities for sounding the emperor of Germany and the other powers of Europe, than the affairs of Switzerland afforded. As to the arrangements in Germany, he thought that, besides the disgrace which the country sustained, by suffering the German dominions of his majesty to be the object of violence and seizure, the arrangements were, in one respect, directly contrary to the treaty of Amiens, which stipulated a complete indemnity for the prince of Orange in Germany. The inadequate provision which was assigned him was a direct violation and breach of that treaty; and yet it did not appear that there was any interference with respect to this breach of the treaty. As to Switzerland, there was an interference; but what sort of interference was it? We sent our envoy to Vienna, to inquire whether the emperor could spare an army to march from Vienna to Switzerland, to protect that country from the French; but so it happened, that before our envoy got to Vienna the French were completely in possession of Switzerland. However right the interference of his majesty's ministers was in its principle, he could not discover much wisdom in it, when it was urged in a manner that it was almost impossible it could succeed. They had remonstrated with France, but in so mild a tone, that it rather appeared as if they were entreating the compassion of the French for the poor innocent Swiss. He thought that perhaps Piedmont would have been a subject of interference for which we should be more likely to obtain the co-operation of other powers. It was another consideration, whether it would not have been much better to have interfered in June than in October. In June, our sailors were not discharged, and we had 120,000 soldiers, which had since been disbanded. Perhaps this was the time we could have interfered with the best prospect of allies, and with a strong fleet and army of our own. But in the armament for Switzerland in October, his majesty's ministers, without any communication to parliament, put the country into a state of war. They sent out orders to retain the Cape, which, by treaty, was to have been ceded to the Dutch garrison, who were ready to take possession of it. In this instance, ministers ventured a direct violation of the treaty, without communicating this step to parliament; and afterwards counter-orders put the country again in a state of peace. As to the question of Malta, if the French official correspondence was to be believed, ministers had been guilty of a disingenuous suppression of a material note, which accompanied their *project*. They knew, at the time they signed the treaty of Amiens, that Russia would not guarantee that article of the treaty, it being contrary to the wishes of Russia, and to a previous stipulation between England and Russia. Knowing then that Russia would not guarantee it, in the terms of the article, they affected to solicit the guarantee of Russia. He thought the charge of suppressing a material note to deceive parliament (although made by M. Talleyrand), was so serious as to require

require from the noble secretary a specific answer. The designs of the French government upon Egypt were known long before Sebastiani's report; they were the common conversation of Paris long previous thereto. It might be proper for this country to interfere on the subject: it might be proper to arm; but ministers might have either negotiated or armed, without sending down to parliament that message which caused the ruin of so many private families. The object of the message was said to be, to call out the supplementary militia; but was there no way of arming but that? Might not the regiments of the line have been recruiting, and our naval strength considerably improved, without having recourse to a measure which appeared like a declaration of war in the first instance? He concluded by opposing the adjournment, and expressing a wish that the resolutions should meet that discussion which was due to their importance.

The lord chancellor opposed the adjournment in a very decided manner. His lordship replied to all the arguments urged by lord Grenville, on the events which had happened since the definitive treaty, and refuted the charge of ministers having been guilty of a breach of duty, in the particular instance of their long silence on the subject of the late discussions. He contended that they had followed the practice of former times, and mentioned the circumstances which preceded the commencement of the late war, the discussions relative to which had commenced in May, and there was no communication to parliament till November. In the affair of the Russian armament, the interval was still longer. His majesty's ministers, conscious of having done the best they could for their country, had no apprehensions from appealing to its justice; and absurd indeed would it be in them to consent to a motion of adjournment on the present question, which would only serve to paralyse their exertions in the arduous cause to which they were then pledged, and thus furnish a new pretence for reviving, at the end of a month or six weeks, a motion for their censure and removal.

Many other noble lords spoke in the course of the debate against the motion.

On the question being called for, their lordships divided, when the numbers appeared—

For the adjournment -	18
Against it - -	106
Majority -	88

The house again divided on the previous question, when the numbers were—

For the previous question	96
Against it - -	14
Majority -	82

Adjourned.

On the 6th of June, earl Fitzwilliam rose, according to the order of the day, to propose his additional resolutions relative to the conduct of ministers. He adverted to the arguments that had been used on the side of administration, on occasion of the former debate, and combated them. So far from giving satisfaction to his mind, they had only more firmly impressed it with the conviction that the conduct of ministry had been such as justly merited the censure which it was the object of his resolutions

solutions to fix upon it. As his lordship traversed the same ground precisely which had been gone over before in the course of the former debate, it would be needless to give his sentiments in detail on the present occasion.

His lordship concluded his observations on the question, and the arguments which had been adduced against his propositions, by declaring that the effect of the whole upon his mind had been such as induced him to persevere in his former intentions of submitting the additional resolutions to the consideration of the house. These resolutions were in substance as follow:—

"That no firm and adequate representations had been made by his majesty's ministers relative to the system of aggression in which France had constantly persevered since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens. That his majesty's ministers had, by these means, neglected the opportunity of bringing France to such an explanation as would either have prevented the renewal of the war, or obliged her to disclose her real intentions, before the forces of this country had been, to any considerable degree, disbanded: and that their conduct had proved of the utmost injury and detriment to the nation.—These were, that the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens was constructed in such a way as rendered it incapable of being executed. That, in these circumstances, ministers had neglected to enter, till too late, into a discussion with France, relative to the best mode of applying a remedy to this defect; and the consequence had been, that the question how it was to be adjusted had, by these means, produced another rupture between the two countries."

Resolved, "That it was the duty of his majesty's ministers to have made early and spirited remonstrances against all those acts which constituted a series of aggressions, insults, &c. on the part of France, and by such representations to have endeavoured to ascertain whether their course and progress could have been arrested, without the necessity of recurring to force of arms. That before the determination of the French government was ascertained, they should not have proceeded to a reduction of our forces; and that the neglect of such duties on the part of his majesty's ministers was injurious to the public interests."

The duke of Clarence said, in whatever shape this motion had been introduced, he could not help considering it as a motion expressly made for the removal of his majesty's ministers. It was his opinion that ministers did right in making peace, notwithstanding their expectations had been frustrated. He must say, in justice to the ministers who concluded the treaty, that if in 1801 any one could have thought that there was any principle of honour or justice on the part of the government of France, the preliminaries were such as ought to have been entered into, considering the length of the war, and the severity of its pressure; and that ministers ought not to be censured for having agreed to the preliminaries. How far indeed they ought to have agreed to the definitive treaty was matter of serious consideration. That was a question that would involve the gross misconduct of the former administration,

tion, which brought the country into the state that the present ministers found it. These ministers were accused for reducing our force. He did not admit that they did reduce it lower than was necessary for the safety and interest of the country. Supposing, however, the charge to be founded in fact, it showed that ministers were actuated by a pacific spirit, and repelled the charge that the enemy had brought against them, of wishing to renew the war. The army estimates, however, were voted to an amount that had been held sufficient for the establishment in any war in which the country had ever before been engaged. So far then for the charge of too great a reduction in the army. With regard to the navy, there was one circumstance, it would be observed, peculiar to our navy. We were a great commercial nation, and the manning of the navy must greatly interfere with our trade. A sailor's life was a profession, and therefore it was not so easy to procure sailors as marines and soldiers, who could learn their business in a short time. So early as the first week in August the marines were reduced; but still there was a large establishment of them. The army was also considerably reduced; yet still, on the 8th of March, it was in as good a state as in the time of any preceding war. Now let us see what was the conduct of ministers at this time. Upon the 17th of October they sent out orders to retain the Cape. This was done in consequence of the conduct of France towards Switzerland; and though he confessed in the November following another order was sent out for its evacuation, yet what did this conduct show? Was it not saying to France, we are not afraid of you? you must conduct yourselves as you ought, or dread our resistance. For, my lords, said he, we must despise the boast, that England, single-handed, is unable to contend with France. England, in fact, never beat France to so much advantage, as when she fought her single-handed. The man who said otherwise must know himself in his heart to be a liar, or he must be grossly deficient in historical information. Now, coupling his majesty's speech with the date of the order, he thought it a fair policy to say to France, as they implied, we are ready to meet you; but, at the same time, you see in us our ardent and sincere disposition for peace. On these grounds, therefore, he did feel himself disposed to negative the proposition of the noble earl. He did not think that the present ministers, who came into power under such difficulties, deserved censure. As far as he had yet an opportunity of judging of their conduct, it had not deserved censure. He thought the noble earl was perfectly consistent in making the motion, but it had the objection of being very like the proposition which was made a few nights since, and was supported by those very men who brought us into our present situation by their gross and shameful misconduct. God forbid they should ever come again into his majesty's councils! Under these circumstances, he should wish to negative the motion of the noble earl.

Lord Minto began by declaring that he did not consider the peace

peace a hollow truce, as some were pleased to call it, nor an armistice, but a continuation of the war. He alluded to the impracticability of the stipulations respecting Malta, and declared that he considered a war for Malta as a war of policy and justice, though he could not be content to leave it there. He should place it upon a higher ground; he meant the enormous aggrandisement of France since the treaty of Amiens. By the possession of Switzerland in particular, and the Italian republic, France had extended herself beyond the Adige on the one side, and on the other to the naked frontier of Austria, the old friend of England, and the rival of France. He disapproved, therefore, of the treaty of Amiens, because, in the first place, it did not abridge her power; and, in the second place, because it left her at liberty to pursue the system of aggrandisement, in which she had never relaxed for a moment. It enabled her to set up that strange and newfangled doctrine, that, because this was a country surrounded by the sea, and possessing a powerful fleet and flourishing commerce, it must have no connexion with the *terra firma* of the continent. He considered the conduct of ministers as a sanction for the political excommunication of the country from the nations of Europe. They signed the preliminaries at the very time he was acquiring, and not with very great dispatch, the Italian republic. They did this, and yet we never heard of any remonstrance upon the subject. But it must be confessed they were not totally passive. They sent out Mr. Moore to Switzerland, upon a private mission, which was the very line a timid and feeble state would adopt towards a powerful neighbour. Mr. Moore was an able and proper person, but he hoped his next mission would be of a more honourable description. And what was the result of the mission? The subjugation of Switzerland was complete before his arrival. It must be also admitted that they sent out orders to retain the Cape; but they were secret orders. What good could result from such orders he did not see. If the war were produced by the conduct of France towards Switzerland, as was avowed, surely the true course would have been to issue public orders, and show France the consequence of her daring to persevere in her designs upon Switzerland.

Upon the whole, then, he could not but consider the conduct of ministers as timid and irresolute, and as having, by the extent of their concessions, brought the country into such a state, that nothing further could be conceded, consistently with its interest and honour. He hoped there would be a negotiation as soon as a seasonable opportunity offered; but he hoped and trusted that it would not be upon the basis of the treaty of Amiens.

Lord Hobart rose to repel the charge which had often been made, that a considerable reduction of the military force had taken place. He said that, in fact, no reduction had been made by ministers, except of the cavalry; respecting the propriety of keeping up which, even in time of war, very great doubts had been and were still entertained. The only force that was obliged to be disbanded was the militia, and that must always necessarily be the case when peace was made. The fencible regiments

ments also were disbanded on the same account, as well as those corps which had been raised to serve only to the end of the war, under the authority of various acts of parliament. With regard to the shipping, a larger number were kept in commission than had been done during any former peace. His lordship produced an account of ships of the line, sloops, &c. in commission in the years 1764, 1784, and in the then present year, 1803, from which it appeared that those in commission in the year 1784 exceeded the number of those in commission in the year 1764 very considerably; but that those in commission in 1803 exceeded those in commission in 1784 so much more considerably as almost to double that number.

His lordship next proceeded to take notice of what had been said about the inconsistencies in the conduct of ministers with respect to the orders sent out by them October 16th, to retain the Cape of Good Hope, and another order to make the cession of it to the Dutch, sent out on the 17th of November. His lordship remarked, that it was necessary to advert to the circumstances under which these orders had been sent out by his majesty's ministers. They had been applied to by deputies from Switzerland, for the assistance of this country, when the first consul menaced Switzerland, and threatened that he would pour in a considerable number of French troops, in order to give it a free constitution. In consequence of the application, ministers caused a remonstrance on the subject to be presented to the French government, and at the same time sent Mr. Moore into Switzerland, to see in what situation affairs were there, and to offer the Swiss pecuniary assistance, provided he should find them able and willing to fight for their liberty, and defend their constitution. On his arrival, Mr. Moore found that the diet, thinking themselves unable to resist the overwhelming power of France, had determined to yield, and the French troops were actually in possession of Switzerland. To our remonstrance the first consul gave no answer at all. Besides this act of aggression and violence, the first consul had, in breach of the treaty of Amiens, sent more French forces into the Batavian provinces, which, by the treaty, he had engaged to evacuate, and withdraw the French troops altogether. Alarmed at this extraordinary conduct, his majesty's ministers thought it their duty to send out orders, not merely to the Cape of Good Hope, but to the West Indies, to their officers entrusted with the care of their different islands, and which, by the treaty of Amiens, were to be ceded to the French and the Dutch, to retain them respectively. Unfortunately those orders arrived in the West Indies, and at Demarara, Surinam, &c. too late to answer the desired purpose, those islands having been already ceded. The holding the Cape of Good Hope then became a very different consideration from what it would have been if they should have had the good fortune to have been able to detain the whole of the cessions which had been stipulated for under the express agreement that Batavia should be evacuated, and the French troops marched out of it. Upon consultation, therefore, it was deemed proper to comply with the treaty of Amiens respecting

ing it, and hence it was that ministers thought it their duty to send out the order of the 17th of November, 1802, to cede it to the Dutch. With regard to the value set upon the Cape of Good Hope by a noble viscount not then present, and by the noble lords opposite to him, he would again repeat what he said the other night, that he did not hold it in equal estimation. If he were asked whether he thought it of no value, certainly he should not go the length of answering in the affirmative. It had its value undoubtedly, but not to the extent that other noble lords attached to it. In the first place, it was not necessary that ships coming from or sailing to India should touch at it; and he had been informed by those best acquainted upon the subject, that no French cruisers could derive any advantage from it. The usual and best practice of our Indiamen was to keep at least to the distance of thirty leagues from the Cape in their voyages to and from India. In the next place, it was to be considered that Cape Town could hardly be deemed a port. During the favourable season of six months in the year, ships might lie in Table Bay; but during the severe and tempestuous season, ships could only lie in False Bay; from whence, on account of the boisterous sea, the worst of any part of the ocean, no French man of war or cruiser could put to sea. But another consideration was, the immense charge the Cape put us to, while it was in our own hands. It cost this country no less than one million and a half; whereas it would not cost us above four hundred thousand pounds to send out convoys with the several fleets of Indiamen which sailed from our ports at home to India, and from India home again.

His lordship said, before he sat down he must take that opportunity of answering a charge which he understood had been urged against himself in another place. It had been said, that he had refused to see the deputies from Switzerland at his office, and had assigned as a reason for so doing, "lest his doing so should give umbrage to the first consul and the French republic." He did assure the house, that the report was wholly without foundation. The fact was, that he did receive the Swiss deputies twice; once at his office, and once at his own house: and he hoped the house knew him better than to believe, that for a single moment he could have either degraded himself or disgraced the honour of the country so much, as to have assigned the dread of giving umbrage to the first consul, or the French republic, as the ground of any one part of his conduct as a British minister.

Several other lords spoke on the present occasion, but as no new ground of argument was started, it would be needless to enter into further detail.

The house divided on the first proposition,

Contents 17—Non-contents 86.

The second and third propositions were negatived.

Adjourned.

The resolutions moved in the house of commons, were the same in substance as those we have already noticed in the house of peers. They were brought forward by Mr. Patten, and gave rise, in this house also, to much debate. We have assigned, however, as much room to this article as is compatible

tible with our plan.—Mr. Pitt, at the conclusion of a short speech, proposed to get rid of the motion, by moving the previous question; on which the house ultimately divided—

Ayes	-	56
Noes	-	338

Mr. Pitt and several of his friends immediately went out, and afterward the question was put on the original motion.

Mr. Fox said, that it was not his intention to vote for the resolutions, though, at the same time, it was impossible for him to approve of the conduct of his majesty's ministers. He had expressed his opinion upon a former occasion, and he conceived the time was past for moving a vote of censure upon their conduct upon the present subject: yet he hoped that what had occurred would be a warning to them how they kept the house in future in the dark to the last moment.

Mr. Fox concluded by paying some warm compliments to Mr. T. Grenville, upon his masterly speech, and by saying that he could not agree to a vote of censure, because he did not know but that the successors of the present ministry might be more objectionable to him than the present.

A division then took place upon the original motion of Mr. Patten:

For it	-	34
Against it	-	275

Mr. Fox and several of his friends retired without dividing.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Rebellion in Ireland—Planned by the French Government in Time of Peace—Obstacles to its Success.—The Virtue and Moderation of the Government.—The Protestants of the North reconciled.—Characters of the principal Agents concerned in the Rebellion—Mr. Thomas Russell—Mr. Robert Emmett.—Proceedings of Emmett.—A Depôt of Arms established.—Insurrection in Dublin on the 23d of July.—Violence of the Rebels.—Murder of Lord Kilwarden and his Nephew.—Insurrection suppressed.—Proclamation of the Rebels.—Adventures of Emmett, and his Apprehension.—Proceedings of Russell.—Constitutional Conduct of the Ministry.—Trials of the principal Insurgents—of Emmett and Russell.—Reflexions on the Rebellion.—Manner in which the News of the Insurrection was received in England.—Debates in the Imperial Parliament on his Majesty's Message relative to the Rebellion.—Irish Martial-Law Bill.—Bill for the Suspension of the Habeas-Corpus Act in Ireland.

NOTHING could prove more decidedly the perfidious intentions of the French government towards this country, than the measures it pursued even in a time of pretended peace. Not satisfied with the *nominal commercial* agents, which it had dispatched to make military surveys and to take plans and soundings of our ports, it sent other agents of a still more desperate, and, if possible, a more dangerous character; agents to stir up sedition, and to provoke, incite, and prepare the people for rebellion. The nature of Despard's conspiracy has already been amply discussed and developed; but Ireland, unfortunately, afforded a fairer field for the missionaries of insurrection: there the religious prejudices of a large body of the people were such as rendered them better instruments for so base a purpose, than the loyal and protestant inhabitants of Great Britain; and many causes which it is unnecessary to recapitulate, such as the prejudices which, in the first years of the French revolution, had been imbibed among a people not sufficiently enlightened to retract, and the resentments stored up by the near connexions of those who had suffered in the late rebellion, offered a fairer prospect of success to every treasonable project.

Happily the virtues and moderation of that administration which in the spring of 1801 had assumed the reins of government, had already been successful in conciliating the majority of the Irish people. The protestants of the north—a well-informed body of men, but perhaps too enthusiastic in their notions of liberty—who had somewhat hastily formed conclusions in favour of the issue of the French revolution, had now seen their error. They now experienced the blessings of a mild and constitutional government, which was neither disposed to irritate by severity, nor yet to relax in its vigilance. In this part of the country, instead of revolutionary committees, loyal associations were formed at the very commencement of the war. Those who had been forward to exclaim that the former war was a war against liberty, had the discernment to see that the present

was a war for the preservation of our liberty, and of every thing dear and sacred. We were no longer contending against a nation of fanatics, who, while they disgraced the name, still fought under the banners of freedom; we were engaged with a tyrant who desired its very extinction, and whose greatness was founded on the ruins of that system of democracy which the first republicans had vainly endeavoured to erect. The protestants of Ireland, therefore, true to the principles they had derived from their brave and illustrious ancestors, now felt it the most sacred of duties to oppose that tyranny which was upheld by the very armies who had been enlisted under the banners of liberty. Hence the failure of that new conspiracy which had been planned in Ireland under the auspices of Bonaparte; and hence the agents of rebellion found their followers too few, and too insignificant, to accomplish the object of their employer.

The unfortunate men who acted the most conspicuous parts in the fatal scenes we have now to relate, were two of those who had experienced the clemency of government after the rebellion of 1798, and had retired to France. The one, Mr. Thomas Russell, had, like colonel Despard, been a military officer of some reputation in his profession, but whose advancement not bearing a proportion to his ambition, had probably been soured by envy and disappointment. He was a man of a singular turn of mind. Unlike the majority of those who had imbibed the principles of jacobinism, he was religious even to enthusiasm. He had, it is said, applied himself particularly to the reading of the prophetical writings; and, possibly, his visionary speculations in this course of study might be applied to the confirmation of those wild and fantastical notions which he had formed on political topics. He had been deeply engaged in the conspiracy of 1798, had been confined with the rest of the traitors in Kilmainham jail, and had been afterwards removed with them to Fort George in Scotland. It is well known that they were pardoned on condition of transporting themselves out of his majesty's dominions; and Russell remained till the spring of this year, 1803, when he returned with the commission of general-in-chief; but remained in obscurity, till after the event which we shall have presently to relate.

Mr. Robert Emmett was the son of a respectable physician in Dublin, and was the younger brother of a barrister of that name, Mr. Thomas Adis Emmett, who had been one of the rebel directory in the year 1798. He was a young man of fine talents rather than of great solidity of judgement; he possessed uncommon eloquence, and no inconsiderable portion of courage and activity. He was not unqualified for the part he had undertaken; and for a service so pregnant with difficulty and danger, his sanguine temperament was a necessary adjunct. He had quitted Ireland, we have understood, shortly after the unfortunate termination of the former conspiracy; he was resident in different parts of the continent, but principally in France, till Christmas 1802, when he returned to his native country. We have heard it affirmed, upon good authority, that he was either forced or allured by Bonaparte to undertake the dangerous service of exciting his countrymen to insurrection.

tion. We are aware that Mr. Emmett, previous to his death, strenuously cautioned his countrymen against French connexion. But in answer to this, it appeared upon his trial, that, during his retreat in the country, both he and his friend and associate Dowdall represented themselves as French officers and emissaries of Bonaparte; and declared that the first consul meditated a landing in Ireland. It is, indeed, not improbable that his indignation against the French government might be in part the result of disappointment; and in the very communication to which we allude, Mr. Emmett himself made use of these remarkable expressions, that, "when he left his country, it was at a period when a great portion of the public mind, particularly that of the party to whom he attached himself, had been violently exasperated at certain harsh proceedings attributed to the administration which presided there for some time previous to the last rebellion. On his recent arrival in the kingdom, he conceived that the measures of the present government must have been nearly similar, until experience convinced him of his mistake." It is, therefore, perfectly consistent to suppose that he might be induced by the tyrant of France, or his agents, under the influence of menaces or persuasion, to undertake the expedition; that he might, in the course of his proceedings, discover that he had been duped and betrayed; and that the government of his country, under the mild administration of Mr. Addington, was no longer the system of tyranny his perverted imagination had pourtrayed it. He might, therefore, at the last moments of his life, with perfect consistency, execrate French connexion, and lament the late error into which he had been betrayed.

On Mr. Emmett's arrival in Ireland, in December 1802, he at first went into a state of the most perfect obscurity, at the house of a Mrs. Palmer, at Harold's Cross, where he assumed the name of Hewitt. The nature of his mission, however, did not admit of his remaining in this retreat longer than was necessary to mature his plans, and form his connexions. On the 24th of March, in company with Mr. Dowdall, who had been formerly secretary to the whig club, he contracted for a house near Rathfarnham, in a place called Butterfield-lane; but their continuance in this situation had excited some suspicion, nor was the place found in all respects commodious for their purposes. About the end of April, a house and premises of some extent, formerly a malt-house, and which had been long unoccupied, were taken in Marshall's-alley, Thomas-street, sufficiently obscure to escape detection, and yet near enough to the heart of the city to effect the most desperate purposes. In this place Emmett lodged for nearly two months, with no better accommodation than a *paillasse*, and surrounded by from fourteen to twenty associates. A depôt of of arms was here formed on a large scale; muskets and other weapons were procured from time to time to a considerable amount, and a large manufacture of pikes was secretly carried on. The conspirators occasionally pressed not only horses, but men, into their service, and forced the latter to work at different employments necessary for the object in view, while confined in the depôt. At the same time stores of arms and

gunpowder were deposited at the residences of others of their accomplices, in convenient stations of the city. The whole of the conspiracy had, however, been nearly overthrown and developed by an explosion which took place in Patrick-street. By the ability of the conspirators, or the security of their adversaries, the accident was overlooked, or, at least, represented as unconnected with any treasonable design. At length the preparations were complete, or the funds of the conspirators exhausted; and the 23d of July was appointed for a general insurrection. Though the persons immediately connected with Emmett, Dowdall, and Quigley, the principals in the plot, did not exceed from eighty to one hundred persons, they were so far misled, as to the state of the public mind, that they expected the spirit of rebellion would pervade the kingdom. The stopping of the mail-coaches was to be the signal of revolt in the country. The immediate object of the insurgents in the metropolis was the castle; and the vicinity of the depôt in Thomas-street was calculated to favour the intended enterprise against this seat of the government. Various rumours had been afloat for a few days previous, that "a rising," as it was termed, was intended; but the reports were so contradictory that the government was unable to take any measures of precaution, further than the doubling of patroles in certain stations. It was at nine o'clock on Saturday evening, the 23d of July, that the signal was given by the firing of rockets, and the doors of the depôt were opened; when Emmett, Quigley, Dowdall, and Stafford, rushed out of the depôt, at the head of their followers, and took their station in Thomas-street. The conspirators assembled previously in the depôt did not exceed the number of fifty, but pikes and other weapons were liberally dispersed among the mob, and the numbers of the insurgents soon swelled to the amount, it is said, of about five hundred. The night was dark, and the scene is described as tremendous; groups of pikemen, and other insurgents, were dispersed in various parts of the vicinity of the scene of action, while others were calling out for arms, and led in crowds to the grand depôt. The malignity of some of the conspirators had induced them to dispatch a forged summons to lord Kilwarden, the lord chief justice of the king's bench, to attend a council on the evening of the 23d. It was during the height of the insurrection that the venerable magistrate, accompanied by his daughter, miss Wolfe, and his nephew, a clergyman, arrived in Thomas-street, in his way from his country-house to the castle. Lord Kilwarden, and Mr. Wolfe his nephew, were inhumanly dragged from the carriage, and pierced with innumerable mortal wounds by the pikemen. Before he expired he was rescued by a party of the military and of the police; and hearing some violent expression employed as to the punishment of the rebels, he had only time, before he breathed his last, to prefer a petition "that no man might suffer but by the laws of his country." Such a death was more honourable than that of a commander who dies in the arms of Victory, and who possibly acts a part to secure a posthumous reputation. Miss Wolfe, by the humanity (if such wretches can be suspected of it) or the heedlessness of the mob, effected her escape, and,

on

on foot and unattended, was one of the first who arrived at the castle to give notice of the horrors of the night. Colonel Browne, a gentleman greatly respected, was another victim of the multitude, and was assassinated in the same brutal and cowardly manner. On the first alarm he repaired to join his regiment; but, uninformed of the precise station which was occupied by the rebels, he unfortunately, in the darkness of the night, fell in with the main body; he received a shot from a blunderbuss, and was almost immediately hewn to pieces.

Every casual passenger, who was not murdered, was forced to join the insurgents, and armed with a pike. This happened even to some gentlemen of rank and character. The first check which the rebels experienced was from Mr. Edward Wilson, a police magistrate, who, at the head of only eleven men, had the courage to approach the scene of insurrection. He had hardly arrived at the spot, before he found his little party surrounded by a body of nearly three hundred pikemen. Undismayed by their hostile appearance, he called upon them to lay down their arms, or he would fire. The rebels appeared somewhat confused, but one of them, bolder than the rest, advanced, and with his pike wounded Mr. Wilson in the belly, but was instantly shot dead by the wounded magistrate. The fire from his men threw the rest of the body of assailants into some confusion, but they presently opened to the right and left, to make way for such of their party as had fire-arms, when Mr. Wilson thought it prudent to retreat towards the Coombe. The rebels soon after met with a more formidable assailant in lieutenant Brady, of the 21st fusileers; who, at the head of only forty men, had the gallantry to advance to the attack. He subdivided his little force into smaller parties, and, though assailed by bottles and stones from the houses, and with shot from the alleys and entries, kept up so warm and well-directed a fire that the insurgents, numerous as they were, soon fled in different directions. Lieutenant Coltman, of the 9th regiment of foot, also, at the head of only four men of his own regiment, and some yeomanry of the Barrack division in coloured clothes, in all only twenty-eight, hastened to the scene of action, and was successful in dispersing the mob, and securing some of the most desperate of the offenders.

The military now poured in from all quarters; the rebels were routed with considerable slaughter, and, before twelve, the insurrection was completely quelled. The depôt, no longer inviolate from the sight of the public, was rifled of its contents. A considerable store of arms and accoutrements, at first magnified by report to the number of thirty thousand pikes and regimentals for ten thousand men, was discovered, with some thousand copies of a proclamation, purporting to be issued by the *provisional* government* of Ireland. This paper is in the inflated style which had been popular in France during the violence of the revolution, but was not drawn up with sufficient simplicity to make an impression on the illi-

* Who composed this provisional government (a word of French coinage) we have never heard; probably Emmett, Russell, Dowdall, &c.

terate peasantry of Ireland. It stated, among other assertions, that "the present effort was the developement of a system which had been organised within the last eight months;" a proof that the conspiracy had been formed during the peace. It obscurely intimates that the conspiracy of Despard was a branch of the same system; and lays down, as the basis of the whole, an eternal separation from British connexion. It concludes with a declamatory invective against what is termed the tyranny of England, with enumerating the topics so often urged by the Irish incendiaries. The troops of the line were to be treated as prisoners of war; but summary trial and execution, with confiscation of property, were denounced against the militia, the volunteer forces, and those individuals who should be found active in opposition to the provisional authority.

Though many of the rebels were secured, and though a still greater number fell in the conflict, yet the darkness of the night favoured the escape of some of the most distinguished of their leaders, as Emmett, Dowdall, Quigley, and Stafford. The two former escaped to the Wicklow mountains, but soon found it necessary to separate. Emmett proceeded to his old retreat at Mrs. Palmer's, at Harold's Cross. Here he lay in concealment for about a month, but was detected by the vigilance of major Sirr, and perhaps by the treachery of some person in whom he had reposed confidence.

While such were the proceedings and the fate of the rebels in the metropolis, Russell had proceeded to the north of Ireland, where he had formerly resided, in the hope of successfully erecting the standard of insurrection. Here, however, the causes which were enumerated in the beginning of this chapter as operating on the protestant part of the nation, offered obstacles insurmountable to his views. We do not find, by the evidence on his trial, that he ever was able to collect more than twelve associates of the lowest rank and most desperate character. The principal scenes of his exertions were the counties of Down and Antrim; and that he acted in concert with Emmett, and the other conspirators, is evident, from the same night, the 23d of July, being appointed for the insurrection in the north. His connexion with the French government was also proved by several expressions; particularly a declaration which he made on the 22d of July, at Annedorn, while exhorting his associates to take arms: "that he doubted not but the French were fighting in Scotland at that moment." Disappointed and discouraged at the cool reception he every where experienced, he returned to Dublin, almost immediately, we believe, after the 23d of July, where he remained concealed in the house of Mr. Mulet, a gunmaker in Parliament-street, till the 9th of September; when he was apprehended, and the following day committed to prison.

It will descend to posterity as a lasting proof, not only of the moderation and virtue, but of the wisdom of the administration, that, though armed by parliament with extraordinary powers, they regarded them as no other than a deposit to be employed only in a case of the utmost emergency. No courts-martial were held, no unconstitutional examinations by torture or flagellation were permitted. The suspension of the habeas corpus was not acted upon

upon in a single instance. The prosecutions and trials proceeded in the ordinary constitutional forms. A commission was issued, in the usual manner, for the trial of the offenders. Due notice was given them, in the legal forms, of their approaching trials; three weeks were allowed for preparation; they had the ablest counsel at the bar—Messrs. Ponsonby, Curran, Macnally, and Ball—assigned them by the court; and every possible indulgence was allowed them in the whole course of their trials. Some, against whom the evidence was deemed incompetent, were acquitted; and not a single man was executed who did not acknowledge his guilt.

The special commission proceeded first to the trial of such of the more active insurgents as had been apprehended on the spot. It opened, on the 31st of August, with the trial of Edward Kearney, a calenderer, who was proved, on the testimony of M'Cabe, an accomplice, and others, not only to have been active in organising the conspiracy, but to have been actively engaged in the insurrection of the 23d July; having been one of the first who was apprehended by the party commanded by lieutenant Brady. His trial was followed, on the 1st of September, by that of Thomas Maxwell Roche, an old man of about seventy. Both were found guilty, and were executed in Thomas-street, the scene of their criminality,—Kearney on the first, and Roche on the following day: both acknowledged the justice of their sentence. Several other prisoners of inferior note were afterwards tried and executed, all of whom died penitent. In particular, Henry Howley, who had shot one of the police officers who attempted to apprehend him, addressed the multitude in a pathetic exhortation, exclaiming, "Good people, pray for me: and pray that I may be forgiven my sins, which I heartily repent of.—Good people, you see to what a situation I am brought by my own folly, and by bad advisers. Good people, love each other, and forget all animosities; relinquish your foolish pursuits, which, if you continue to follow, will, in the end, bring you to the situation in which I now stand!" He confessed that he had, with his own hand, murdered colonel Browne, on the night of the rebellion. He appeared fully sensible of the enormity of the crime, as well as of that of the murder of John Hanlon, the Tower-keeper, and exhibited an appearance of the deepest remorse. His whole conduct, indeed, excited a degree of compassion which it required the full recollection of his crimes to overcome.

Emmett was tried on the 19th of Sept. and the facts fully proved against him. On the question being put, "why sentence of death should not be passed upon him," he addressed the court in a most eloquent and pathetic style. The object of his address was chiefly to prove himself not an emissary of France, which he represented to his countrymen as the most *degrading of characters*. From this circumstance we are inclined to believe that he (and perhaps Russell) was entrapped into the service, under the idea that, while they were operating in Ireland, a foreign force would invade Great Britain; and, by this diversion, enable them to effect what they most erroneously conceived to be the freedom and happiness of their country. This explication will, we apprehend, at once reconcile the inconsistency of

Emmett and Russell, while in the country, affecting to act in connexion with France; and yet the latter, in his last moments, execrating the introduction of a foreign force into his native land.

The trial of Mr. Thomas Russell, who was apprehended as was already related, came on at Carrickfergus, on the 20th of October. The fact of endeavouring to excite insurrection was decisively proved. He does not appear to have made any defence; but, previously to the passing of sentence, addressed the court with the impassioned eloquence of enthusiasm, pleading conscience in extenuation of all he had done, but adducing no arguments to prove that it was right. He was executed at Downpatrick, on Friday the 21st of October.

Never was a rebellion quelled with greater facility or with more general satisfaction. The proceedings were all legal and constitutional, and the victims were few. Government proceeded with the tardiness of humanity, and not with the rapidity of revenge. The dying declaration of Emmett and others, that if they had always experienced the same lenity of government they would not have deemed it necessary to seek freedom for their country by the means of rebellion, is the most brilliant of panegyrics on Mr. Addington's administration, and one which time can never efface. It is, at the same time, a tacit lesson to his successors to seek the prosperity of the country only by the paths of virtue, and by a rigid adherence to the vital spirit of the constitution.

It may well be conceived that the insurrection in Ireland diffused a general alarm throughout the British metropolis. The news arrived in London late on the night of the 27th of July, and on the following day a message from his majesty was communicated to parliament.

The message expressed his majesty's regret on this occasion, and his perfect confidence in the wisdom of parliament, that such measures would be forthwith adopted as were best calculated to afford protection and security to his majesty's loyal subjects, &c. The message being read, the chancellor of the exchequer rose and moved the address.

Mr. Windham observed, that if this address were at present to be agreed to, it would, in his opinion, be done only *pro formâ*, and then the matter taken into consideration and deliberate discussion; it being a practice not countenanced by the general rules of that house, to vote an immediate address to any message from his majesty.

Mr. Sheridan said the right honourable member had stated the usual practice of the house; but he would ask—were not even forms to give way to such an important matter as that then under discussion? He liked the scheme the better because we were obliged to proceed in an unusual manner. He (Mr. Windham) had said that even twenty-four hours were not of great consequence in such a case as this. He begged leave to differ most decidedly from the right honourable gentleman as to that particular. He would wish him to reflect what effect such a delay would have in Ireland, when that country would be trembling and looking with anxiety to our present deliberations; and others, perhaps at this moment, sharing the same fate as that of the unfortunate chief

chief justice in that country, who had already fallen a sacrifice to a most rebellious and audacious mob. What would the people of Ireland think, if they understood that we had adjourned for the space of twenty-four hours? No; let us not, said he, make the smallest delay in returning that answer which the emergency of the case requires.

After a little more debate, occasioned by the opposition of Mr. Windham to the supposed precipitancy in voting the address, the chancellor of the exchequer brought up a copy of the proclamation of the lord-lieutenant and council of Ireland, which was read as follows:—

By the lord-lieutenant and council of Ireland. A proclamation.

HARDWICKE.

Whereas divers persons, engaged in a treasonable and daring insurrection against his majesty's government, did, on the evening of yesterday, the 23d of July instant, suddenly assemble in the liberties of Dublin, with fire-arms and pikes, and did there commit several outrages; and particularly in Thomas-street, in the parish of St. Catherine, within the said liberties, did assault the carriage of the right honourable Arthur lord viscount Kilwarden, chief justice of his majesty's court of king's bench, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy council, and did drag the said Arthur lord viscount Kilwarden, together with his nephew, the reverend Richard Wolfe, clerk, from his said carriage, and did there basely and inhumanly murder the said Arthur lord viscount Kilwarden and Richard Wolfe, by stabbing them respectively with pikes in various parts of their bodies, of which wounds they both soon after died. Now we, the lord-lieutenant and council, in order to bring such enormous offenders to condign punishment, do, by this our proclamation, publish and declare, that if any person or persons shall, within six calendar months from the date hereof, discover the person or persons who committed the said unknown murders on the said Arthur viscount Kilwarden and the said rev. Richard Wolfe, or either of them, or who aided or assisted therein, or who advised, encouraged, instigated, moved, stimulated, or incited, the persons concerned therein to commit the same, such person or persons so discovering shall receive, as a reward, the sum of one thousand pounds sterling, for each and every of the first three persons who shall be apprehended and convicted thereof. And we do likewise publish and declare, that if any of the persons concerned in the murders aforesaid, save and except the persons who actually stabbed the said lord viscount Kilwarden and the reverend Richard Wolfe, or either of them, as aforesaid, shall discover any other of the persons concerned in the said murders, or either of them, so that such person or persons so discovered shall be convicted thereof, such person or persons so discovering, shall, over and above the said reward, receive his majesty's most gracious pardon for the said offences. And whereas it has appeared to us, that the daring and rebellious outrages aforesaid were committed in prosecution of a rebellious conspiracy against his majesty's government, and that divers other enormities were at the same time committed in Thomas-

street

street aforesaid, and in the neighbourhood thereof, in prosecution of the same treasonable purpose, and that divers of the persons engaged therein did come to Dublin with intent to commit such outrages and enormities, in order to induce and persuade his majesty's loyal and peaceable subjects in the city of Dublin and its neighbourhood, by the terror thereof, and by apprehensions for their own personal safety, to join in the treasonable conspiracy aforesaid;—now we, the lord-lieutenant and council, do hereby strictly enjoin and command all his majesty's subjects, in their several stations, and according to their several duties, to use their utmost endeavours to repress all such rebellious insurrections and treasonable practices, and to apprehend and bring the persons engaged therein to the punishment due to their crimes; and more especially we do stricly enjoin and command the lord mayor of the city of Dublin, and all the justices of the peace of the said city of Dublin, and of the county of Dublin, and all sheriffs and other magistrates and officers, within their several jurisdictions, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, to do all acts in their power to such purposes. And we do hereby further require and command all officers commanding his majesty's forces, to employ the troops under their command in the most speedy and effectual manner for the suppression of all rebellious insurrections and treasonable practices, wherever the same may appear; and particularly to disarm all rebels, and recover all arms forcibly and traitorously taken from his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, and take and seize all arms and ammunition which may be found in the custody of any person or persons not duly authorised by law to have and keep the same.

The chancellor of the exchequer then rose, and said he was fully aware that he should not be justified, nor could any consideration induce him to propose such measures as those which he felt it his duty, indispensable duty, to submit, if the outrages which had excited the horror and indignation of every well-intentioned mind were the result of any other projects than those against the public safety: for, however we might regret the circumstances alluded to in the proclamation, they furnished of themselves no ground for narrowing the constitution within the limits of the existing government of the country; and although the proclamation avowed a dangerous conspiracy, it did not specify those details which it was necessary should be furnished, before those measures were adopted which he should feel it his duty to recommend. But there were occasions when it was necessary that those who were intrusted with the conduct of government were bound to state, if they could not in detail, at least on their solemn declaration, subject to a heavy responsibility, that the measure which touched the constitution of the land was called for by the circumstances of the country, and a due regard for the public safety. He should contend, that the proclamation itself contained grounds which would warrant the measure; but it was necessary he should state, that the proclamation did not contain all the information in possession of his majesty's government; information which, at the present moment, it would be highly improper to declare. It stated a dangerous conspiracy at a time

time when it was the avowed design of the enemy to invade the country, and when parliament was about to separate. Whenever a power—unknown to the legitimate constitution—to seize persons conspiring against the state, had been given to his majesty's government, he had uniformly thought it a measure the policy of which could only be justified by extreme necessity, and that in degree and duration it ought to be commensurate with such necessity. With respect to the particular measure he meant first to propose (and he assured the house he did it with reluctance) it was for the purpose, according to the title of the bill, of suppressing rebellion, and protecting the persons and property of his majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland. The means by which this purpose was to be effected were, that whatever persons should be found in actual rebellion, power should be given to the lord-lieutenant to direct that courts-martial should be called for their immediate trial. Let it be recollected, that if the threat of our insolent and inplacable enemy should be carried into execution, there would exist in his majesty, by virtue of his royal prerogative, a power to proclaim martial law throughout his dominions. But what was martial law? It was not that which he wished the lord-lieutenant should be authorised to put in force; but it was that system which suspended the ordinary course of justice, and substituted martial law for the law of the land. Now what he wished was, to give a power to the lord-lieutenant that should not disturb the ordinary administration of justice, but by which, for the purpose of suppressing rebellion, those who were taken in arms against the government should be liable to be tried by a military court. He should content himself with this measure, were it not for a consideration necessary to be explained, in order that it might not appear that he was proposing measures of unnecessary rigour; for such they would be, if they were beyond the public exigency. If the house should adopt the motion for the bill he had stated, he should follow it up with a motion for the suspension of the habeas-corpus act. He might be asked what was his reason for having recourse to such a measure? He answered, that, under this bill for the suppression of rebellion, a power would be given to the lord-lieutenant to try all persons taken in rebellion by courts-martial. Now, he did not wish to consign to trial by courts-martial all whom the government might think it necessary to detain. He wished not to lose the benefit of civil process. If a bill for the suspension of the habeas-corpus act were not to pass, government would be obliged to take up every one found in rebellion, and adopt the course laid down in the bill for suppressing insurrection. This bill therefore was meant to qualify the rigour of the other bill, by providing that persons may be committed by civil process, without any court-martial. He meant to rest this bill on the grounds he had mentioned.

Mr. Windham said, he wished to suggest the real situation in which the house was placed. Whether the measure were right or wrong, he should not attempt to pronounce. He must take it on the representation and knowledge of his majesty's ministers, who themselves had taken it from the representation and knowledge of others.

others. He thought it a measure too strong to be taken on the authority of such information. As the question stood, martial law was to be established in Ireland, because the right hon. gentleman, for reasons which he could not declare, told the house it was necessary. From this circumstance he might derive a justification of what he said before; for every twenty-four hours might bring something. It would be desirable that some further information should be given. All that was known was, that an insurrection had broken out in the country. It was a circumstance worthy of reflexion, that the persons on whose authority they were to rely for the necessity of the measure proposed, were the very ministers by whom the last acts had been repealed. It was very remarkable that they who, at no very distant period, repealed the acts, should now desire the house to renew them. When the house was not allowed a moment to deliberate, it naturally created doubt. Perhaps it was the repeal of the acts that had created the necessity for renewing them.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in explanation, stated that the government of Ireland had not repealed the acts after the peace, but had suffered them to expire.

Mr. Kerr said, he had lived in Ireland during the late rebellion, and was in a private corps, and he could assure the house that martial law was never exercised with severity. Upon the representation of himself and some other gentlemen, courts-martial were resorted to, and they had the effect of eradicating the rebellion as to all outward appearance.

Mr. Hutchinson wished that vigorous measures should be exerted for putting down rebellion in the first instance; but that measures of lenience and humanity should not be abandoned. He deprecated most ardently the revival of those horrid scenes of whipping, shooting, and strangling, and house-burning, that during the late rebellion had been carried to enormous lengths, to the production of so much misery towards the unfortunate people of that country, by intrusting the execution of strong measures to the hands of exasperated, prejudiced, and sanguinary men; and which tended rather to produce and exaggerate than to suppress rebellion. He had witnessed many of those horrid scenes, and he congratulated that house that their eyes had been spared the painful view of such horrors. He earnestly besought the house not to turn its eyes from the complaints, whether real or imaginary, that agitated the minds of the unhappy multitude in that country; but that, instead of separating, late as it was in the season, they would investigate and probe to the quick those questions and measures which could have, by possibility, a tendency to suppress every disposition to discontent and tumult, by quiet rather than by coercive means; and he concluded by conjuring the house to turn its eyes to that country, as one which was capable of being rendered a source of impregnable strength and riches to the British empire; but which, if not fully conciliated, by wise and lenient means, might be perverted to the contrary.

Lord Castlereagh observed, that the proof that this measure was not to be loosely committed to the hands of those likely to misconceive or abuse its intentions, was, that

that it was vested entirely in the discretion of the lord-lieutenant. With respect to the acts of severity alluded to by the hon. member, they were unfortunately mutual, and the natural consequence of the mutual enmity and exasperation between two parties in the same country, armed and at war against each other. He spoke at considerable length in support of the bill.

Leave was given to bring in the bill, which was brought up by the chancellor of the exchequer, read a first and a second time, and committed.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in the committee, introduced a clause, by which no court-martial should consist of less than seven officers.

Mr. Hutchinson complained that many persons hitherto tried before courts-martial in Ireland had been treated with great injustice, and prevented from having the witnesses necessary for their defence.

Lord Castlereagh denied the statement. He never knew an instance in which the trial was not put off, upon a representation being made that the necessary witnesses were not present; and he knew that lord Cornwallis, when lord-lieutenant, had always read over the minutes of every court-martial, in order to see that no unjust proceeding had taken place. It would therefore be better to leave this matter to the direction of those who were responsible.

Mr. Ormesby said, he had acted as judge-advocate on a great number of courts-martial, and he could assure the house that the prisoners had always notice given them of their trials, and might put them off, if they chose, to any particular day. This was the practice after the rebellion; but he knew not what might have been done in the camp, *flagrante bello*.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, it was very necessary that no unfavourable impression on this subject should go into the world, and he called on the hon. gentleman to state any particular instances which he knew of any improper and violent proceedings being adopted by courts-martial towards the persons whom they tried.

Mr. Hutchinson entered into a justification of his conduct and principles, but did not specify any facts in support of his assertion.

The report of the bill was then received, and it was read a third time and passed.

The chancellor of the exchequer then obtained leave to bring in a bill to enable the lord-lieutenant of Ireland to secure and detain such persons as he should suspect to be conspiring against his majesty's person and government.

The bill was brought up, carried through all its stages, and passed.

A clause was introduced into this, as well as into the former bill, for limiting the duration of both to six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament.

The bills were sent to the lords; and about half past ten o'clock a message came down, informing the house that the lords had agreed to the same without any amendment.—It is unnecessary to add, that the measures almost immediately received the royal assent.

Except

Except what we have already noticed, no other measures of importance occupied the attention of the imperial parliament. On the 12th of August it was prorogued, in a speech from the throne, for the substance of which we must refer our readers to our Public Papers.

CHAP. XII.

Foreign Affairs.—Revival of the Dispute between France and England.—Correspondence relative to Malta.—Requisition of the French Minister relative to the Liberty of the Press in England, and the emigrant Princes and Bishops.—Reply of the British Government to these Requisitions.—Extraordinary Conference between Bonaparte and the English Minister.—Discussions respecting Malta revived.—Displeasure of the First Consul at his Majesty's Message of the 8th of March.—Communication of the French Minister on the Subject.—Singular Conversation between Bonaparte and the English Minister at the Levee.—The French Government not prepared for War—Stratagems to gain Time—Negotiation protracted.—Ultimatum of the British Government—French Contre-Projet.—Lord Whitworth demands his Passports—leaves Paris.—Declaration of the British Government.—Letters of Marque and Reprisal against France.

OF the dispute which in the course of this year commenced between Great Britain and France, we have already had occasion to speak when we introduced the message of his majesty on the 8th of March to the notice of our readers. It is necessary, however, in this place to enter more into the detail.

It was observed in our last volume, that the peace which was signed at Amiens appeared not well calculated to insure the continuance of tranquillity. No limits were placed to the growing ambition of France, and the temper with which the negotiation then was conducted, indicated but little disposition on the part of France to consolidate a lasting peace.

It was not long before the latent embers of this hostile disposition began to emit sparks, which threatened a speedy flame. The treaty was scarcely signed before the French government betrayed an indecent haste to have that part carried into execution which respected Malta. In the month of April 1802 a dispatch from Petersburg announced to the British ministry that the emperor of Russia seemed little disposed to undertake the guarantee; but in the following month it was intimated, on the same authority, that his imperial majesty had manifested more favourable dispositions, and might even be ultimately induced to guarantee the whole of that arrangement, provided the steps towards the election of a new grand-master, according to the mode suggested by the court of Petersburg, were considered as fulfilling what was required

required on that head by the latter part of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, and consequently that no new election for that office was to take place in the manner pointed out by the former part of the same stipulation.

To this it was replied by the British government, that, in the article alluded to, there was an express stipulation that the knights of the order were to proceed to the election of a grand-master only upon condition that no such election should already have been made since the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace; and the election which some time after actually took place under the auspices of the emperor of Russia, was considered as valid both by his Britannic majesty and by the government of France.

The independence of Malta, and the other stipulations relative to it, were, moreover, to be guaranteed by Russia, Austria, Spain, and Prussia, in conjunction with Great Britain and France. Accordingly, the British minister at Paris was directed to request of the French government that they would give instructions to their ambassadors at the several courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, to invite those courts to accede to the arrangements alluded to. The emperor of Germany's act of guarantee and accedence was transmitted to the British government in a dispatch from the envoy extraordinary at Vienna, the hon. A. Paget, dated 22d of August. The emperor of Russia also promised to accede, on certain conditions.

While these arrangements were in agitation, the French minister, M. Talleyrand, was directed by the first consul to represent to the English minister, Mr. Merry, several circumstances which he said stood very much in the way of a perfect reconciliation and good understanding between the two countries and their governments. The circumstances of which he complained were, that the French princes, and some French persons still decorated with the insignia of French orders which no longer existed, continued resident at the English court; and that the English government gave countenance and support to what he termed the *ci-devant* French bishops, as well as to others, among whom he particularly mentioned Georges, inimical to the present government of France. He accordingly expressed a wish that his majesty's government might be disposed to remove out of the British dominions all the French princes and their adherents, together with the French bishops, and other individuals whose political principles and conduct must necessarily occasion great jealousy to the French government. He continued to observe, that the protection and favour which these persons obtained must alone be considered as an encouragement to the disaffected in France, even supposing those persons themselves had not been guilty of any acts tending to foment fresh disturbances in his own country; but that the French government possessed proofs of the abuses which they were then making of the protection they enjoyed in England, for that several printed papers had lately been intercepted which it was known they had sent, and caused to be circulated in France, and which had for

for their object to create an opposition to the government. M. Talleyrand concluded by suggesting, that he thought the residence of Louis the XVIIIth was now the proper place for that of the rest of the family.

These requisitions were enforced by the example of England, which, at the time the pretender was in France, had preferred a similar solicitation, and by the practice of other governments under similar circumstances.

To these representations it was replied by the English government, that his majesty would certainly consider it inconsistent with both the letter and spirit of the treaty of peace between him and the French republic to encourage or countenance any projects that might be hostile to the present government of France; and he certainly expected that all foreigners who might reside within his dominions should not only hold a conduct conformable to the laws of the country, but should abstain from all acts which might be hostile to the government of any country at peace with England: as long, however, as they conducted themselves according to these principles, his majesty would feel it inconsistent with his dignity, with his honour, and with the common laws of hospitality, to deprive them of that protection which individuals resident in his dominions could only forfeit by their own misconduct. It was affirmed, that the greater part of the persons alluded to by the French government were living in retirement, and that there was no reason whatever to suppose that, since the conclusion of peace, they had availed themselves of their residence in England to promote designs injurious to the government of France.

Towards the latter end of July 1802, the French ambassador, M. Otto, received an order from his government to demand the punishment of Peltier, editor of a periodical paper in the French language, on account of one of his numbers, which was asserted to contain the most gross calumnies against the French government, and against the whole French nation. It was declared that it was not to Peltier alone, but to the editor of the "*Courier François de Londres*," to Cobbett, and to other writers who resembled them, that he had to direct the attention of his majesty's government. He accompanied these representations with the remark that the reiterated insults of a small number of foreigners, assembled in London to conspire against the French government, produced the most unfavourable effects on the good understanding between the two nations.

To this it was answered by lord Hawkesbury, that it was impossible his majesty's government could peruse the article in question without the greatest displeasure, and without an anxious desire that the person who published it should suffer the punishment he so justly deserved; but that the calumnies to which his majesty's government, and many of the best subjects in the country, were frequently exposed in the public prints, must necessarily convince all foreign governments of the difficulties which existed in a constitution such as that of Great Britain, in preventing the abuse which was often unavoidably attendant on the greatest of all political

litical benefits, the liberty of the press; and though publications of this nature were, as they certainly ought to be, by the law of England subject to punishment, it was often difficult to prove the guilt of an individual so satisfactorily as to obtain the judgement of a court of justice. A promise was given, however, that the matter should be referred to the attorney-general, for his opinion, whether the article in question was or was not a libel; and if so found, whether such a libel as he would, under all circumstances, recommend for prosecution. His report was to be communicated to the French government.

The reply to this stated, that, if the British government tolerated censures upon the acts of its administration, and the personal abuse of the most respectable men, it did not suffer even the slightest attempt against the public tranquillity, the fundamental laws of the empire, and the supreme authority which arose from them; that every nation was moreover at liberty to sacrifice any advantage whatever in its interior, in order to obtain another to which it attached a higher value; but that the government which did not repress the licentiousness of the press, when it might be injurious to the honour and interest of foreign powers, would afford an opportunity to libelists to endanger the public tranquillity, or, at least, the good understanding which formed the basis of it; and whenever such serious injuries were continued in a regular and systematic manner, doubts must arise as to its own dispositions: that the particular laws and constitution of Great Britain were subordinate to the general principles of the law of nations, which superseded the laws of each individual state; that if it were right in England to allow the most extensive liberty to the press, it was a public right of polished nations, and the bounden duty of government, to prevent, repress, and punish every attack which might, by those means, be made against the rights, the interests, and the honour of foreign powers.

The note proceeded to observe that this was not a question respecting some paragraphs, which, through the inadvertence of an editor, might have been accidentally inserted in a public print; but it was a question of a deep and continued system of defamation, directed not only against the chief of the French republic, but against all the constituted authorities of the republic, against the whole nation, represented by these libelers in the most odious and degrading terms. It had even been remarked that many of these prints contained an appeal to the French people against the government and fundamental laws of their country: that if these observations applied to the English writers who, for three months past, had deluged the public with the most perfidious and unbecoming publications, they were still more applicable to a class of foreign calumniators, who appeared to avail themselves of the asylum offered them in England, only for the purpose of better gratifying their hatred against France and undermining the foundations of peace: that it was not merely by insulting and seditious writings, evidently published with a view to circulation in France, but by other incendiary papers, distributed through the maritime departments,

in order to excite the evil-disposed or weak inhabitants to resist the execution of the *concordate*, that these implacable enemies of France continued to exercise hostilities, and to provoke the just indignation of the French government and people. Not a doubt existed of these writings having been composed and circulated by *Georges* and the former bishops of France: and that after the reiterated attempts of these men to disturb the good understanding between the two governments, their residence in England militated openly against the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace.

The note alluded likewise to certain meetings which had taken place in the island of Jersey, and plots there framed, in spite of the representations of the French government, and demanded that immediate measures should be taken: that the establishment of peace and the general interests of humanity required that all these causes of dissatisfaction should be done away. The note concluded with the following requisitions: 1st. That his majesty's government would adopt the most effectual measures to put a stop to the unbecoming and seditious publications with which the newspapers and other writings printed in England were filled; 2. That the individuals mentioned in his (M. Otto's) letter of the 23d of July, should be sent out of the island of Jersey; 3. That the former bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and all those who, like them, under the pretext of religion, sought to raise disturbances in the interior of France, should likewise be sent away; 4. That *Georges* and his adherents should be transported to Canada according to the intention notified to the French government at the request of lord Hawkesbury; 5. That in order to deprive the evil-disposed of every pretext for disturbing the good understanding between the two governments, it should be recommended to the princes of the house of Bourbon, at present in Great Britain, to repair to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family; 6. That such of the French emigrants as still thought proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, should be required to quit the territory of the British empire.

For the reasonableness of these demands, appeal was made to the treaty of Amiens and the verbal assurances which had been given during the course of the negotiation by lord Hawkesbury to the French ambassador. It was expected that the British government should take advantage of the alien-act, by which it is empowered to require foreigners to quit the kingdom without having recourse to the courts of law, by an order of council. And the French minister therefore expressed his reliance on the efforts of the British ministry to disperse a faction equally the enemy of France and England.

In the reply to these representations it was admitted that some very improper paragraphs had appeared in some of the English newspapers against the government of France; that publications of a still more improper and indecent nature had made their appearance in this country, with the names of foreigners affixed to them; and that, under these circumstances, the French government would have

have been warranted in expecting every redress that the laws of this country could afford them. But since, instead of seeking it in the ordinary course, they had thought fit to resort to recrimination themselves, or at least to authorise it in others, they could have no right to complain if their subsequent appeal to his majesty had failed to produce the effect that otherwise would have attended it. That whatever was the nature of the prior injury, they had in fact taken the law into their own hands. And what was this recrimination and retort? The paragraphs in the English newspapers, and the publications alluded to, had not appeared under any authority of the British government, and were disavowed and disapproved of by them; whereas, the paragraphs in the Moniteur had appeared in a paper avowedly official, for which the government was therefore considered as responsible, as his majesty's government was for the contents of the London Gazette. The retort was not confined to the unauthorised English newspapers, or to the other publications complained of, but was made a pretext for a direct attack upon the English government. His majesty felt it beneath his dignity to make any formal complaint on the occasion.

Lord Hawkesbury observed that the six propositions in M. Otto's official note might be referred to two heads; the first, relating to the libels of all descriptions, alleged to be published against the French government; the last, comprehending the five complaints which related to the emigrants resident in this country. With respect to the first, he expressed his assurance that his majesty could not, and never would, in consequence of any representation or menace from a foreign power, make any concession, which could, in the smallest degree, be dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. That the constitution admitted of no previous restraints upon publications of any description; but that there existed judicatures, wholly independent of the executive government, capable of taking cognisance of such publications as the law deemed to be criminal, and which were bound to inflict the punishment the delinquents might deserve. That these judicatures might take cognisance, not only of libels against the government and magistracy of this kingdom, but, as had been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of those in whose hands the administration of foreign governments was placed.

On the second general head, his lordship remarked, as to the precedent insited on by the French government, to enforce their demand, that of the pretender, who was demanded by this country to be sent from the French dominions, it was important that the differences between these two cases should be stated; which were accordingly stated at large; but which, as they are obvious, it is unnecessary to repeat.

On the 2d of October, in the official journal of the French government, the address of the first consul to the inhabitants of Switzerland, was inserted.

About the middle of the same month, a dispatch from Mr. Liston, ambassador at the Hague, informed the British government, that a courier had been dispatched

from Paris to M. Semonville, the French ambassador, with orders to inform the government of the country that the first consul had learnt, with as much surprise as indignation, that certain persons, greedy of revolutions, were desirous of disturbing anew the repose of Batavia; and for this purpose had recourse to the abuse of respectable names; and that the first consul, as the ally of the republic, invited the government to take all necessary measures for the maintenance of the order of things established by the constitution. Mr. Liston further stated, that the dispatches of the French minister for foreign affairs to the ambassador entered into considerable detail on the subject of the plots supposed to be formed in Batavia against the administration; mentioned the names of the chiefs; and ended, by making an offer, on the part of the first consul, to come to the assistance of the government, should circumstances render it necessary, with all his forces.

About the conclusion of the same month, another dispatch from Mr. Liston stated, that the recent attack made by Bonaparte upon the liberties and independence of the Swiss cantons had naturally made a strong impression on the inhabitants of that country; and that the public anxiety had been much augmented by certain symptoms in the conduct of the consular government, which seemed to indicate an intention not to withdraw the French troops, which had been kept in the Batavian republic for some time past, under the title of *auxiliaries*, and paid and maintained at the expense of the Dutch nation. These troops (amounting to between ten and eleven thousand men), were to remain there till the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain. It was afterwards formally promised on the part of France, that they should evacuate the territories of the republic, at the latest on the expiration of the last French year (the 23d of September). That hopes were, however, entertained, from day to day, that their departure would take place; when, to the astonishment of the Batavian government, official notice had, on the preceding week, been transmitted from France to the department of war at the Hague, that the first consul had been pleased to appoint a new commander-in-chief (general Montrichard), and a new staff, for the auxiliary troops in that country; and the notice was given that government might provide for the pay of the officers in question.

In a dispatch, dated 30th of Nov., from lord Hawkesbury to lord Whitworth, then ambassador at the French court, the former expresses his surprise, from the communications of general Stuart, that that officer had signified to colonel Sebastiani his inability to evacuate Egypt, until he should receive specific orders for that purpose, and apologises for the same, explaining the probable reasons why it happened.

The old subject of the scurrility of the English prints was renewed by the French minister, in a conversation with the British ambassador, about the latter end of January 1803. In his communication to the English government on this occasion, lord Whitworth states, that M. Talleyrand endeavoured to establish a fact which his lordship

lordship assured him a reference to any one newspaper in Paris would instantly refute, that, during four months, not a word of provocation had appeared in any French journal which could justify a retort from those published in England. In his reply, lord Whitworth endeavoured to make M. Talleyrand understand; 1st, That whatever was said in the English papers, might be considered as a national retaliation for what was published in the French papers; 2dly, That the *official* influence exerted over papers published in France was entirely different from what it was possible to exercise in England; and 3dly, That although the government possessed a controul over the press in France, the English government neither had, nor could have, a similar controul. The French minister persisted in his opinion, however, that his majesty's ministers might *keep certain papers in order*, as his lordship did, in assuring him, that, until the first consul could so far master his feelings as to be indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints, as the English government was to that which daily appeared in the French, this state of irritation was irremediable.

About the close of the month of January, 1803, the French minister (Talleyrand) by the express order of the first consul, solemnly required lord Whitworth to inform him what were his majesty's intentions with regard to the evacuation of Malta. To this direct question, the following answer was returned by the English government: That the treaty of Amiens was to be considered as founded on principles not different from those which had been invariably applied to every other antecedent treaty or convention, &c.; that is, that regard should be had to the state of the two countries at the time: that since this, France had made some large acquisitions; and the French government had admitted, that England ought to keep a compensation out of her conquests for these. He proceeded to mention the report of colonel Sebastiani, which had excited not only indignation but jealousy as to the designs of France.

The French minister, in his reply, admitted that the jealousy we felt on the score of Egypt, with a view to our possessions in India, was natural; but he could not admit that any thing had appeared in the conduct of the French government in justification of the alarm expressed by the government. He asserted the mission of Sebastiani to be *strictly commercial;* and also the sincere desire of the first consul to maintain inviolable the peace which had been so lately concluded; adding, that were not this desire of peace, in the first consul, an effect of system, it would be most imperiously dictated to him by the total impossibility in which France found herself, of carrying on that extensive state of warfare, to which even a partial rupture would naturally lead. He expressed great surprise, therefore, that any suspicion should attach, when the means of disturbing the public tranquillity were, as must be well known in England, so completely wanting; and desired to know what was the nature and degree of satisfaction which his majesty would require.

The dispatch which conveyed this intelligence to the British government, was scarcely gone, when

lord Whitworth received a note from M. Talleyrand, informing him that the first consul wished to converse with him. The first consul received his lordship in his cabinet with tolerable cordiality; and, after talking a few minutes on different subjects, told him, that he felt it necessary, after what had passed between him and M. de Talleyrand, that he should, in the most clear and authentic manner, make known his sentiments to him, in order to their being communicated to his Britannic majesty; and he conceived that would be more effectually done by himself, than through any medium whatever. He said it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of increasing jealousy and mistrust; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue.

The first consul then enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the first line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria, as we were bound to do by the treaty. In this, he said, that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce; and, of the two, he had rather see us in possession of the Fauxbourg St, Antoine, than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English prints; but this, he said, he did not so much regard as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite France against him and his government. He complained of the protection given to Georges and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England, handsomely pensioned, and constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coast of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told lord Whitworth that two men had, within a few days, been apprehended in Normandy, and were then on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and employed by the bishop of Arras, by the baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a court of justice, and made known to the world. He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily; because every wind (as he expressed it) which blew from England, brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

The first consul then reverted to Egypt, and told his lordship that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretence for invading it. *This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might perhaps be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he should gain, since sooner or later Egypt would belong to France, either*

by

by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte.

As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He talked much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the existing discussion, and that such was the disposition of the troops that army after army would be found for the enterprise.

He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, for to that amount it was, he said, *to be immediately completed*, all ready for the most desperate enterprises; and England, with a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than *ten years*.

Two such countries, by a *proper understanding*, *might govern the world*, but by strife might overturn it. He said, that if he had not felt the enmity of the British government on every occasion since the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate—participation in indemnities, as well as in influence on the continent; treaties of commerce; in short, any thing that could have given satisfaction, and have testified his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British government, and therefore it was then come to a point whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace, the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled; the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and restricted to the English papers; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies (alluding to Georges, and persons of that description), must be withdrawn. If war, it was only necessary to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty.

He then made the tour of Europe, to prove that, in its present state, there was no power with which we could coalesce, for the purpose of making war against France; consequently, it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said, it was not doing him justice to suppose that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country, or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him by any violent act of aggression; neither was he so powerful in France as to persuade the nation to go to war, unless on good grounds. He said that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers; but hoped that England, Russia, and France would one day

feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and and force them to live rather by cultivating their land, than by plunder.

Lord Whitworth, in his account of this conference with the first consul, transmitted to the British government, makes this general remark:—"His purpose was evidently to convince me that on Malta must depend peace or war, and at the same time to impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad." With regard to the mistrust and jealousy, which, he said, constantly prevailed since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, his lordship observed, that it must be admitted we had such motives of mistrust against France as could not be alleged against us, and was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the treaty, when he was interrupted by Bonaparte, who said, "I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; *ces sont des bagatelles*; and it must have been foreseen whilst the negotiation was pending; *vous n'avez pas le droit d'en parler à cette heure.*" His lordship then alleged as a cause of mistrust and jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice, or any kind of redress, for any of his majesty's subjects. Bonaparte asked, in what respect? Lord Whitworth replied, that since the signing of the treaty not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman of that description in England had been satisfied within one month after that period; and since he had been in Paris, and he could say as much of his predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained to the innumerable representations which they had been under the necessity of making, in favour of British subjects, and property detained in the several ports of France and elsewhere, without even a shadow of justice. Such an order of things, his lordship added, was not made to inspire confidence, but, on the contrary, must create mistrust. The first consul rejoined—this must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but he denied that such delays could proceed from any disinclination to do what was just and right.

With regard to the pensions which were granted to French and Swiss individuals, his lordship observed that they were given as a reward for *past* services during the war, and most certainly not for present ones, and still less for such as had been insinuated, of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other accessions which his majesty might have obtained, he could take upon himself to assure the first consul, that his majesty's ambition led him *rather to preserve than to acquire.* And that, with regard to the most propitious moment for renewing hostilities, his majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity; but that if his majesty were so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might

might be necessary to afford such allies, for perhaps inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase and energy to our own exertions,

Lord Whitworth concluded his note, on this occasion, to the British government, with the remark that the first consul did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute colonel Sebastiani's mission *to commercial motives only*, but as one rendered necessary in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the treaty of Amiens.

Lord Hawkesbury, in his instructions to the British ambassador at Paris, consequent upon the receipt of the above intelligence, observes, in the first instance, that nothing approaching to explanation or satisfaction was stated by the first consul, in answer to the just representations and complaints of his majesty, in consequence of the unwarrantable insinuations and charges contained in colonel Sebastiani's report against his majesty's government, the officer commanding his forces in Egypt, and his army in that quarter; but that, on the other hand, the language of the first consul had tended to strengthen and confirm the suspicions which that publication was peculiarly calculated to excite. The stipulations relative to Malta, he said, had been found incapable of execution, owing to circumstances which it was not in his majesty's power to controul. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on condition that the Maltese langue should be abolished—the silence of the court of Berlin, with respect to the invitation that had been made to it, in consequence of the treaty, to become a guaranteeing power—the abolition of the Spanish priories, in defiance of the treaty, to which the king of Spain was a party—the declaration of the Portuguese government of their intention to sequestrate the property of the Portuguese priory, as forming a part of the Spanish langue, unless the property of the Spanish priories were restored to them—the non-election of a grand-master;—these circumstances would have been sufficient, without any other special grounds, to have warranted his majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island, until some new arrangement could be adjusted for its security and independence. But when it was considered how greatly the dominion, power, and influence of France had of late been extended, his majesty must feel that he had an incontestable right, conformably to the principles on which the treaty of peace was negotiated and concluded, to demand additional securities in any new arrangement which it might be necessary to make, with a view to effecting the real objects of that treaty. And these considerations, sufficient as they might be in themselves to justify the line of conduct which his majesty had determined to adopt, had received additional force from the views which had been recently and unreservedly manifested by the French government respecting the Turkish dominions, and the islands in the Adriatic, *(and which had been, in a great degree, admitted by the first consul, in his interview with the British ambassador)*,—views which were directly repugnant, not only to the spirit, but to the letter of the treaty of Amiens. His majesty, therefore, could not consent that his troops

troops should evacuate the island of Malta, until substantial security had been provided for those objects which, under existing circumstances, might be materially endangered by their removal.

In a conversation between lord Whitworth and M. Talleyrand, which occurred shortly after the interview of the former with the first consul, lord Whitworth was given to understand that a project was in contemplation, by which the integrity of the Turkish empire would be so effectually secured as to remove every cause of doubt or uneasiness, either with regard to Egypt, or any part of the Turkish dominions. To this it was answered by the English government, that his majesty would consider the communication of such a project as indicating a disposition on the part of France to afford him explanation and satisfaction respecting some of the points which had been the subject of his representations. In a subsequent conversation with the French minister, lord Whitworth begged him to explain himself upon this subject; when his lordship was informed that what had been termed a project was nothing more than what had been expressed in the first consul's message to the legislative body, when he said that there was a French ambassador at Constantinople, who was charged to give every proof of the disposition of France to strengthen, instead of to weaken, that government. Lord Whitworth expressed a doubt whether this, or any other parole security, would be considered as sufficient in such a transaction. Upon which M. Talleyrand repeated the question—"What then is the security you require, and which the first consul can give?" His lordship answered, "This must be the subject of the negotiation on which we are willing to enter."

On another meeting, the French minister wished to convince lord Whitworth, that the first consul, far from wishing to carry matters to extremity, was desirous to discuss fairly, and without passion, a point which he admitted was of importance to both countries. He repeatedly assured his lordship, that, much as the first consul might have the acquisition of Egypt at heart, he would sacrifice his own feelings to the preservation of peace; and henceforth seek to augment his glory, by improving and consolidating the internal situation of the country, rather than by adding to its possessions.

About a week previous to this interview, the ambassador of the French republic at London had received, from the first consul, express orders to require from the British government some explanations respecting the protracted occupation of the island of Malta by the British troops. His note stated, that, by the conditions of the fourth paragraph of the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, the English troops were to evacuate that island and its dependencies three months after the exchange of the ratifications; that ten months had elapsed, and the English troops were still at Malta: that the French troops, on the contrary, who were to evacuate the Neapolitan and Papal states, had not waited the expiration of the three months which were granted them to withdraw, and had quitted Tarentum, the fortifications of which they had re-established, and where they had collected 100 pieces of cannon.

He

He asked, what could be alleged in justification of the delay in evacuating Malta. Had not the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens provided for every thing? And the Neapolitan troops being arrived, under what pretext did those of England still remain there? Was it because all the powers enumerated in the 6th paragraph had not accepted the guarantee which had devolved upon them? But this was not a condition that related to the evacuation of the island; and besides, Austria had already sent its act of guarantee. Russia itself had made only a single difficulty, which was removed by the accedence of the first consul to the modifications proposed, unless, indeed, England threw obstacles in the way, by refusing to accede to the proposals of Russia; which, after all, could not affect the engagements of his Britannic majesty. It should, therefore, seem impossible, and it would be without example in the history of nations, were his Britannic majesty to refuse to execute a fundamental article of pacification—of the very one, which, in the drawing up of the preliminaries, was considered as the first, and as requiring to be settled previously to every other point.

The answer of the British government to these representations, did little more than repeat the explanations which had already been given on more occasions than one. It was moreover observed, that no satisfaction had been afforded, no explanation whatever had been given, upon the various points respecting which his majesty had complained; but on the contrary, his majesty's suspicions of the views of the French government with respect to the Turkish empire, had been confirmed and strengthened by subsequent events: that, by the 10th article of the treaty of Amiens, the island of Malta was to be restored by his majesty, to the order of St. John, upon certain conditions; that the evacuation of the island, at a specified period, formed a part of those conditions; and if the other stipulations had been in a due course of execution, his majesty would have been bound, by the terms of the treaty, to have ordered his forces to evacuate the island. But these conditions were to be considered as being all of equal effect; and if any material parts of them should have been found incapable of execution, or if the execution of them should, from any circumstances, have been retarded, that his majesty would be warranted in deferring the evacuation of the island, until such time as the other conditions of the article could be effected, or until some new arrangement could be concluded which should be judged satisfactory by all the contracting parties. The answer further stated, that the evacuation of Tarentum and Brundusium was in no respect connected with that of Malta: for that the French government were bound to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, at a period antecedent to that at which this stipulation was carried into effect; that the French government were bound likewise, by engagements with the emperor of Russia, to respect the independence of the kingdom of Naples; but even admitting that the departure of the French troops from Tarentum depended solely on the article of the treaty of Amiens, that their departure was, by the terms of the treaty, to take place at the same period as the other evacuations

tions in Europe; namely, one month after the ratification of the definitive treaty; at which period, both Porto Ferrajo and Minorca were evacuated by his majesty's forces; whereas, the troops of his majesty were in no case bound to evacuate the island of Malta antecedent to the period of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty; and even in that event, that it was to be considered as depending upon the other parts of the arrangement being in a course of execution. With respect to the assertion of the French government, that the Neapolitan troops were to form the garrison of Malta until the period when the arrangements relative to the order could be carried into effect, it was observed, it would appear by a reference to the article, that, by the preliminary paragraph, the island was to be restored to the order, upon the condition of the succeeding stipulations; and that it was only from the period when the restitution to the order had actually taken place, that by the 12th paragraph the Neapolitan troops were to form a part of the garrison.

The note of the French ambassador to which the preceding observations form a reply, was dated 10th of March, 1803. Two days prior to this, however, his majesty had sent the message to both houses of parliament relative to the proposed armament, which has been noticed in a preceding chapter. This measure was stated, in the message, to be merely precautionary, as founded on the armaments then carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, which, though *expressly* intended for colonial service, might, in the event of a rupture, be turned against some part of the British dominions.

This intelligence being conveyed to the French government, M. Talleyrand repeatedly assured the English ambassador, that there was no foundation whatever for the alarm which was felt by his majesty's ministers; that the first consul was pacific; that he had no thoughts whatever of attacking his majesty's dominions, unless forced to do so by a commencement of hostilities on our part; that he should always consider *the refusal to evacuate Malta as such a commencement of hostilities*; and that as we had hitherto hesitated to do so, he was justified in adopting the measures which might eventually be necessary. He disclaimed every idea of the armaments fitting out in the Dutch ports having any other destination than to the colonies; and concluded that, for his part, he could not comprehend the motives which had necessitated a resort to such a measure on the part of the British government. After conferring with the first consul upon the subject, he added, that, if England wished to discuss fairly, he wished the same; that if England prepared for war, he would do the same; and if England should finally determine on hostilities, he trusted to the support of the French nation in the cause of honour and of justice. It was in vain, says lord Whitworth, that I repeated, that England did not wish for war; that peace was as necessary for us as it could be for France; that all we desired, and all we were contending for, was security; that every thing proved to us that security was threatened by the first consul's views on Egypt; and that consequently our refusal

refusal to evacuate Malta, was become as much a necessary measure of precaution as the defence of any part of his majesty's dominions.

On this occasion M. Talleyrand communicated to lord Whitworth a paper which he, that morning, had drawn up with the first consul, and which contained the following articles: 1. If his Britannic majesty, in his message, meant to speak of the expedition from Helvoetsluys, all the world knew that it was destined for America, and that it was on the point of sailing for its destination; but in consequence of his majesty's message, the embarkation and putting to sea were about to be countermanded. 2. If the French government did not receive satisfactory explanation respecting the armaments in England, and if they actually took place, *it was natural* that the first consul should march 20,000 men into Holland, since Holland was mentioned in the message. 3. These troops being once in the country, *it was natural* that an encampment should be formed on the frontiers of Hanover; and moreover, that additional bodies should join those troops which were already embarked for America, in order to form new embarkations, and to maintain an offensive and defensive position. 4. *It was natural* that the first consul should order several camps to be formed at Calais, and on different points of the coast. 5. It was likewise *in the nature of things*, that the first consul, who was on the point of evacuating Switzerland, should be under the necessity of continuing a French army in that country. 6. It was also *the natural consequence of all this*, that the first consul should send a fresh force into Italy, in order to occupy, in case of necessity, the position of Tarentum. 7. England arming, and arming with so much publicity, would compel France to put her armies on the war establishment, a step so important as could not fail to agitate all Europe.

On the Sunday following this transaction, at the court which was held at the Tuilleries, the first consul accosted lord Whitworth evidently under considerable agitation. "And so," said he, "you are determined to go to war?" "No," his lordship replied: "we are too sensible of the advantages of peace." "Nous avons," said he, "déja fait la guerre pendant quinze ans." Lord Whitworth answered, "c'en est déja trop." "Mais," rejoined the first consul, "vous voulez la faire encore quinze années, et vous m'y forcez." His lordship said, that was very far from his majesty's intentions. The first consul then proceeded to count Markoff and the chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance, and said to them—"les Anglois veulent la guerre, mais s'ils sont les premiers à tirer l'épée, je serai le dernier à la remettre. Ils ne respectent pas les traités. Il faut dorénavant les couvrir de crêpe noir." In a few minutes he resumed the conversation with lord Whitworth. He began—"Pourquoi des armemens? Contre, qui des mesures de précaution? Je n'ai pas un seul vaisseau de ligne dans les ports de France. Mais si vous voulez armer, j'armerai aussi; si vous voulez vous battre, je me battrai aussi. Vous pourrez peut-etre tuer la France, mais jamais l'intimider."—"On ne voudroit," said lord Whitworth, "ni l'un ni l'autre. On voudroit vivre en bonne intelligence avec elle."—"Il faut donc respecter les traités," replied he: "malheur à ceux qui ne respectent

spectent pas les traités! ils en seront reponsable à toute l'Europe." The British ambassador, in his report of this singular conversation to his government, observes, that the first consul was too much agitated to make it advisable for him to prolong it; he therefore made no answer; and the first consul retired to his apartment, repeating the last phrase. All this, added lord Whitworth, passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people; and he was persuaded that there was not a single person who did not feel the extreme impropriety of the consul's conduct, and the total want of dignity as well as of decency on the occasion.

The French government, however, were not yet fully prepared for war, and were therefore not desirous of *immediately* proceeding to extremities. Accordingly, in an official note to the British government, they denied, in the most positive manner, the hostile intentions of France; and affirmed that, at the time of his majesty's message, there were but two frigates in the roads of Holland, and but three corvettes in the roads at Dunkirk. They complained of the violation of a usage practised among nations, which is, to demand explanations previous to an appeal to arms. As to the discussions mentioned in his majesty's message, and the success of which were stated to be doubtful, they asked, with an air of astonishment, what were these discussions? what official notes, what protocol proved the opening, the progress, the vicissitudes of a debate? Could a state of difficulties, which led to an alternative of peace or war, spring up unawares without commencement, without progression, and lead without distinction to an appeal to arms before all the means of conciliation had been exhausted? They denied also that the power of France had increased since the peace; and added that if his Britannic majesty were determined to make war, he might allege all the pretexts he pleased. Whatever had been the clamour, the activity, the provocations of war, which had taken place in England, since the message, the first consul had given no orders, he had made no dispositions, no preparations. He placed his glory in an affair of this nature, wholly in being taken *in an unprovided state**! He would continue in this system of honest frankness, until his Britannic majesty had reflected fully on the part he proposed to take.

In regard to the report of colonel Sebastiani, an explanation was neither a long nor a difficult matter. A colonel in the English army had published a work in England, filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies against the French army and its general. The lies it contained had been contradicted by the reception which colonel Sebastiani experienced. The publicity of its report was at once a regulation and a reparation which the French army had a right to expect. On his arrival in Egypt, this officer, to his great astonishment, found the English army there, although they should have evacuated it, and the Turks prodigiously alarmed at the continuance of the English army, and at its relations with the natives in rebellion and open revolt against the Sublime Porte. He must have conceived that the treaties which

* Where were his 480,000 men?

connected

connected the French government with the Porte, and by which the former had guaranteed to it the integrity of its possessions, compelled them to unite themselves with that power. It was natural to think that England meant to declare war from the instant she refused to execute the articles of the treaty. For, after all, France was not reduced to such a state of debasement as to suffer treaties made with her to be executed, or not, at pleasure. Hence the researches made by that officer as to the forces which were in Egypt, and to the position occupied by the English army. But Egypt had since been restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign; and the idea of a rupture between the two nations, on account of the engagement contracted with the Porte, no longer existed. There remained, therefore, but one object worthy of fixing the attention of the two nations—the execution of the treaty of Amiens as far as concerned Malta. As to this point, the first consul saw no subject for discussion, the treaty having provided for every thing, and settled every thing; and declared that he would not take up the defiance of war given by England to France.

To this declamatory and hypocritical note, the answer of the English government was in the most dignified terms; and was simply, that his majesty had perceived, with great regret, that the French government continued to withhold all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which he had complained; and, that at the time when they evaded all discussion on the subject of his representations, they persisted in their requisition, that the island of Malta should be forthwith evacuated by his forces. That his majesty could never so far forget what was due to himself and to his people, as to acquiesce in such a course of proceeding; that he had therefore judged it expedient to give instructions to his ambassador at Paris to ascertain distinctly from the French government, whether they were determined to persevere in withholding all satisfaction and explanation on the points on which his majesty had complained; or, whether they were disposed, without delay, to give such satisfaction and explanations upon the present state of affairs, as should lead to an arrangement which might be calculated to adjust the differences at present subsisting between the two governments.

In the instructions, to the above effect, transmitted to the British ambassador as Paris, was inclosed the project of an arrangement, to be concluded by treaty or convention, between his Britannic majesty and the French government. This project proposed, "that Malta should remain in perpetuity in the possession of his majesty; the knights of the order of St. John to be indemnified by his majesty for any losses of property which they might sustain in consequence of such an arrangement; that Holland and Switzerland should be evacuated by the French troops; that the island of Elba should be confirmed by his majesty to France, and the king of Etruria acknowledged; that the Italian and Ligurian republics should be acknowledged by his majesty, provided an arrangement were made in Italy for the king of Sardinia, which should be satisfactory to him.

The French minister, Talleyrand, after an interview with the first

first consul, was more disposed to contest the substance of the last note of the British government, than to afford any further explanation. He said, that in order to proceed regularly, it would be necessary that the French government should be informed precisely what were the objects which had created such uneasiness, and on which it had been alleged that all explanation had been refused. That although this had, perhaps, been touched upon in general conversation, yet no specific charge had been adduced in such a manner as to demand a formal explanation. Lord Whitworth told him, that if the object of the French government was to protract the present state of suspense and uncertainty, that object might be answered to the extent indeed of a very few days, by forcing him to such a reference; but he must, at the same time, declare to M. Talleyrand, that it could be productive of no advantage, and would serve only to provoke such a recapitulation of the system and conduct which France had pursued since the treaty of Amiens, as would have all the appearance of a manifesto, every item of which would carry conviction to every individual in Europe. That it appeared, therefore, more likely to answer the end which both parties proposed—that of hastening the conclusion of an amicable arrangement—to take up the business on the basis which he should propose, and by which they would admit no more than was incontrovertible; namely, that if the French government exercised a right of extending its influence and territory, in violation of the spirit of the treaty of Amiens, Great Britain had, if she chose to avail herself of it (which he was confident she would not do further than was necessary as a measure of security), an undoubted right to seek a counterpoise. M. Talleyrand did not seem inclined to dispute this position; but rather to admit, that such a right did exist, and might be claimed in consequence of the acquisitions which had been made by France.

On the point of satisfaction, however, he was much more obstinate. He said, that the first consul was hurt at the expression *(satisfaction)*, to which he ignorantly gave an interpretation, which the word certainly does not admit—as implying superiority; so that, if the British government required satisfaction of the French, it arrogated to itself a superiority. Lord Whitworth justly replied, that the demand of satisfaction implied, that one party had been offended by another, and of course had a right to demand such satisfaction; that an inferior had an equal right with his superior to demand it; but in the case in question, there was perfect equality, and consequently there was no offence to be found but in the conduct which rendered such an appeal necessary. The discussion of this point took up considerable time without producing any thing decisive.

We, at last, says lord Whitworth, came to the main point of the business;—though on this he could not say that any real progress had been made. M. de Talleyrand asked, if there were no means of satisfying both parties? for, at the same time that the first consul insisted, and would always insist, on the full execution of the treaty, he would not object to any mode by which the British government

ment might acquire the security they thought so necessary. You are not satisfied, said he, with the independence of Neapolitan troops. What others will answer the purpose? He then started the idea of a mixed garrison, composed of English, French, Italians, Germans, &c. He begged that lord Whitworth would refer once more to his government, and submit a paper he drew up in his lordship's presence. Lord Whitworth answered, that they were only losing time by such a reference; that his instructions were positive, and certainly had not been sent him without the fullest consideration; but he could not refuse what was so earnestly required. The paper of M. Talleyrand, just mentioned, stated merely, that every thing which might tend to violate the independence of the order of Malta would never be consented to by the French government: that respecting every thing which might tend to put an end to the existing difficulties, or be agreeable to the English government, and which should not be contrary to the treaty of Amiens, the French government had no objection to make a particular convention: that the motives of this convention should be inserted in the preamble, and should relate to the respective grievances concerning which the two governments should think it adviseable to come to an understanding with each other.

The negotiation was now at a stand till the arrival of an answer from England. When it arrived, it stated that the execution of the article of the treaty relative to Malta had become impracticable from causes which it had not been in the power of his majesty to controul; that the greatest part of the funds assigned to the support of the order, and indispensably necessary for the independence of the order and defence of the island, had been sequestrated since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, in direct repugnance to the spirit and letter of that treaty; and that two of the principal powers who were invited to accede as guarantees to the arrangement had refused their accession, except on the conditions that the part of the arrangement which was deemed so material relative to the Maltese inhabitants should be entirely cancelled. Moreover, that the conduct of the French government, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, gave his majesty a right, which was now at length admitted by themselves, to demand some compensation for the past and security for the future; and that such compensation could never be considered as obtained by the possession of an island, which would only entail a very heavy expense on this country; and the degree of security which would be provided by these means would only be such as his majesty, under the existing circumstances, was entitled to demand.

As to *the independence of the order* of Malta—if this were meant to apply to the order exclusively—his majesty would be willing, for the preservation of peace, that the civil government of the island should be given to the order of St. John; the Maltese enjoying the privileges which were stipulated in their favour in the treaty of Amiens; and that, conformably to principles which had been adopted on other occasions, the fortifications of the island should be garrisoned for ever by the troops of his majesty. That in the event of

either of these propositions being found unattainable, his majesty might be disposed to consent to an arrangement by which the island of Malta would remain in his possession for a limited number of years, and to wave in consequence his demand for a perpetual occupation, provided that the number of years were not less than ten, and that his Sicilian majesty could be induced to cede the sovereignty of the island of Lampedosa for a valuable consideration. That if the propositions were admitted, the island of Malta should be given up to the inhabitants at the end of that period, and it should be acknowledged as an independent state; in which case, that his majesty would be ready to concur in any arrangement for the establishment of the order of St. John in some other part of Europe.

To establish the principle with the French government, of our keeping possession of Malta in perpetuity, the British ambassador found utterly impracticable; nor was the difficulty, which was considered as insurmountable, conceived to be removed by these last propositions of the British cabinet. It was objected, that although the order was restored, it could not be considered as independent; and, in fact, Malta would belong to that power which had possession of the forts. This conversation took place with Joseph Bonaparte, who promised to take this last project of the English government to the first consul at St. Cloud. He added, that he was not without hope that he might be authorised to propose to the ambassador the occupation of the fortresses for a term of years. Not long after, lord Whitworth saw Joseph Bonaparte again, when he positively assured his lordship that he should hear from M. de Talleyrand in the course of the next morning, and that a meeting would be appointed in order to settle the term of years for which the first consul might be induced to consent to the cession of Malta. He however declared, that, in order to gain the first consul's consent, it would be necessary to hold out the advantages which the British government was willing to offer in return—meaning the acknowledgements of the new governments in Italy. His lordship told him that this offer was made only with a view to the possession of Malta in perpetuity; but, after some conversation, gave him to understand that he would not refuse to admit the demand, *sub spérati*, on the condition that the cession should be made for a considerable term of years; that Holland and Switzerland should be evacuated; and that a suitable provision should be made for the king of Sardinia. Joseph Bonaparte seemed to think that there could be no difficulty in this arrangement.

Two days elapsed before the British ambassador sent off his dispatches, and no summons had been received by him from M. Talleyrand, as he had been given to expect; nor was any further notice taken of the business. Lord Whitworth, therefore, requested of his government to be furnished with the terms on which his majesty's ministers would be willing to conclude, that he might propose them in the form of an *ultimatum*; and that at the expiration of the period allowed for deliberation, he might be authorised not only to declare that he was to leave Paris, but actually so to do, unless in the intermediate time the French government should accede to his demands.

mands. The answer to this request of the British ambassador stated, that it was his majesty's pleasure that he (the ambassador) should communicate officially to the French government that he had gone, in point of concession, to the full extent of his instructions; and that if an arrangement founded upon one of the above-mentioned propositions could not be concluded without further delay, he had received his majesty's commands to return to England.

On the next interview between the ministers of the respective countries, M. Talleyrand told lord Whitworth that the first consul would, on no terms, hear either of a perpetual or of a temporary possession of Malta; that his object was the execution of the treaty of Amiens; and that rather than submit to such an arrangement as that last proposed, he would even consent to our keeping the object in dispute for ever, on the ground that, in the one, there was an appearance of generosity and magnanimity; but in the other, nothing but weakness and the effect of coercion: that therefore his resolution was taken; and what he had to propose was, the possession we required of the island of Lampedosa, or of any other of the small isles, of which there were three or four between Malta and the coast of Africa; that such a possession was sufficient for the object we had in view, which was a station in the Mediterranean, as a place of refuge and security for any squadron we might find it convenient to keep in that sea.

To this proposition lord Whitworth replied, that he was extremely sorry to find they had made such little progress in the negotiation; that his orders were positive, that he could hear no thing short of what he had proposed; neither could he possibly undertake to make such a proposal to his majesty, since every word of his instructions applied positively to Malta, unless an equivalent security could be offered; and surely he could not pretend to say that Lampedosa could be considered as such; that the possession of Malta was necessary for our security, and was rendered so not from any desire of aggrandisement on the part of his majesty, but by the conduct of the French government; and that so strongly were we impressed with the necessity, that, rather than abandon it, we were prepared to go to war.

To all I could say, adds lord Whitworth, M. Talleyrand objected the dignity and honour of the first consul, which could not admit of his consenting to any thing which might carry with it the appearance of yielding to a threat. His lordship rejoined—It never could be admitted that the first consul had a right to act in such a manner as to excite jealousy and create alarm in every state of Europe; and, when asked for explanation or security, say that it was contrary to his honour or his dignity to afford either. Such arguments might perhaps do when applied to some of those governments with which France had been accustomed to treat, or more properly to dictate to; but never could be used to Great Britain: that his majesty had a right to speak freely his opinion, and possessed also the means, whenever he chose to employ them, of opposing a barrier to the ambition of any individual, or of any state which

should be disposed to threaten the security of his dominions or the tranquillity of Europe.

It was now the middle of April before the discussion had been brought to a close; and the conduct of the French government in the latter conversations which have been noticed, evinced only a system of procrastination, without any sincere desire of terminating the difference, or giving to England that security and satisfaction which even the declarations of the first consul himself had rendered necessary. In a subsequent conversation with Talleyrand on the 24th of April, lord Whitworth learned that the first consul neither could nor would relinquish his claim to the full execution of the treaty of Amiens, but was disposed to accede to the demand of Lampedosa, or any of the neighbouring islands. In the course of the conversation, Talleyrand intimated that Holland and Naples, and other countries connected with Great Britain, would be the first victims of the war; on which lord Whitworth asked whether he thought that such a conduct would add to the glory of the first consul; observing, that it would not only unite against him the honest men in his own country, but in all Europe; and that it certainly would excite more detestation than terror in England.

In the mean time fresh instructions had been forwarded to lord Whitworth, and on the 26th he communicated them to Talleyrand. The ultimate demand of Great Britain amounted in substance to the absolute possession of Malta for 10 years, after which, it was to be given up to the inhabitants, and not to the order; the cession to Great Britain of Lampedosa; that Holland should be evacuated by the French within a month after the conclusion of the convention; and that his majesty would then acknowledge the new Italian states, provided stipulations were made in favour of his Sardinian majesty and of Switzerland.

On the 28th a person called upon lord Whitworth, whom he supposed to be employed by the first consul, and who told him he would receive in the course of that day a letter from Talleyrand, drawn up under the inspection of the first consul, which was so moderate as to afford a well-grounded hope that it would induce his lordship to defer his departure. The letter, however, did not arrive, and at four o'clock lord Whitworth waited on M. Talleyrand, and demanded his passports. He appeared embarrassed, and observed that he could not suppose that his intention was really to go away; but at all events the first consul would never recal his ambassador.

On the 2d of May lord Whitworth again pressed the same subject, in an official letter; and on the following day he received an answer to the ultimatum of the British cabinet to the following effect:—That as the island of Lampedosa did not belong to France, it was not for the first consul either to accede to or refuse the desire testified by his Britannic majesty, of having it in his possession. That with respect to Malta, as the demand of his Britannic majesty would change a formal disposition in the treaty of Amiens, the first consul could not but previously communicate it to the king of Spain and the Batavian republic, as contracting

contracting parties to the treaty; as well as to the emperor of Germany, the emperor of Russia, and the king of Prussia, as guaranteeing powers. With regard to the evacuation of Holland, he repeated that the French troops should evacuate it at the instant the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens should be executed.

This answer being deemed wholly unsatisfactory, lord Whitworth renewed his demand of passports; but in the interim received a note, intimating that the French minister demanded a conference on the 4th, in order to enable him to communicate something of the greatest importance. The object of this communication was to propose that Malta should be placed in the hands of one of the guaranteeing powers, Austria, Russia, or Prussia, till France and England should come to an agreement respecting it.

This proposition was deemed altogether inadmissible by the English government, which again insisted on the possession of Malta for 10 years, but admitting, to save the honour of the French government, that this stipulation should be included in a secret article.

This proposal was reduced to the form of a project, and submitted to the French government by lord Whitworth on the 9th of May, in the following terms:—

PROJECT.

1st. The French government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the island of Lampedosa to his majesty by the king of the Two Sicilies.

2d. In consequence of the present state of the island of Lampedosa, his majesty shall remain in possession of Malta until such arrangements shall be made by him as may enable his majesty to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station; after which period, the island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state.

3d. The territories of the Batavian republic shall be evacuated by the French forces within one month after the conclusion of a convention founded on the principles of this project.

4th. The king of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics shall be acknowledged by his majesty.

5th. Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French forces.

6th. A suitable territorial provision shall be assigned to the king of Sardinia in Italy.

SECRET ARTICLE.

His majesty shall not be required by the French government to evacuate the island of Malta until after the expiration of 10 years.

Articles 4th, 5th, and 6th, may be entirely omitted, or must all be inserted.

To this project lord Whitworth received no answer during the time limited for his stay at Paris. He left it therefore in charge with Mr. Talbot, secretary of legation, but it appears never to have been acted upon.

Lord Whitworth left Paris on the 10th of May; and on the 18th the British government published a declaration of the causes of complaint which they had to allege against France, and this was soon after followed by the issuing of letters of marque and reprisals.

CHAP. XIII.

Reflexions on the Spirit of the Negotiation between Great Britain and France.—Heroism of the British Nation on the Threat of Invasion.—Proceedings of the Government.—Immense Exertions in assembling a Naval and Military Force.—Perfidious Conduct of the French Government in arresting English Travellers.—Violation of the Rights of the Germanic Body by the March of a French Army into Hanover.—Conduct of the Hanoverians.—Convention.—Fresh Violation of the Law of Nations in disarming the Hanoverian Soldiers—Their spirited Conduct.—New Convention.—Blockade of the Elbe and Weser, and of the French Ports.—Insolent Demand of the French Government.—Singular Negotiation of Bonaparte with the French Princes.—The War.—Foreign Transactions.—St. Lucia taken by Storm.—Tobago taken.—Demarara and Essequibo surrendered to the English.—Reduction of Berbice—Of St. Pierre and Miquelon.—Horrible State of the French in St. Domingo—Blockaded by an English Squadron.—Surrender of several Ports—Final Surrender of General Rochambeau and his Army to the English.—Attempt of the French on Antigua defeated.—Bombardment of the French Ports—Of the Dutch Coast.—Concluding Reflexions.

THE transactions which have just been narrated will sufficiently explain the grounds and reasons of his Britannic majesty's message to his parliament on the 8th of March. It is evident that the suspicions of the English government had been excited by many little concurring causes, rather than roused by any great act of aggression. The mysterious conduct of France was not calculated to remove these suspicions: the eagerness of the first consul, on the contrary, to wrest Malta, which could be of no possible use to France, nor of any annoyance to her possessions, from the hands of Great Britain, was certainly a further cause of jealousy and uneasiness. The unguarded conversation of Bonaparte with lord Whitworth, on the 20th of February, contributed greatly to unfold the ambitious designs of the usurper; but we have been assured, on most respectable authority, that, to others more in his confidence, he had expressed himself in still more unequivocal terms of hostility towards Great Britain, as the only obstacle to his vast schemes of national aggrandisement, and of establishing a paramount authority in Europe. Under these circumstances, a state of active warfare was thought preferable to a hollow and insidious truce, which was liable to be interrupted, at any time, at the caprice of a man on whose faith no dependance was to be placed.

It is probable then, that when the negotiation was entered into, neither party expected it to terminate in a permanent peace. The British ministry insisted on the possession of Malta, as a pledge, or perhaps as a means of temporary security; Bonaparte, on the other hand, did not even condescend to give an assurance of sincere or lasting amity, unless an intimation which he dropped to lord Whitworth,

worth, on the 20th of February, is to be regarded as such, where, speaking of the naval power of England, and the military force of France, he says, that "two such countries, by a *proper understanding*, might govern the world;"—in plain terms, if England would submit to be the instrument of his ambitious views, she should, for at least a time, be a sharer in the spoils:—a most alarming sentiment, by the way, for the rest of Europe, if England should ever have a minister weak and wicked enough to enter into such an infamous combination. But though Bonaparte did not appear to be actuated by any friendly sentiments towards England, and probably was, at the moment, planning schemes for her destruction, we must confess, that he appears to have been taken unprepared, and seemed not desirous of immediate hostilities. Every effort was exerted on his part, and the part of his minister, to gain time, and protract the negotiation. Even the delay of a few months, or even weeks, seemed to be of importance; but, had even the ultimatum of the British ministry been complied with, the truce, for such it can only be called, must have been of very short duration.

The alleged motive of his majesty's message, the armaments in the ports of France and Holland, seems to have been the least urgent of the causes of war. We are disposed entirely to believe that their destination was really for the colonies; yet had these armaments been permitted to sail, who will answer for the consequences? The negro force in St. Domingo would have been infallibly subdued; reinforcements of fresh troops would have been poured into that and the other islands: Bonaparte would have been glad to find employment for the negro soldiers, whom he could not trust, and whom he must wish to see cut off. Who then can say that the first effort of renewed hostility would not have been the destruction of our most valuable West-India colonies?

If, therefore, peace was not likely to be maintained with the ambitious government of France, we must believe that a more favourable time could not have been chosen for the renewal of the war. In England the vigour of the government was nobly seconded by the heroism of the people. From the 8th of March to the time of the declaration, a warm impress had been carried on; and, at the commencement of hostilities, we had a naval force nearly double in number and in metal to what we had possessed at the commencement of any former war. The militia were next embodied; and this was followed by the act for raising the army of reserve, which, in the course of a few months, added 30,000 men to the regular force of the country. The reader will also recollect, that an act also passed, enabling his majesty to call out the whole mass of the people fit to bear arms, in different classes, and to put a certain proportion of them into immediate training. The measure was, however, rendered unnecessary by the spontaneous zeal of the people. In some cases the inclination of government was anticipated, and volunteer associations were formed even before they knew their services would be accepted. Loyal meetings were called in London, and all the great towns, which terminated not in mere verbal declarations, but in substantial aid

to government. Large subscriptions were raised to bear the expenses of the volunteer associations; and it was difficult to say whether the people were more liberal in offering their persons or their property in defence of a country and a constitution so dear to their affections.

Thus, by the vigour and promptitude of the government and people, the daring project of invading and subjugating Britain, a project suited to that spirit of enterprise and ambition which characterised the martial leader of the French nation, was defeated at the only period when it was likely to be successful. Could Bonaparte have assembled, in the ports of France and Holland, a naval armament of any description, fit for the transport of 100,000 men across the channel, before our fleets were manned, before our militia had been called out, and the people arranged in military array, the mischief he might have effected is incalculable; perhaps liberty would have received her death-blow in this quarter of the globe. He expected to have caught the lion sleeping in his den —he found him couched for battle, and ready to spring upon his prey. Unwilling, in this state, to try the issue of the contest, the enemy could only threaten. Immense preparations were, however, made on the opposte side of the channel, and particularly at Bologne, the harbour of which, and the coast for a considerable distance, was strongly fortified. An army of nearly 300,000 men was marched to the coast, and vessels of a particular description, calculated to cross the channel and approach near to the shore, were constructed not only in the ports, but in all the navigable rivers of France and the Netherlands. Among the chief causes of our safety at this dangerous crisis, let us not omit that which by many will doubtless be accounted the most effectual, the unanimity and harmony which pervaded the nation; and to the conciliatory and constitutional conduct of the ministers, this happy effect is principally to be attributed.

An act of perfidy and violence, scarcely to have been expected in the darkest ages of society, disgraced the French government at the commencement of hostilities. A number of English gentlemen and others had visited France from curiosity, and other motives. The defenceless travellers were inhospitably seized, and committed to custody as prisoners of war—such an act is, we believe, entirely without a precedent in the annals of civilised Europe; it was an act as impolitic as base, since the French government could derive from it no possible advantage; on the contrary, it displayed nothing but impotent resentment and treacherous malignity.

This act was immediately followed by another equally disgraceful infraction of the laws of nations, a violation of the neutrality of the German empire. About the latter end of May, a division of the French army, under general Mortier, passed the Waal on their march towards Hanover; and, before the end of the month, reached the frontier of that country. A faint show of opposition was made by general Hammerstein, who commanded the electoral forces; but he was too weak to make an effectual stand, and retreated hastily on the approach of the French. After a few ineffectual skirmishes, a deputation, civil and military,

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was dispatched by the regency to the French general on the 3d of June; and a convention, or rather capitulation, was signed, the basis of which was, that Hanover, with its forts, should be occupied by a French army; the Hanoverian soldiers to be permitted to retire beyond the Elbe, under a parole, not to serve against France, or her allies, during the war, unless exchanged; the stores and the private property of his Britannic majesty to be given up to the French; the English soldiers and officers to be arrested, and sent into France; the French commander to be at liberty to make any change in the regency; the French cavalry to be remounted at the charge of the electorate, which was also to furnish the pay, clothing, and maintenance of the French army: the whole of the revenues of the electorate to be also at the disposal of the French government; and the French general to be at liberty to levy contributions at pleasure to supply the wants of the army. The French general proceeded, on the following day, to issue his commands to the city of Bremen, to seize all the British vessels in the port, and confiscate all British property for the use of the French republic. These demands were, however, refused.

Degrading as were the terms imposed upon the unfortunate Hanoverians, they were not sufficient to satisfy that spirit of oppression, which was now become habitual to the French. Contrary to both the letter and the spirit of the treaty, general Mortier proceeded, in the beginning of July, to disarm the Hanoverian soldiers, who were encamped on the other side of the Elbe, agreeably to the treaty. At first it was proposed that they were to be sent as prisoners of war to France; but they were commanded by a spirited and experienced officer, Walmoden, and gallantly refused to subscribe to any degrading conditions. A new convention was signed on the 5th day, by general Walmoden and general Mortier, on board a small vessel on the Elbe. The only additional concession made to the enemy by this new treaty, was the delivery of their horses, artillery, and arms to the French. The men were disbanded, and permitted to return to their respective homes on their parole, as already stated.

In the mean time a spirited measure was adopted by the British ministry for the blockade of the Elbe, as long as the banks of that river should remain in possession of the French. The notice to foreign ministers, to this effect, bears date the 28th of June. A similar measure was shortly after adopted with respect to the Weser; the ports of Genoa and Spezia were blockaded the 13th of August; and, in the month of September, Havre, and the ports of the Seine, were also declared in a state of blockade.

Nothing could be more inconsistent, not only with the law of nations and the rights of the German empire, but even with the former conduct of the French republic itself, than the invasion of Hanover. A very few years before, his majesty, as elector of Hanover, made a separate peace with the French republic, while, as king of Great Britain, he continued at war with that country: thus the two capacities were acknowledged as distinct by the republicans themselves. Notwithstanding the inconsistency

consistency of this conduct, the French minister, Talleyrand, had the insolence to demand from his Britannic majesty the ratification of the treaty between Mortier and the regency of Hanover. It is needless to add, that the application was rejected with contempt.

In the course of the summer, a statement appeared under the signature of the French respecting an overture not less immodest, which was made in the month of February, by an agent of Bonaparte, to Lewis XVIII., at Warsaw, for the resignation of that monarch's right to the throne of France. The proposal was, that, for this resignation, the fallen monarch should receive indemnities from Bonaparte, and even a splendid establishment. The answer of the king was full of dignity and moderation. It was as follows:

"I am far from being inclined to confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour, and of his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims; for otherwise he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has now taken.

"I cannot pretend to know what may be the intentions of the Almighty respecting my race, and myself; but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of St. Louis I shall endeavour to imitate his example by respecting myself—even in captivity and chains. As successor of Francis I., I shall at least aspire to say with him—*We have lost every thing but our honour.*"

On the 2d of March the king wrote to monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructed him to make known the same to the princes of the blood who were in England, taking charge himself to inform such of them respecting it who do not reside in that country. On the 22d of April, monsieur called a meeting of the princes, who signed an adhesion to the answer of the king of the 28th of February.

It afterwards appeared, that, on the 19th of March, the same envoy, pursuant to the orders which he had received, waited again upon the king: there was no longer any question about the substance of his majesty's answer, but some alterations were intimated respecting the terms in which the form of the answer should be couched: apprehensions seemed to be felt lest it should so far irritate the usurper as to prompt him to exert his influence in order to aggravate the misfortunes of the king. His majesty, however, observed, that "he should make no alteration in his answer, which was as moderate as could be expected, and that Bonaparte could not be justified in complaining of it, since if indeed it had treated him as a rebel and an usurper, it would have told him no more than the truth." Upon this, certain dangers were hinted to him—"What dangers?" observed the king. "Ill-minded persons may require that I withdraw from the asylum that is granted to me. I will pity the sovereign who may deem himself compelled

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to take such a part; and I will withdraw." No! that is not it; but may it not be apprehended that M. Bonaparte will make it a point with certain powers to deprive the compte de Lille of the assistance they now afford him.—"I do not dread poverty. Were it necessary, I would eat black bread with my family and my faithful servants:—but do not be alarmed; I shall never be reduced to that extremity. I have another resource to rely upon, which I do not think proper to resort to as long as I have powerful friends; and that is to make known my situation in France, and to stretch out my hand, not—no never to a government of usurpation, but to my faithful subjects; and, rely upon it, I shall soon be richer than I am now."

The emissary employed on this singular mission was said to be the commandant De Meyer, an officer in the Prussian service, and engaged in this service by the king of Prussia, at the instance of Bonaparte. The overture, however, left no doubt on the minds of persons of discernment that Bonaparte had a still further object in view; an object wholly unconnected with the peace or welfare of the French nation, or with any principle even remotely connected with republicanism. That object has since been manifested; the tyrant has completely unmasked, and if any thing was yet wanting to undeceive the friends of liberty, they cannot now complain that they are left any longer in a state of uncertainty.

From the nature of the contest, it was natural that the war at home should be for the present year a war of defence and of preparation. England, however, gained something more than honour, while she kept her boastful enemy at bay; while she baffled his threats, and disconcerted his projects. Abroad as much was performed as could possibly be expected.

On the 22d of June the island of St. Lucia was taken by general Grinfield and commodore Hood. The French commander, general Nogues, refused to capitulate, and the expectation of approaching rains rendered it necessary to get possession of the Morne Fortunée with as little delay as possible. It was therefore determined to attack it by storm; the defence was gallant; yet, by the determined bravery of the British soldiers and seamen, the works were carried in about half an hour, not without some loss, chiefly among the officers. This conquest was of considerable importance, as a naval station. The island, as a colony, is valuable, but the climate is remarkably unhealthy.

The British commanders lost no time in pursuing their victorious career, and on the 25th they sailed for Tobago, which they reached on the 30th. It was defended by general Berthier, an officer of note in the French service; but being apprised of the numbers of the British, and of the gallantry they had displayed at St. Lucia, he did not think it prudent to risk an engagement. A capitulation was agre d to on the same day upon the most liberal terms, the garrison marching out with the honours of war, and to be sent back to their native country.

Under the same successful and meritorious commanders the Dutch colonies of Demarara and Essequibo were reduced on the 19th of September; and on the 24th the settlement

settlement of Berbice followed their fate, and surrendered to his Britannic majesty's arms. The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken on the 30th of June by captain Malbon, of his majesty's ship Aurora. The British, it appears, came upon the enemy by surprise, and did not allow the soldiers and inhabitants time to prepare for the defence of the islands.

These losses were trifling to the French, compared with the calamities which accumulated upon the remnant of their forces in St. Domingo. The war with Great Britain had precluded the possibility of their receiving any fresh reinforcements. The spirit and courage of the blacks was therefore increased in proportion to the difficulties which the French had to encounter. Cape François was surrounded by a negro army on the land side, and strictly blockaded by a British naval force in the latter end of July and the beginning of August. The French general, Rochambeau, continued to maintain his station with an obstinacy worthy of a better cause and a better fate; the miseries undergone by the French are almost beyond belief; and it is a singular circumstance that they were actually obliged for weeks to subsist on the very blood-hounds which they had introduced for the purpose of hunting down the negroes.

On the 25th of July two French line-of-battle ships, in attempting to escape, were attacked by the Vanguard and the Elephant, and the Duquesne, of 74 guns, the commodore's ship, struck to the Vanguard, and was carried into Port Royal, in Jamaica. Destitute of resources, and suffering the sharpest miseries, the French troops and white inhabitants chose rather to throw themselves on the mercy of a generous enemy, than to incur a risk of falling into the hands of the justly-irritated, but cruel and implacable people, whom they had in vain endeavoured to extirpate.

Negotiations were successively entered into with the British commanders for the surrender of the different posts still occupied by the whites. Fort Dauphin surrendered to the Theseus, and St. Marie to the Vanguard, or, more properly speaking, the wretched garrisons and inhabitants of those places were humanely received on board the British ships, to be conveyed to a place of safety. The inflexibility of general Rochambeau himself was obliged at length to give way, and he was compelled to surrender, with the whole army of the Cape, two frigates, and some other vessels which lay in the harbour. The prisoners of war amounted in number to about 8000.

In the mean time a most desperate attempt on the island of Antigua, destined for the destruction of the port and dock-yard in the English harbour, was happily defeated. On the 5th of September the Emerald frigate fell in with 13 armed schooners fitted out by the governor of Guadaloupe for the above purpose; she captured three, and chaced the rest under the batteries of Guadaloupe.

In Europe, for the reasons we have already stated, and because the experience of the preceding war had sufficiently shown the futility of attacks on the enemy's coast, fortified as it was, and protected by myriads of mercenary troops, but few offensive operations

tions could be with prudence undertaken. On the 14th of September, however, the port and town of Granville were successfully attacked by sir James Saumarez. The pier was demolished, and many vessels intended for the invasion of England were destroyed. On the same day the town and fort of Dieppe were bombarded by captain Owen, in the Immortalité frigate, with the Theseus and Sulphur bombs under his command. The Dutch ports, from Zandvoort, in the vicinity of Haarlaem, to Scheveningen, were also severely bombarded on the 28th of September, and many vessels were destroyed. These attacks, though not productive of any serious consequence, were not improperly made at this period of the war. While England was threatened with invasion by a pigmy flotilla, it was politic to keep up the dread which her navy had inspired, and to show that we were active and vigilant at every point.

Such is the detail of the few naval and military exploits which the nature of the war and the circumstances of Great Britain warranted her government in undertaking. When we consider these circumstances, we shall be surprised that so much was effected, rather than that not more was attempted. When we consider that the enemy, with only a narrow channel between the two countries, was actually possessed of a military force of nearly half a million of men, chiefly veteran soldiers, and in the highest state of discipline, which he daily threatened to disembogue upon our shores; when we remember that he had all the small-craft of France, Holland, and the Netherlands at his absolute disposal, in which he might have embarked them; when we recollect that he had but this one object in view, and nothing to divert his attention from it, we confess we cannot but admire the wisdom and vigour of those counsels, by which his plans for our destruction were rendered abortive. The administration, which in the midst of these perils was still enabled to act even in the offensive in different quarters of the globe, was, by a most singular and audacious perversion of language, termed weak and inefficient: be it so.—To that weak and inefficient administration we are convinced we are indebted for our present security; and when the transactions of almost any year in the British annals come to be compared with those we have been narrating, we honestly believe, that, all circumstances candidly considered, the year 1808 will not sink in the comparison. We cannot close these remarks without a just compliment to the unparalleled courage and perseverance of our blockading squadrons, and particularly to that gallant veteran admiral Cornwallis, who, in the most tempestuous season in the memory of man, kept the sea in defiance of a more formidable enemy than the navies of France and Holland; and destroyed effectually the naval force of our enemies, by keeping them in a state of ruinous inaction, breaking their spirits, and defeating all their hopes.

The close of our annual narrative is generally followed by some remarks on the political state of Europe: A period more fertile in important speculation than the present could not have presented itself. It is not merely to France and Great Britain, or to their future destinies, that we have to extend

extend our views; it is to Europe, perhaps to the world.

The mad career of the French revolution is finished; and the result must have disappointed every friend of freedom in every quarter of the globe. We saw many things to disgust us almost from the first in that calamitous transaction; but that it should terminate in a despotism more oppressive than even the darkest ages exhibit, we could not have supposed. He who has perused our volumes with even tolerable attention, will see that we have never been too deeply enamoured of republicanism. In the fairest and most promising periods of the French republic, we cautiously discouraged the comparison between our own state and that of France before the revolution*; and we lifted up our voice against those pernicious theories and opinions, which would have promoted a similar experiment in this country. Yet, while unstained by blood, undisgraced by the atrocious murders which afterwards succeeded, we confess we were not adverse to seeing the trial made in a country like France, where public liberty seemed to have nothing to risk, and where the situation of the people we scarcely suspected could have been changed for the worse. We are not deterred by a false shame from confessing that we have been completely deceived and disappointed. The French character has appeared altogether inconsistent with the enjoyment of liberty; and perhaps the situation of a people is only to be ameliorated by slow and almost imperceptible gradations; the step from entire subordination to the enjoyment of civil freedom in all its branches is perhaps too violent for the human intellect; and the effort to transform slaves into freemen is as arduous, as we trust the converse will always be found, to change freemen into slaves.

The ardour for political innovation on a large scale, that which regards the form of government and of the civil constitutions of nations, will doubtless receive a check from the event of the French revolution; but it may be questioned whether the established governments of Europe will yet be rendered more secure. A successful usurpation is perhaps a more dangerous precedent than even a successful revolution. In the latter, the passions of the many must be interested and engaged; in the former, those only of a few. By the example of Bonaparte, every fortunate commander may hope to climb, by the aid of the military, to the summit of human authority; the steps may not be the same, but the end, and not the means, will be in the contemplation of an ambitious mind.

The immense military force of France, and the desire manifested by its government of domineering over the rest of Europe, is another circumstance scarcely less formidable. France must be an object of jealousy to other powers; and wars may succeed, not less from their fears, than from her encroachments. In the mean time, it is melancholy to contemplate the successive destruction of all those lesser independent states, who by their union or their courage de-

* See the preface to our volume for 1791.

fended

fended the bulwarks of human liberty against the most formidable attacks. The prospect would have been even more cheerful, had France itself, according to the saying of a great writer, been blotted out of the map of Europe, than to see Poland, the Swiss Cantons, Holland, Venice, and the free imperial cities of Germany—those pleasant spots on which the eye of the historian delighted to dwell—ingulfed at once in slavery and ruin.

The whole fabric of political society in Europe is indeed overturned, and the decencies of social life, as far as states and governments are concerned, are made to yield to brutal violence alone. Force only makes law, and force is to be repelled by force. The mass of every people is absorbed in military conscriptions; and in no country of Europe do we any longer discern the various ranks and classes of men; we see nothing but soldiers and their chiefs. Within our own remembrance the military establishment of every nation in Europe—those, we mean, who still retain their rank among nations—has been trebled at least. Such a state of things cannot be permanent. Either the powers of Europe must unite to crush the ambition of France, or they must become parties to their own downfal. Should victory attend their union in the doubtful and dangerous conflict, still a permanent peace may not be the consequence. The flame of ambition once enkindled, its progress is uncertain. Unfortunately, the people will always suffer for the wickedness of their governors—

"Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi."

Jan.	187¼ 185½	72⅛ 70½	73½ 70⅜	87¾ 85¾	100⅝ 100¼	103¼ 100⅞	20⅝ 20¼	4⅛ 4⅜	216½ 207	11 7 pr.		71¼ 70		par. 5 dis.	3¼ dis. 5	100 98⅞	70⅝ 69⅛	17 15 0
Feb.	190 186½	72⅝ 70⅜	72⅛ 70⅛	88¼ 86¼	101⅞ 100⅛	104⅞ 102⅞	20⅝ 20⅛	4⅝ 4½	217 208½	12 10 pr.	76	71⅛ 70⅜	70¼	par. 2 dis.	3 dis. 5½	101¾ 100	70½ 69½	17 17 0
March	193 181	71¾	71⅝ 62½	88¼ 87⅞	102 96½	104½	20¾	4½	222½ 205	11 pr. 2 dis.	76¾ 75¼	71½	69⅞ 63½	1 dis. 6	3½ dis. 15	101½	70¼ 61½	18 17 17
April	181½ 169	65⅞ 63½	67 61¼	82½	100¼ 96¼				211 201¼	9 pr. 2 dis.	70½ 68⅜	66 64⅝	65¼	par. 8 dis.	9½ dis. 16	96½ 91¾	63¼ 61¼	26 0 0 18 0 0
May	171¼ 145	69 56⅝	70 57	87½ 72⅜	100¼ 92⅞	103 91⅝	19⅛ 16¾	4¾ 3¾	219 175	5 3 pr.	68½ 63½	64 63	64⅝ 63¾	par. 3 dis.	13 dis.	100½ 83½	57½ 55⅜	
June	151½ 145	59⅛ 55⅝	60½ 57⅛	74⅜ 71⅞	95⅝ 93½	93⅝ 90½	17½ 16¼	3¾	180 178	par. 4 dis			58½	1 dis. 3	2½ dis. 3½	84 82	56½ 54⅝	
July	145½ 139	55½ 51½	57⅛ 52⅜	71½ 64⅛	84⅜	91¼ 84¼	16⅜ 15½	3½	162 157¼	1 pr. 3 dis.				1 pr. 8 dis.	3¼ dis. 7¼	81⅝ 79½	54¼ 50¾	16 16 0
Aug.	142½ 136	54⅞ 52¼	54½ 51⅞	70⅜ 67	86⅜ 82¾	89¼ 86¼	16¼ 15½	3½	168 154	par. 3 dis.	59⅛ 57½	53¼	51½	par. 4 dis.	6¼ dis. 11	80¾ 75	53⅝ 50⅜	17 4 0
Sep.	142½	54⅝	54⅝ 53¼	70¼	87⅝ 86¼	90¼	16½	3½	166 164	1 dis. 3	58½	54⅞	53½	1 pr. 3 dis.	6½ dis. 8	81½	54½ 53	25 10 0 17 5 0
Oct.	141 138½	52¼ 51⅞	53⅝ 52½	68¼ 67⅜	86⅝ 85¼	88½	15½	3⅛ 2¼	163 161	par. 3 dis.	56¾			1 pr. 2 dis.	8 dis. 10	77½	52⅝ 51½	17 1 0
Nov.	143 141½	53⅝ 52⅜	54½ 53⅛	68⅞ 67¼	88 86¾	89¾ 87½	15½	3⅛	166¼ 162	1 dis.	58⅞ 51⅛	52½	53½	5 pr. par.	8¼ dis. 9¼	78⅞ 77¾	51½	17 4 0
Dec.	147 144	55 53⅞	54½	71¾ 69⅛	90⅛ 87⅞	92¼ 89⅝	16¼ 15½	3⅛	172 166½	1 pr. 1 dis.	59¾	55 54⅜	54⅝	5 1 pr.	4½ dis. 8¼	81⅝ 79¼	53½ 52	17 9 0 17 5 0

PRINCIPAL

OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1803.

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1803.

JANUARY 1.

Plymouth.

INTELLIGENCE was this morning received here, of the loss of the ship Duke of Clarence, of this port, Captain M. Fawkner, on the 28th September last, on her passage from Quebec, laden with a cargo of wheat. She was driven on shore in a gale of wind on Magdalen Island, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and went to pieces in the course of half an hour. The captain, the supercargo, and his son, the chief mate, four marines and a boy, unfortunately perished; the second mate and three seamen were saved by an American schooner from the Bay of Chaleur, and landed at Beverley.

A phænomenon, which seldom occurs in this country, took place at Falmouth. About noon, a sudden whirlwind, extremely violent, passed, with a rapid motion, over about a sixth part of the town, in a direction from S. to N. The noise was very great, and spread consternation among the inhabitants of that part of the town over which it passed, and the congregation assembled in the church which lay in its course. The effects were so limited as not to be felt in the least degree in any other part of the place. As it passed over the harbour it was so violent as to produce a cloud of thick spray, which obscured the vessels lying there; and on its clearing off, a ship, which lay near the centre of its direction, was seen thrown on her beam ends, her keel in sight. The roof of every house in its way was rifled—several trees were torn up, a large copper vane was forced into an indented form. The wind was not high when the tornado arose: its operation was altogether instantaneous, and an almost perfect calm immediately succeeded it. Fortunately there were no boats, nor vessels of any description, under sail in the harbour; and it was also fortunate that the inhabitants were assembled in the church: if there had been many persons in the streets, they could not have escaped uninjured, from the large pieces of slate and stone which were blown from the houses and strewed the streets.

5. We yesterday received American papers to the 4th of December. The intelligence they bring from St. Domingo is of a nature the most disastrous to the French cause in that colony. The reduction of the insurgent blacks, so far from being in the train of accomplishment, appears now more re-

mote than at the first landing of the French troops. The negroes, exasperated to madness by the fate of a leader to whom they were powerfully attached, are resolved to perish rather than submit to the yoke of men who had, in violation of an express compact, removed him from the presence of his former followers, and made him the first object of their vengeance. A spirit has been introduced which no violence can subdue, and no conciliation can soften. If the French ever expect to retain quiet possession of this fine colony, they must obtain it at the expense of extirpating the whole existing generation of blacks, and fill their places by new importations from Africa. Even then, the restoration of order, of productive labour, of any thing like commercial enterprise, must be the result of long and painful exertion. The dreadful situation to which the colony is reduced, we may deplore, but it is precisely what we had reason to anticipate. The policy of the French general has been throughout most opposite to every principle of wisdom and expediency. Established as the dominion of Toussaint was at the time of his landing, and disposed as he had formerly discovered himself to cultivate a good understanding with the mother country, nothing but the most ill-judged measures could have prevented the French troops' taking quiet possession of the island. If Toussaint had been addressed in the language of kindness, if he had been prepared for the reception of the French troops, not as coming to divest him of authority, but to co-operate with him in restoring the trade of the island; if a prospect had been held out to him that his importance among his followers would not be destroyed by their arrival, they would then have found the negroes, if not prepared to bend to the severity of a yoke from which they had escaped, at least willing to act as useful cultivators. The adoption of an opposite system, and the prospect of a return to all the rigours of slavery, at once decided their resolution. Betwixt death and slavery, the choice was easy with men who had begun to taste something of the fruits of independence. Hostility was determined on, and was succeeded by exasperation. No alternative was henceforth left, but the massacre of the whole French force in the island, or a return to the yoke, under masters from whom they could hope for nothing but the utmost severity of treatment as the punishment of the obstinacy of their rebellion. Such have been the fruits of the impolitic conduct of the French general. Such have been the causes which have involved in destruction the greater part of one of the most formidable expeditions which ever sailed from the ports of Europe. Such are the causes which must for a long period deliver up the island to all the horrors of massacre and desolation, and which, in their consequences, may lead to the establishment of an independent black government in this extensive and fertile colony.

In Guadaloupe the same effects have resulted from the same causes. Nothing but confusion, pillage, and bloodshed prevails in that island. The blacks, driven to madness by the measures of the French, are butchering the whites, without regard to age or sex. The French are retorting with equal cruelty; and such blacks as fall into their hands are instantly dispatched, without even the ceremony of a trial.

At

At Martinique a considerable mortality prevails among the French troops; but it does not appear that there is any disposition to insurrection. The island was indeed left in a state of such complete subordination by our troops, and the plantations all over the island were brought to such a high pitch of improvement, that nothing but the grossest misconduct on the part of the French can give rise in this island to those afflicting scenes which the colonies of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe present. On account of the prevalence of the infectious distemper, all commerce betwixt Martinique and the British colonies has been strictly prohibited.

New-York, Dec. 4.—The aspect of affairs in St. Domingo appears, by every intelligence, to grow still more gloomy. The sovereign contempt in which the French held the negroes has led to the most fatal consequences. Their subjugation was to have been the work of a few weeks, which was to have restored the unfortunate planters to the tranquil possession of their estates. Many respectable families, who during the late war had sought and found an asylum in the United States, allured by the flattering accounts of the French operations, have returned to St. Domingo and Guadaloupe. Their fate is truly to be commiserated. The little they had been able to save from the former wreck of their fortunes is likely to be totally dissipated, and themselves and families are exposed to be massacred by the enraged and unrelenting blacks. After the fate of Toussaint, these outrageous negroes will never repose confidence in any overtures or stipulations on the part of the French nation. Nothing short of total extirpation can re-establish the colonies of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe;—a dreadful expedient! which most likely will defy every effort of the French. The probability is, that these islands must, at last, be abandoned to the negroes.

The force at Port Republican does not amount to more than 3000 troops, and 2000 white inhabitants; a force too inadequate to make any impression on the large body of negroes in arms in the neighbourhood, between whom frequent skirmishes take place, which have little other effect than the reduction of both parties.

At St. Mark's the French, growing jealous of the black troops in their pay, drew up 600 of them, and surrounded them with an intention of disarming them; but the negroes refused to deliver up their arms, and fired on the surrounding troops, who returned the fire, and every negro was massacred.

Cruelty seems to be the order of the day at Hispaniola. A few days before the ship sailed, a brigand boat was taken and brought in. All the brigands but two were killed: one of them said they had a little while before taken a schooner full of white women, all of whom they had put to death; and that his comrade, who then lay wounded near him, had, with a ram-rod, twisted out the eyes of several of the white women while alive.

On coming through the bite of Leogane, he saw a great number of dead negroes, and some few whites, floating in the sea; and he was told that a schooner weekly, and perhaps oftener, at Port Republican, took 100 or 150 persons on board, and carried them out, and on the first

or second night stifled them by burning brimstone in the hold, and then threw their bodies overboard.

We are told something of the same kind was practised at the Cape: a barge there frequently took a number of blacks, went out to sea with them, and returned empty.

The captain says, it was reported that Christophe and Dessalines, with a large portion of the blacks who were in the service of the French, had revolted; but this, with any account at Cape Nichola, was so vague, that it is scarcely worth repeating. Every account seems to predict the total evacuation of the island by the French, without a considerable reinforcement, which, from every thing we have seen, seems rather at a distance.

The Newburyport Herald, of Tuesday last, says—"Captain Bunting, who arrived yesterday, has told us the situation of Guadaloupe in some measure, which is horrid indeed: confusion, pillage, bloodshed, and murder, are the order of the day; the insurgents do actually gain ground; and captain B. speaks of it as his opinion, that if fresh troops do not shortly arrive, the blacks will have possession of the island. To minute the shocking transactions that daily occur would be tedious. They have extended their ravages to Point Petre; but at St. Ann's, a small town about 15 miles from there, a massacre of the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, took place about the middle of October. Hanging and shooting the blacks has become so common, that the spectator there is hardly actuated by emotions of astonishment at the scene: 180 of these poor wretches were executed at one time, at Basseterre, about a week before captain Bunting sailed. The fever is still making its ravages, not only among the French troops, but on the Americans there. Markets are tolerably good."

Marlborough-street, 7.—Yesterday an examination took place before the sitting magistrate, R. Neave, esq. in which a gentleman of the name of Pearce, and a very beautiful young lady, named Johnson, were charged with assaulting and firing a pistol at William Cobb, the preceding evening, in Paddington-street, Mary-le-bone.

The first witness in support of the charge was Lawrence Macobey, apprentice to Mr. John Sharp, in Paddington-street, who stated that he was standing in conversation with Cobb, his fellow-servant, and the watchman, about nine o'clock; they were conversing about a supper which Cobb had taken in Harley-street, when the witness said—"You stuffed your craw nicely." At this time miss Johnson was walking backwards and forwards; and upon hearing this reply, immediately said—"Don't be impertinent. I'll fetch somebody shall give you *a pill*." She then went into a fishmonger's near, and fetched Mr. Pearce out: the witness was then going home. In a few minutes they both came into his master's shop, and Mr. Pearce immediately collared him, miss Johnson saying—"This is the boy that insulted me." Cobb instantly entered the shop, and said, he would not see the boy ill-used. Miss Johnson then turned round, and said—"Oh, ho! it is not the boy that insulted me, it is the man." The watch was immediately called, and each party charged the

the other; and the watchman having taken them all into custody, Mr. Pearce broke loose from the watchman's hold, and, retreating a few paces, put his hand about his pockets, and instantly presented a pistol to Cobb, and shot him under the left ear; the ball entered his jaw: he instantly went into the shop, and said to his mistress that his jaw was broke.

The watchman's testimony proved the conversation, and that no insult had been offered to miss Johnson, either by innuendo or otherwise.

Mrs. Sharp proved, that Mr. Pearce and miss Johnson came into the shop, and the denial of the boy and Cobb of their having insulted miss Johnson.

Another watchman stated, that he had Cobb in custody, and that Pearce fired at him. He said, that if he had not drawn back, he must have received the contents of the pistol himself.

Wm. Serjeant, a coachman, was passing at the time, and seeing a mob gathered round Mr. Sharp's door, was induced to ask what was the matter, and perceived, almost instantly, Mr. Pearce break loose, and put his hand to his pockets; the witness supposing him a gentleman, and conceiving that he was afraid of having his pocket picked, from the circumstance of his putting his hand there: in a moment, however, he advanced with the pistol, levelled it at Cobb, and shot him.

Another witness confirmed this testimony.

Mr. Morris, the surgeon, stated that Cobb was brought into his house about half past nine. Upon examining him, he found a pistol ball had entered below his left ear, lodged in the roof of his mouth, and splintered the jaw. He extracted one ball (which he produced), and had every reason to believe, from the nature of the fraction, that there was more than one, but could not positively state whether or not. He would not state that the man was not in imminent danger of his life from the wound.

The magistrate asked Mr. Pearce what he had to say to the charge. He replied, that he went into a fishmonger's to purchase some fish, and miss Johnson walked before the door: in a few minutes she came in and told him that she had been much insulted; on which he went out, and went to the butcher's shop to reprimand the persons who had insulted her; when Cobb came in, and wanted to fight him, and struck him several times, and that he pulled out the pistol to defend himself, and it went off.

Miss Johnson stated, that the boy had crept on the ground, and seized hold of her legs in a very indecent manner, and that accordingly she went into the shop to Mr. Pearce for protection.

The magistrate, under this evidence, said he was obliged to commit them for trial.

Mr. Pearce is a very fine-looking man, upwards of six feet high, and is said to be an officer in the army.

Miss Johnson is about 25 years of age, and of a very pleasing countenance. She was very much agitated during the examination.—Mr Pearce conducted himself in a firm manner.

INDIA.

CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Fort-William, Aug. 11, 1802. On the 9th instant, his majesty's frigate

La Chiffonne, captain Stuart, arrived in the river from Bombay, with dispatches from that presidency to his excellency the most noble the governor general in council, containing the afflicting intelligence of the death of his excellency Haujee Khuleel Khaun, ambassador to the British government on the part of his majesty the king of Persia.

In the afternoon of the 20th ult. a dispute unfortunately arose between the Persian servants of the ambassador, and the sepoys of the corps of Bengal volunteers, composing his excellency's honorary guard, at the house assigned for his residence near Mazagong. An affray ensued, and both parties resorted to arms.

At the commencement of the disturbance, his excellency the ambassador, with his nephew Aga Hoossain, and his attendants, descended into the court, for the purpose of quelling the tumult; and while his excellency was exerting his endeavours, with the utmost degree of humanity and firmness, for that purpose, he received a wound from a musket which instantly proved mortal. His excellency's nephew was severely wounded in several places. Four of the ambassador's servants were killed, and five more wounded. Tranquility, however, was speedily restored, and medical assistance was immediately procured for the relief of the surviving sufferers.

The most active and judicious exertions were successfully employed by the acting president at Bombay, J. H. Cherry, esq. and by the civil and military officers under his authority, for the purpose of restoring order, and of tranquillising the minds of the attendants and followers of the deceased ambassador, as well as of securing the means of bringing to justice the perpetrators of this atrocious act.

A court of inquiry has accordingly been instituted at Bombay, for the purpose of investigating, with due deliberation and solemnity, all the circumstances of the case.

The governor general in council has adopted measures for affording to the relations and followers of the late ambassador all the relief and consolation which can be administered to them under the pressure of this severe calamity.

8. As a testimony of the public regret for the death of the late ambassador, and of a deep sense of sorrow for the calamitous event which occasioned it, and as a mark of public respect for the high station of the deceased ambassador, and for the sovereign whom he represented, his excellency the governor general in council has been pleased to direct, that minute guns be fired on this melancholy occasion, at five o'clock this afternoon, from the ramparts of Fort William.

Extract of a Letter from an Officer of Major-General Baird's Army, dated Giza, opposite Grand Cairo, May 18, 1802.

On the 15th instant major-general Baird, preparatory to the march of the army across the Desert to Suez, paid a visit of ceremony to his highness the pacha of Egypt in Grand Cairo.

The general, attended by his staff and other officers, with an escort of the 8th light dragoons, crossed the river to the Cairo side in the morning; where a Turkish guard of honour, consisting of horse and foot, were drawn up to receive him. On landing, the general was met

met by the pacha's chief secretary and dragoman (interpreter).

After the usual compliments and honours being paid, the guards moved off in front at a slow pace toward his highness's palace, the kettle drums and other music of the Turkish horse playing during the procession, while the heralds proclaimed the approach of the English general.

On coming near the palace, (formerly general Kleber's, and in which he was assassinated) we found the streets lined with the Albanian guards up to the steps of the great staircase. The appearance of the soldiers was more sanguinary than martial, every man, besides his musket and bayonet, being armed with a brace of pistols, a dagger, and a sword.

Having arrived at the palace, the general dismounted; when he was received by the officers of state, and conducted to the chamber of audience. Here the pacha met the general at the door, and received him in the most flattering and distinguished manner. After being served with coffee, sherbet, &c. and the compliments customary on such occasions had passed, as well as a conversation of some length relative to the march of the army across the Desert, in the forwarding of which his highness offered, in the most unreserved manner, every assistance in his power, the general rose to take leave; when the pacha requested his acceptance of a war-horse fully caparisoned, and a sword; adding, they were the gifts of esteem and friendship.

The staff and other officers of the general's suite also received each a sword.

The general was requested by the pacha, as a particular honour, to mount the horse on leaving the palace; which he accordingly did, and was saluted with 19 guns on passing through the great square.

We then returned home in the same manner we came, amidst an immense concourse of people; and, as is usual in most Mussulman countries, were importuned for *buckshees* (money) on all sides.

The saddle and furniture presented to general Baird must be of great value, the former being solid silver gilt, and the latter of crimson velvet studded with stars and crescents of the like metal. The horse was one of the most beautiful animals I ever beheld, and of the finest breed in Turkey. The general's sword was no less costly, the scabbard and mounting being of entire gold, and the blade one of the true Damascus. We afterwards learned that the whole had been sent by the grand seignor to the pacha, on raising him to his present high situation in the empire.

10. From the intelligence brought by the New York papers of the 14th December, it appears that the situation of the French in St. Domingo becomes every day more critical. Indeed very faint hopes can be now entertained of their being able to reduce the negroes to a state of subjection and subordination. The loss which Bonaparte has already sustained of some of his most skilful generals, and of so many thousands of his most gallant and best disciplined troops, is now severely aggravated, by a loss that touches him more nearly, in the death of his brother-in-law, general Le Clerc. General Rochambeau succeeds to the chief command, with which had he been first intrusted, a far different fate might have attended the expedition.

tion. He was inured to the climate, and intimately acquainted with the country; circumstances which, added to the influence which a known disposition for firmness and conciliation must have given him, would have enabled him to overawe the blacks or to gain their confidence. But the expedition, as it was inauspiciously undertaken, so is it likely to end in defeat; and the disgrace and disasters which it has heaped on the mother country will but justly expiate the cruelty and treachery that have so flagrantly marked the treatment which the ill-fated Toussaint has experienced from the first consul.

Marlborough-street.—On Saturday William Hutchinson and Alice his wife, who are charged by their daughter with stealing and murdering a child in the neighbourhood of Chelsea, were brought before Mr. Conant, and underwent another examination.

Several persons attended who had been dispatched by the magistrates to the neighbourhood of Chelsea, to make diligent inquiries respecting a child having been lost; when they all stated, that, after very particular inquiries, they could not learn the least tidings of any such circumstance having taken place.

The girl accounted for the child not being found at the place she described, by asserting she suspected her father had taken it away, as he got up at five o'clock the following morning; but the magistrate did not give credit to this tale, for the man was discharged. The woman was committed to the house of correction for further examination.

The girl told another tale, of her mother having stolen another child in a village on their way from Scotland, and taken it into a barn and stripped it of its clothes. The girl is secured at the workhouse, by order of the magistrate.

Yesterday evening a man went into a pork-shop in Whitecross-street; and having some words with the butcher, the latter stabbed him in the belly, of which wound he died, on being conveyed to St. Bartholomew's hospital.—The murderer is in custody.

MUTINY.

From the following letters our readers will learn with satisfaction, that the mutiny in the Mediterranean was confined to the Gibraltar, the crew of which wished to sail to the westward, to return home. It had scarcely manifested itself, when the activity of the officers, and especially the intrepidity of the marines, succeeded in instantly quelling it; by which behaviour the marines have added to the reputation they have long maintained for loyalty, discipline, and courage—behaviour that has deservedly drawn forth the thanks of the admiral on the station, and which equally calls for the praise and gratitude of the country.

Dragon, Oristagni Bay, Sardinia, Nov. 29, 1802.

As it is very probable that the mutiny, which lately broke out on board his majesty's ship Gibraltar, may occasion much conversation in England, I conceive it my duty, and have taken the liberty, to inform you of the degree of firmness shown by the detachment of marines serving on board that ship, during the whole of that most unfortunate event. I should have observed to you, that the above happened on our passage from the Rock to rejoin the admiral. The

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two ringleaders were seized, tried on board the Dragon, condemned, and executed on board the Gibraltar, about three weeks since. So truly sensible was captain Kelly of the merits of the marines, that, in the clearest manner possible, he pointed out to the court (in his narrative) the dependance he placed in the whole of the detachment: a burst of applause instantly appeared in the court, and the members passed the highest eulogium on their meritorious conduct, which was inserted in the minutes of the court-martial.—The sensations of those present on the occasion are easily imagined, but to describe them would be impossible.

To this I beg to subjoin the admiral's public thanks to captain Johnson, the officers of marines, and the detachment acting under them; which were ordered to be read throughout the fleet on the morning of the execution of the mutineers:

(A Copy.)

Kent, Oristagni Bay, 4th Nov. 1802.

"Whereas it appears in the minutes of the late court-martial on the mutineers of the Gibraltar, that the detachment of marines, serving on board that ship, bore no part in the disgraceful proceeding of the 6th of October last; but, much to the credit of their officers and themselves, maintained the character of the loyal and respectable corps to which they belong, by a steady adherence to their duty,—the rear-admiral takes this public method of expressing his approbation of their good and soldier-like conduct, and requests captain Johnson to accept his thanks.

(Signed) "A. BICKERTON.

"To the respective captains, &c."

His Majesty's Ship Superb, Oristagni Bay, Sardinia, Nov. 28, 1802.

On the 6th of October we received orders to sail (we supposed for Malta), in company with the Dragon, Gibraltar, Triumph, Superb, and Renown. The crew of the Gibraltar expressed a wish to go to the westward, which they followed up with an alarming and unexpected disposition to mutiny; which, however, was soon quelled by the spirited conduct of the officers, assisted by the able, steady, and determined behaviour of the marines: several of the principals are in confinement; two have been tried, and paid the forfeit of their lives.

13. On Monday evening, about seven o'clock, when the wind blew excessively hard, some premises at the back of Mr. Keen's house, facing Paddington church, occupied by Mr. Blofield, an attorney, as a country cottage, were nearly demolished. The premises consisted of a small room and a kitchen, built of wood, having a chimney carried to a great height, to prevent smoke: during the violence of the gust, the chimney was thrown on the roof of the upper room, in which Mrs. Blofield and five of her children were sitting; and the weight of the brick-work brought the whole of the tiles, timber, and rubbish, into the room, and enveloped them in the ruins. One of the children found means to extricate herself, and with great presence of mind thrust her hand through the window, calling loudly for assistance to some men who were working in a shop across the yard: they immediately attended: but it was not without difficulty they could get to the room where the mischief had happened; for the servant being out upon an errand, and the doors all fastened, they were

were obliged to force their way through the kitchen window: they succeeded, however, in relieving the unfortunate sufferers from their perilous situation. One of the children was under the rubbish nearly half an hour; but, when extricated, and a little recovered from her fright, did not appear to have received any material injury.

The Hindostan East-Indiaman sailed a few days ago from Gravesend, and as the weather has been so extremely tempestuous, considerable apprehensions were entertained for her safety. During the whole of yesterday, it was the prevailing opinion that she had put back to the Hope; but last night an express reached the India-house with an account of her loss. We are concerned to state that three midshipmen, Mr. Hatchett, Mr. Hammond, and Mr. Kent, were drowned. Mr. Clerk, a cadet, and about twenty of the seamen, were drowned, killed, or frozen to death. Soon after she got on the bank, she filled with water with the flood; and as the sea made breaks over her, the remaining part of the crew who were saved were obliged to sit on the tops. Boats put off from the shore, and rescued them from their perilous situation; they were about 120 in number. At three o'clock on Wednesday some of the masts and part of the hull were to be seen above water; and it was the opinion of well-informed professional people, that if immediate exertions were made, part of the goods and specie might be saved. The bullion on board was private property, and amounted, we understand, to about 45,000 ounces.

14. We this morning received Paris journals to the 11th inclusive. The intelligence they bring from St. Domingo is of the most interesting nature. The report we had received, through the channel of the American papers, of the death of general Leclerc, is confirmed, and every description of the distracted situation of the colony appears now to be perfectly consistent with the official account which has been transmitted to the French government. Leclerc was taken ill about the end of October, and after languishing in great agony for the intervening days, he expired on the 1st of November. Before his death, he made several arrangements for the government of the colony; the most important of which was the appointment of Rochambeau to be his successor. His body was embalmed, and sent to France in the Swiftsure, which brought these dispatches to Europe. The loss of the general in chief, it is stated in the official accounts, has excited the deepest regret in the island: but this we are to consider as the mere language of men wishing to recommend themselves to the first consul by testimonies of grief for the death of a favourite relation. The army, if the miserable remnant of French troops deserves this name, will have no cause to regret the loss of the talents of Leclerc, supplied as they will be by those far superior powers which Rochambeau is known to possess. The soldiers will fight under his command with the confidence which his great military reputation has secured, and the colonists will anticipate much more likelihood of success in effecting the subjugation of the negroes, from that mixture of conciliation and firmness which is the peculiar attribute of true courage. It was the policy of Leclerc to consider the blacks as a set of monsters who had forfeited every claim to the common offices of

of humanity; who were to be reduced to subjection not by mildness and moderation, but by fire and by sword. Much, however, as might have been expected from the exertions of Rochambeau at a former period, he succeeds to the command at a most inauspicious moment. By the report of Boyer, the general of brigade, it is clear, that during the whole of the summer months the French troops were able to attempt nothing against the blacks, who, on the contrary, were in a state of continual insurrection, and even spreading their ravages in all quarters. The excessive heats rendered it impossible to make any movements; and the brigands, secure in those *mornes* which are inaccessible to European troops, desolated with impunity all the cultivated districts.

The hospitals were filled with the sick; and our readers cannot have a livelier picture of the ravages of disease than that which the official report itself exhibits. Boyer says, "the fever has made the most deplorable ravages; the oldest men have never witnessed a more malignant season." It was nearly the end of October before the French army attempted to make a regular attack on the rebel troops. At this time Leclerc had projected a more systematic plan of operations, but death prevented him from carrying his designs into effect. The intelligence of his death gave the rebels new courage, and they carried on their devastations with greater boldness. To check their inroads, a general engagement became inevitable, and the French general boasts that the blacks were everywhere repulsed and pursued. But what was the consequence of this success? The blacks retired again to their fastnesses, to wait new opportunities of renewing their ravages. It is impossible for the French general, with all his anxiety to describe the situation of affairs as favourably as possible, to conceal its almost hopeless state. The army is reduced to almost nothing by the sword and disease; all the rebel chiefs, who had formerly submitted, have revolted, and joined the insurgents; and the French, with all their exertions, can, at best, only retain their footing in the island till the arrival of new reinforcements from Europe. Rochambeau had not joined the army at the Cape when these accounts were dispatched.

OLD BAILEY.

George Forster was indicted for the wilful murder of his wife, on the 5th day of December, by pushing her into the canal at Paddington, in the water of which she was drowned and suffocated. A second indictment charged him with the murder of his infant child, by the same means. The former indictment alone constituted the subject of investigation.

Mr. Knowles addressed the jury on the part of the prosecution, and stated, that the crime with which the prisoner stood charged, was one no less heinous than frequently difficult of proof. It was a crime generally committed in secrecy, and with every precaution to preclude the testimony of an eye witness. It was, therefore, by a regular series of circumstantial evidence the guilt of the murderer was brought to light. Such evidence was frequently as good as, or indeed better than, positive proof; for it was extremely difficult to fabricate a train of circumstances by several witnesses, though nothing was more easy than for two or three persons

to

to get by heart a story of a direct fact, applying immediately to the party accused. The case which the jury were called upon to determine, was one in which they would, from the consideration of a variety of circumstances, have to say, whether it was possible they could have existed, consistently with the innocence of the prisoner at the bar. The learned counsel proceeded to detail the evidence, which we shall describe in the language of the witnesses, in support of the prosecution.

Jane Hubbard said, she lived in Old Boswell court, Carey-street; the mother of the deceased lodged with her, and had taken her daughter out of the workhouse some time before. The deceased was at her house on Saturday, the 4th of December, and quitted it in the afternoon—she used to go to sleep with her husband on a Saturday. The deceased had had four children: one had died, two were in the workhouse, and the fourth had been destroyed with its mother. The witness never saw the deceased after she quitted her house to go to her husband.

Joseph Bradford said, the prisoner lodged with him. On the 5th of December his wife and child were with him—they all breakfasted together—they left the house about ten o'clock—the witness saw the prisoner again in the evening—his wife and child were not with him—the prisoner made no inquiry after his wife and child—the witness was surprised, on the following Sunday, that she had not come to see the prisoner as heretofore. The prisoner was by business a harness-maker, and he worked as usual.

Mrs. Margaret Bradford, the wife of the preceding witness, stated, that she saw the prisoner's wife on Saturday, the 4th of December; she stayed all night with her husband; they left the house about ten the next morning; they were not on good terms together; the witness saw the body of the child, and knew it well; she had no doubt it was the same child she had seen at her house; the deceased had been out of the workhouse about a month.

Eleanor Winter said, she lived at the Spotted Dog, near the Paddington canal; she saw the prisoner there on the 5th of December with a woman and a child; they came about eleven, and stayed till near one, when they left their house. The Spotted Dog was on the towing side of the river, and the Mitre public house on the other. The prisoner's wife seemed in low spirits; she said she had been there three times to meet a man who owed her husband money, and that she would not come there any more. Witness afterwards saw her body at the Mitre.

John Gough, waiter at the Mitre, recollected the prisoner and his wife and child coming to their house about two o'clock. They stayed till half past four, having in the mean time drunk some rum, and had some porter and bread and cheese. They left the house together about half past four o'clock; neither of them had proposed to have a bed when they went away; they turned to the left to go to London; he saw them at the distance of about 100 yards. On his cross examination, he was positive they had left the Mitre at half past four.

Hannah Patience, the mistress of the Mitre, stated, that she helped them to a quartern of rum just before they went away. This witness corroborated the last respecting neither

neither of them applying for a bed. She denied having asked 2*s.* 6*d.* for a bed. The woman wrapped up the child, and said it was the last time she would ever come there. She did not appear desponding.

Sarah Daniel, servant to a Mr. Fillington, merely spoke to some trifling facts, confirming the testimony of the former witnesses.

Charles Whield said, he worked with the prisoner at Mr. Bushnel's; he met him on Sunday the 5th of December, a little after six o'clock, at his lodgings; he was certain it was not seven. He said nothing of his wife and child. The witness recommended him to live happily with his wife, as he did. The prisoner did not tell him where he had been, nor did the witness ask him. He did not appear as if he had been at all hurried.

John Atkins, a bargeman, said he found the body of the child under the bow of his boat. He dragged for the woman, and found her entangled in a bush; there was at some distance a fence formed of some bushes.

Sir Richard Ford deposed, that he had examined the prisoner several times. Each previous examination was carefully read over to the prisoner two or three times. After the whole had been read over, paragraph by paragraph, the interlineations and corrections were at the prisoner's express request. It contained his confession to the following effect: "My wife and child came to me on Saturday the 4th of December to sleep at my lodging: the next morning, between nine and ten, I went out with them, and we walked to the New Cut at Paddington; we went to the Mitre, where we had some bread and cheese and porter; before that, we stopped at the Spotted Dog, where we had some beefsteaks; we were going to return, but she desired me to walk further on to see two of our children in the workhouse at Barnet; I left her directly after we quitted the house, and made the best of my way to Whetstone, in order to go to Barnet to see my children. When I got there, I found it so dark that I would not go on, but came back; so that I did not inquire for them, but I meant to do it; I came home between seven and eight o'clock; I saw no person as I was going to Whetstone, nor did I stop any where except at the Green Dragon at Highgate, where I got a glass of rum; my wife had a black gown on; she was a little in liquor; before we left the Mitre, I inquired of the mistress of the inn, whether we could have a bed, and she asked me 2*s.* 6*d.* for one, which I thought too much." This confession was signed by the prisoner.

William Gardiner said he had worked at the same shop with the prisoner; and calling at the Bear in Bow-street to see him, he expressed his sorrow at his being in such a situation. He replied, he was as innocent as the child unborn; and if he could get any one to swear he was at the Green Dragon at Highgate, at a particular time, on Sunday the 5th, he should be saved.

Mr. Bushnel, the prisoner's master, stated, that at his request he made inquiry at the Green Dragon.

Elizabeth Southey proved that the prisoner had been at the Green Dragon on some Sunday, but his wife and child were then both with him.

The prisoner, in his defence, did little more than complain of certain inaccura-

inaccuracies in the testimony of the waiter at the Mitre; who was called up again, and insisted upon the accuracy of what he had sworn.

George Hodgson, esq. coroner for the county, stated, that he presided at the inquisition on the body; it had no marks of violence, neither was the child's arm broken, as had been untruly reported.

Sarah Gorin, with whom the prisoner and his wife had lodged, said the prisoner was a tender husband and a good father.

Elizabeth Chisall said, they had lodged with her four years; the prisoner always behaved well; they appeared to be a happy couple. Several other witnesses gave the prisoner a good character.

The lord chief baron summed up the evidence, remarking the contradictions between the prisoner's confession and the facts sworn against him—those were, first, his assertion, that he had requested a bed of the mistress of the Mitre—that fact had been positively disproved—the next was the impossibility of his being in town between six and seven, if he had walked from Paddington to Whetstone and Barnet, and back, a distance of 16 miles—another circumstance extremely important, was the declaration of the deceased, that she had been three times with her husband at Paddington, to meet a man who owed him some money. It would have been desirable, in his defence, if he had stated who that man was, and have brought him forward. With regard to his having been at the Green Dragon at Highgate, it evidently must have been on some other Sunday, from the circumstance of his wife and child having been with him. His lordship, having commented at large upon the whole of the case, left it to the jury to determine, whether the circumstantial evidence which had been adduced left any doubt as to the guilt of the prisoner.

The jury retired a very short time, and returned a verdict of Guilty.

Mr. Shelton, the clerk of the court, said to the prisoner, What have you to say why you should not have judgment to die according to law?

Prisoner—"Nothing, or I certainly should."

The recorder then pronounced sentence of death, and the prisoner was ordered to be executed on Monday, and his body anatomised pursuant to the statute.

17. The Porte has received the intelligence that the army in Egypt under the pacha of Cairo has been completely beaten by the beys. The intelligence from Egypt is of the 20th of November, and has been received by the English ambassador, lord Elgin, and by the Porte. It is as follows:

The Egyptian beys had been surrounded by the Egyptian army. They had made several attacks, but they were always repulsed by the Turks. In the mean time Omar bey, in the beginning of October, had the address to divert the attention of the pacha of Cairo from him, to get his troops passed through his lines, and escape. The pacha considered him in no ways dangerous, as he understood nothing of his intentions. Omar bey, however, strongly reinforced his corps, and returned to the place where the pacha was encamped, while the other beys, who were in concert with Omar, made a vigorous attack. In this moment, Omar attacked the pacha's troops in the rear; and the Turkish army, placed between two fires, was completely

plexly beaten. The beys, following up their advantages, pursued the Turks for several days together, and would have entirely exterminated them, if the commanders of the English and Turkish troops at Alexandria had not sent out detachments to collect the fugitives and prevent the farther progress of the beys.

5. The pacha of Cairo endeavoured to assemble the remains of the defeated army, and to collect reinforcements; but the beys have got the ascendancy too decidedly, and have the complete command of Egypt.

As the season is uncommonly mild, the plague still continues, and several of the ambassadors have retired from Pera to the country.

Grand Cairo, 12th October, 1802. The bashaw who commands the Turkish troops here, is fortifying, with great haste, the palace that Bonaparte occupied in the square called Ezbekier, through fear of the beys, who have made themselves complete masters of Upper Egypt, and of the province of Alfeli. They make incursions as far as the pyramids, and have five times completely defeated the Turkish troops. The English remain at Alexandria with 4000 troops under general Stuart, and there is the greatest discord between them and the Turks, as the latter imagine that the mamelukes are paid and supported by the English. Two commissioners were sent some time ago by the beys, secretly, to treat with the British commander. The Turks have 3000 men at Damietta, 2000 at Rosetta, and 20,000 at this place. All the taxes imposed by the French have been continued by the Turks, but tripled in the amount.

Petersburgh.—In virtue of a convention concluded between our emperor and the pope, the nuncio, who is to be resident here, will enjoy merely the rank of an ambassador of the first class; thus he will exercise no jurisdiction over the catholics, nor pretend to any superintendence over the apostolical functions in any part of the Russian dominions.

18. By letters from Constantinople, intelligence is obtained of the loss of the antiquities, &c. collected by lord Elgin in Greece. The vessel which contained them put into Cerigo bay, in stress of weather, and the pilot letting go the anchor in too deep water, she was driven on the rocks, and sunk in fifteen fathom. An English brig has sailed from Constantinople, in the hope of raising some of the cargo, but with little prospect of success.

19. The late storms have been severely felt on the coast of Scotland. At St. Andrews, the Meanwell, of Scarborough, from Bourdeaux, last from Hull, was on Monday seen off the coast, so near that she could not clear the land; and as it was impossible for her to anchor, there was no alternative for her but to attempt the harbour or run upon the sands.—Flags were hoisted, fires made, and every thing possible done to direct the vessel into the harbour, and a number of people assembled to render every possible assistance. Just as the ship was about entering the harbour, a tremendous sea made her strike, and drove her out of the channel among the breakers and rocks. The life-boat was in readiness; but the storm was so great that the people were afraid to go out in her. However, Mr. Cathcart Dempster, captain Horsburg of the

the 39th, and Mr. David Stewart, master of the Venus, with a gallant crew, readily volunteered their services, and by the most wonderful exertions, in a sea where it appeared almost impossible for any vessel to live, they happily succeeded in saving the whole of the crew.

Johnson, the smuggler, before he quitted this kingdom, after his escape from the Fleet prison, sailed in his own cutter, the Ann, from Hove to Bexhill, in the county of Sussex, where he landed, and remained some hours before he returned to his vessel; and this he had not long done, before the circumstance was communicated to a captain of a revenue cutter lying off in the road, who in consequence pursued and boarded the Ann, but without finding Johnson, who, it is not now doubted, on seeing his cutter chased, went aloft, shrouded himself in the rigging, and thereby experienced another hair-breadth escape.

Limerick, Jan. 8.—Last week, Michael Marshal Apjohn, esq. and captain Richard Lloyd, having received private intimation of a large quantity of iron being brought into the village of Pallis-green, in this county, they went in the dead of the night of the 4th instant to the forge of one Barkly, in said village, and observing five persons therein, broke in at the front-door, but were only able to secure Thomas Tierney, the other four men having escaped: in the forge was found a number of unfinished pikes, quite hot. Tierney was on Wednesday evening brought in, adorned with some of those murdering weapons, and fully committed to the county gaol, by captain Lloyd.

For some days past, various letters were received, and intelligence given, that a rising of disaffected persons would take place in this and a neighbouring county. On Thursday last, such intelligence was received, as rendered it the duty of those intrusted with the civil and military power to take every precaution to prevent this city from being surprised by desperate rebels; in consequence of which, crowds of loyal inhabitants, with the right worshipful mayor and sheriffs, resorted to the exchange, and remained there under arms. The non-commissioned officers of the city of Limerick regiment, under the immediate command of colonel Vereker; those of the county of Limerick regiment, under such of their officers as were in town; and the several corps of infantry yeomen, continued patroling the city and suburbs all night; while the garrison, consisting of part of the 17th and 56th regiments, and a squadron of the 9th light dragoons, stationed at their respective posts, waited impatiently for the entry of the rebels, who very prudently declined the hazardous enterprise: had they entered, they would have met such a reception as should convince rebels, that the loyal city of Limerick, of all other places, is that where traitors will not meet with assistance.

On the above night, so early as seven o'clock, a party of about fifty men, whom we hesitate not to pronounce rebels, attacked the house of lieutenant-colonel Bourchier, late of the royal Irish artillery, at Kilsrush, near the hospital, barony of Small County, county of Limerick, and within fourteen miles of this city. On breaking into the house, the first person they met to oppose them, was a faithful servant whom the colonel brought with him from the regiment; this man

man they cut and hacked with swords in a barbarous manner: most fortunately the colonel was on this night in Limerick, and it appeared that he and his servant were their intended victims. Providence directed that lieutenant M'Mahon, of the queen's German rangers, on that evening called and remained at colonel Bourchier's house; and owing to his spirited conduct, Mrs. Bourchier and her children were protected from the brutal rage of those rebels. After entirely destroying the furniture of the house, windows, &c. taking all the fire-arms with them, they broke open the stables, took thereout the colonel's six horses, three of which were found at six o'clock next morning, on the road, by lieutenant M'Mahon, on his venturing out to apprise James Gubbins, esq. a neighbouring magistrate, who, with his son, Joseph Gubbins, esq. instantaneously afforded him every assistance; but we are sorry to add, that none of the rebels, as yet, have been apprehended. The faithful servant (whose name we do not wish to mention, he having a wife in a distant part, to whom this may be the first intimation) lies in this city in a most dangerous state, attended by surgeons of the first eminence.

OLD BAILEY.

John Scruton and Robert Cooper were indicted for stealing a gold medallion, and other articles, the property of Mrs. Jordan, the celebrated actress.

It appeared, that on the 1st of last December Mrs. Jordan attended the theatre, and her carriage was waiting to convey her home. The servants had left the door open, and the property, consisting of a theatrical dress and a gold medallion, was made up in a bundle and placed in the carriage: while the footman was looking another way, one of the prisoners found means to carry off the bundle, by getting in undiscovered at the door left open, and letting himself out on the opposite side. Mrs. Jordan, on seating herself in the carriage, missed the property, and immediately directed her attendants to make the robbery known. Both the offenders were shortly after taken into custody.

The fact being clearly proved, the prisoners were found Guilty, and sentenced to seven years transportation.

On the evening of last Thursday se'nnight, a man went to an inn at Chichester, and ordered supper, but, whilst it was preparing, introduced himself to the soldiers of the 10th light dragoons, quartered in the house, and of them he learned which was their best horse; and, having obtained that information, retired from his military friends to sup, about nine o'clock: after regaling himself plentifully, and having previously stolen a pair of regimental pistols in the soldiers' room, he unobservedly went into the stable, mounted the horse he had fixed on, and rode off.

STATE TRIAL.

The special commission for the trial of colonel Despard and others was yesterday opened at the Sessions-house, Horsemonger-lane. The judges named in the commission were lord Ellenborough, Mr. justice Chambre, Mr. justice Le Blanc, and Mr. Baron Thomson.

Names of the Grand Jury.

George lord Leslie,
Viscount Cranley,
Lord William Russel,

John lord Teignmouth,
Hon. Chapel Norton,
Sir Mark Parsons, bart.
Sir John Frederick, bart.
Sir George Glynn, bart.
Sir Thomas Turton,
Sir Robert Burnet,
R. Hankey, esq.
James Trotter, esq.
John Alcock, esq.
J. Pooley Kensington, esq.
James Bradley, esq.
Henry Thornton, esq.
H. Peters, esq.
T. Page, esq.
John Whitmore, esq.
T. Langley, esq.
W. Borrowdale, esq.
T. Gateskill, esq.
R. Wyatt, esq.
John Webb Weston, esq.

At half past eleven the court met, and the grand jury having been sworn, the lord chief baron addressed them to this effect: His lordship observed, they were assembled under the authority of his majesty's commission, issued for the trial of certain persons charged with all or some of the offences specified in it. It contained charges of high treason and misprision of treason, with offences against the statute of 36 Geo. III. passed for the safety and preservation of his majesty's person and government against treasonable practices; against another statute passed in the 37th year of the present king, for the better prevention of attempts to seduce persons serving in his majesty's forces by sea or land; and against another statute passed in the same year, for more effectually preventing the administering of oaths. The species of offence most malignant in its nature, most destructive to the security of the realm, and most subversive of those principles on which society was founded, had been placed by the law in the highest class of crimes; by this he desired to be understood to mean, the crime of high treason against the authority of the king. Another offence, of the same nature, immediately subject to their cognisance, and against which the statute 37 Geo. III. was directed, was an offence second only in magnitude to the crime of high treason, and of which, in some cases, it formed a very material part; he meant the crime of seducing persons serving in his majesty's forces, by sea and land, from their duty and allegiance. The law of this land, from the earliest period, had, with due anxiety to the importance of the object in view, watched with a cautious eye over the life and safety of the sovereign. Circumstances not necessary to be referred to, had of late increased that anxiety. The law considered the mischievous workings of the imagination, and the malignant feelings of the heart, when directed towards the destruction of the life of his majesty, as criminal as the perpetration of the atrocious deed by which his sacred person might be endangered. To ascertain and investigate such a purpose in his mind, and the acts done to carry it into execution, which the law denominated overt acts of high treason, had been at different periods the most important part of the functions which juries were called upon to exercise. What should be deemed sufficient overt acts of compassing the death of the king, in other words, what acts should amount to evidence of such a purpose, had frequently been the subject of dispute; but long before the passing the last statute of 36 Geo. III. it had been settled by the most able authorities,

thorities, that measures adopted for deposing the king of his royal state, and attempts against his royal person, either for attacking, obtaining possession of, or imprisoning it, were impressed with the stamp and denomination of the crime of high treason, and were entitled to be received as the most cogent and unequivocal evidence to prove it. Authorities had also settled, that any consultation or meeting to carry such crime into effect, though nothing should be done, and though the whole scheme and plan should be abortive; and further, that any consent or approbation to such consultation or meetings, were all equally overt acts of that species of high treason which consists in the compassing or imagining the death of the king. But all pretence for doubt upon a subject on which it was so important there should not exist the slightest doubt whatever, had been obviated by the prudent and wise provisions of the 36th of his present majesty, which enacted, that if any person should compass, imagine, or devise the death or destruction of the king, or commit any act tending to his death or destruction, maim or bodily harm, or should levy war against him, for the purpose of restraining or imprisoning his person, or compelling him to appoint other counsels, should be adjudged a traitor, and should suffer death. To compass, therefore, or imagine the imprisonment or restraint of the king, was now expressed in a clear and positive statute as an act of treason, exactly as it stood under the letter of the 25th Edw. III. The same might be said of all the other treasons which were specifically connected with the statute of the 26th Geo. He only selected the offence of compassing and devising the death of the king, because it was possible that the attention of the jury would be more particularly called to the consideration of it. He had already stated that such acts as indicated an intention to commit the crime he had alluded to, were properly overt acts of high treason. And all overt acts were required by the 7th W. III, c. 3. to be named in the indictment, in order that the party accused might know how he ought to shape his defence; but the numerous particulars into which such a charge might branch, need not be detailed and spread on the record. It was enough that the nature of the overt acts should be specified with convenient certainty; and when this was done, the many other circumstances with which they were connected need not be further stated. The other matters might be so many parts or appendages of what had been formally set out, and might be considered as virtually included in it. He had said thus much in the hope of affording the jury some assistance, which might enable them to understand the meaning of the form of the indictment laid before them, couched, as of course it was, in the technical language of the law, and that they might compare it with the proof which would be adduced in support of it. He would state what proof the law required: in the first place, the law required that the crime should be tried by a jury of the county in which a part or the whole of the overt acts were committed. Compassing the king's death, or levying war, must be proved by one witness to have been committed in the county where the trial was to be had. A meeting must be proved by one witness to have been held within the county,

or some other act to have been committed of a similar tendency. This was necessary, to invest the jury with a legal power to investigate the facts; but when this had been done, any other act committed, whether within or without the county, might be received as evidence without any objection; he meant as far as respected the locality of the evidence. The law also required on the trial, by the grand as well as the other jury, that the overt acts should be proved by the oaths of two witnesses, though one was sufficient to each particular fact. If, however, the overt act implied had any direct attempt, whereby the life of his majesty was attacked, or bodily harm threatened him, in that case, by the 39th and 40th of his present majesty, the party might be tried in like manner as if he had been tried for murder. He was not aware that any such direct attempt would form the subject of their inquiry under the present commission. It was unnecessary for him to suggest any thing further as to the form of the indictment, or the number of witnesses by which it was necessary to be supported. He would however trespass on their attention while he adverted to another subject—he meant as to the probable effect of those acts about to be laid before the jury. It was the nature of the minds of men who were busily occupied in the contemplation of offences injurious to the interests of society, to entertain a confident persuasion that the sentiments of others were congenial to their own; and this persuasion too frequently induced them to pursue their machinations. It engendered in the hearts of guilty men, that degree of rashness in their overtures to those they wished to associate with them, which, fortunately for the public generally was attended with the discovery of the whole scheme they were engaged in; but the greatest and most important part of the disclosure, and which alone could develope the secret springs of their actions, could only be detailed by those to whom the facts were disclosed, who had participated in the counsels of the conspirators who had engaged in the same designs. The evidence of accomplices, although competent was at all times to be received and acted upon with jealousy and caution; and unless the evidence derived from such a source was of a nature which carried complete conviction of its truth, it ought not to constitute the ground of a conclusion which should affect the lives, fortunes, or honour of the persons under accusation. In weighing therefore the evidence of accomplices, the jury would expect to find such a degree of consistency in their testimony, such a general conformity in the relations of the several witnesses, such a coincidence with the main rules of ordinary probability, as to render the sum and substance of such details credible and worthy of being relied on. If the evidence should be of the nature he had described, the jury would give it that credit to which they should consider it entitled. They would of course bear in mind, that it was by no other jury the guilt or innocence of the persons accused was to be established on the present occasion; it was necessary that a reasonable and probable ground should be made out to warrant the grand jury in putting the parties accused upon their trial before that other jury, which upon a full hearing of the case

and

and the evidence on both sides, might be able to pronounce a verdict of condemnation or acquittal. If such testimony should be brought before them as he had described, it was their duty to submit it to the ulterior investigation of another jury; at present it was only necessary to add, that to refuse its proper degree of credit to the sort of testimony he had alluded to, would be to render the crime the means of its own protection. The adoption of a principle of distrust to the evidence of accomplices, would be to violate common sense and the rules of justice. He should forbear detailing to the jury the particulars of the offences charged against the prisoners; by so doing, he should avoid exciting the slightest degree of prejudice against them; and the ends of justice would be attained with equal certainty. If the jury should consider that the present conspiracy was as hopeless and ill advised, and had as little chance of success as other abortive treasons, they would only on that account require stronger evidence in proof of an act of such extreme folly and wickedness; but if it should be made out to their satisfaction, their doubt and diffidence would be succeeded by other sentiments—by sentiments of surprise and horror—surprise at the boldness of such a scheme, and horror at the tremendous consequences which must have attended its success. Considering, said his lordship, to whom he was addressing himself, he feared he had occupied too long a portion of their time. He had endeavoured to state as much of the nature of the indictment, the proof which would be brought forward in support of it, and the nature and quality of that proof, as would enable the jury to estimate its value, and to draw such a conclusion as reason and justice required. They would now proceed, in discharge of their duty, to the investigation of a subject, which as deeply affected the interests of the country, as the lives and fame of the parties under accusation. He had no doubt but the result would be as satisfactory to the public, as it would be just towards those persons who were the objects of the duty they had to perform.

The lord chief justice having concluded his address, the grand jury immediately withdrew with the bills of indictment.

The names of those against whom true bills were found, were as follow: Edward Marcus Despard, Thomas Broughton, James Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, Samuel Smith, John M'Namara, John Wood, John Francis, Thomas Brown, Daniel Tyndall, John Doyle, and Thomas Phillips alias Jackson.

22. The commissioners of naval inquiry have commenced their sittings in Great George-street, Westminster, at the house formerly occupied by the chancellor of the Irish exchequer.

The Moniteur of the 19th contains a decree of the consuls of the republic, for establishing a commissary general and council in the island of Elba, and the adjacent islands of Capraia, Pianosa, Palmaiola, and Monte Christo depending on it; and for regulating the administration of these islands.

26. On Saturday night last, a cool, deliberate, and horrid murder was perpetrated in Greenwich hospital, upon one of the pensioners by another; the circumstances of

which as nearly as we could collect were as follow:—The perpetrator, who had been some years a pensioner, was of a disposition so violent and quarrelsome as to render himself very obnoxious to his associates, and became so extremely troublesome in this respect, at the public-houses in the town, to which he was in the habit of resorting, that for a considerable time past none of them would admit or entertain him. About a month since, he had been guilty of some gross breach of duty within the college, for which he was brought before the board of commissioners, upon the charge of a fellow pensioner, who acted in the capacity of boatswain; and the fact being substantiated, he was mulcted of two months pocket money, and severely reprimanded, but without any further disgrace.

This however was sufficient to exasperate him to vengeance against his accuser, and another, his birth-mate, who had corroborated his testimony, and on Saturday night he determined to carry his purpose into execution: he went in the dead hour of night into the cabin or apartment of the deceased, who was alone and wrapt in sleep, and with a large poker, at a single blow, literally beat out his brains, and killed him so instantaneously that he never uttered a single groan. Fortunately for his bed-fellow, to whom a similar fate was intended, he had obtained permission to sleep out of the hospital that night with his family.

The murderer then went into the next birth, where an aged pensioner was in bed, and minutely examined whether he was asleep, lest he might have heard any thing of what had just passed. The man, who heard the blow, and expected every moment a similar fate, lay still as if fast asleep; but on the murderer having left him, and retired to his own cabin, the man immediately got up, and alarmed the guard, a party of whom directly came to the place and secured the murderer, after a desperate resistance.

Monday morning the coroner's jury returned their verdict of wilful murder on the body of the deceased, and the perpetrator was committed to Maidstone gaol; but, so far was he from evincing any signs of remorse for the deed, that he only declared his regret at not having the opportunity of killing the other man, who had so fortunately eluded his desperate purpose.

The accounts from St. Domingo by the Jamaica mail present the most afflicting picture of the miseries of that fine colony. It is impossible for the French government now to conceal the disastrous and almost desperate state of their cause. One of the most numerous and one of the best appointed armies that ever sailed from the ports of Europe, is now reduced to a few thousands, and the wretched remains of the French troops are daily falling a prey to the diseases of the climate.

On Sunday evening a boy was found concealed in the gallery of Trinity chapel, Conduit-street, where he had collected a considerable number of the prayer-books belonging to the congregation, for the purpose of carrying them away. He accidentally let fall one of the books, the noise of which alarmed some persons in a room underneath, and led to his discovery; a turn-screw and other implements to facilitate his escape were found upon him. He was fully committed from the police-office, Marlborough-street.

street, on Monday, to take his trial.

27. Glasgow college was attacked on the night of the 24th inst. by a riotous mob, which demolished many of the front windows.

Gibraltar, Dec. 30.—I wrote you three days ago, informing you of the alarm we had here from the riotous conduct of two of our regiments. I ought to have informed you that about half of the second battalion of the royals, being composed of Irish and of drafts from other corps, which are, as all your military readers know, invariably the worst men, it did not excite much surprise that they had indulged themselves to excess when they had got possession of money; but the wonder was how they had been able, after the regulations that had been judiciously adopted here, to get liquor in such quantity. This however has been ascertained on the trial of eight of the rioters of the 25th regiment, which closed yesterday.

From the evidence, it appeared clearly that the riot had not resulted from any premeditated plan, or a disaffection to any of their officers, but was merely the result of drunkenness. It came out however that some Dutchmen, of whom there are about seventy in the regiment, and who are discontented at not having been discharged at the end of the war, were the chief instigators to the riot, and would have spurred on the other soldiers to some mischief, if they had been able. But the most important fact brought out, was the way in which the men got so large a supply of liquor.

When his royal highness the duke of Kent arrived here as commander, he found that the soldiers could obtain liquor with so much facility, that they were absolutely thereby deprived of many of the real comforts, which otherwise would be within their reach. This evil had arisen to an alarming height, and its source was traced to the great number, and the bad character of many of the wine-houses. The most worthless were therefore suppressed; and it was to be hoped, from the regulations adopted, that the evil would soon be cured; and indeed the good effects of this wise measure were in a short time manifest in the conduct and discipline of the garrison.

On the present trial, it came out that the wine-sellers, whose houses had been suppressed, had gratuitously supplied many of the men of the 25th regiment with buckets of wine in as great quantity as they could drink, to induce them to cry out for the wine-houses being open again, in the hope, probably, that could the men be by this means enfuriated, they might create such an alarm as might surprise the commander into a promise of this kind, as the means of restoring quiet. In this their hopes have been frustrated, and some of them will have cause to repent of the experiment they have made. Three of them, to whom the charge has been brought home, are now in prison for the offence, and will be prosecuted with proper severity as soon as the trial of the soldiers is ended. The sentence of the eight soldiers who have been tried, will not be known till the trial of the other five, which is now going on, shall be over.

January 3. To-morrow three of the ringleaders belonging to the 25th regiment are to be shot on the grand parade, in presence of the whole garrison, at eight o'clock. Their names are Pastoret, Teighman,

man, and Reilly—the two former are Dutch, and the last an Irishman. It appears clearly that the whole of the late mischief and disturbances, both in the royals and 25th regiment, originated solely in the foreigners and drafts, none of the old soldiers having been at all accessary to the business.

FEBRUARY.

2. This night, a little before 12 o'clock, an alarming fire broke out at the printing-office of Mr. Samuel Hamilton, Falcon-court, Fleet-street, which, in the short space of two hours, entirely consumed the whole of his valuable and extensive premises. A fire at a printing-office is at all times interesting to literary men; and under the circumstances in which Mr. Hamilton was placed, as proprietor of an eminent literary journal (the CRITICAL REVIEW) which, for the last half century, has been equally distinguished for its learning and impartiality, it becomes more particularly so to every scholar and friend of polite literature. The principal booksellers of London, together with several private gentlemen, are more or less sufferers by this dreadful conflagration. The loss being thus fortunately divided among a number little short of thirty, each is enabled to bear it without any other inconvenience than the interruption of business necessarily arising from so unforeseen an accident. The manuscripts of the most important works are saved; those of the CRITICAL REVIEW, and of the Lady's Magazine, were with the respective editors. As it was some time before water could be procured to play with effect on the flames, the greatest alarm pervaded the neighbourhood, the inhabitants of which were too busily employed in preparing for the same dreadful scene, to afford any effectual assistance in removing Mr. Hamilton's property: the whole, therefore, that could be removed, was not deemed secure till it was on the other side of Fleet-street. Dr. Rutnell, the master of the Temple, in great alarm for his house, which was in imminent danger, the roof being at one time on fire, removed all his library, and lost many valuable books. Many of the neighbours' houses were also severally on fire; and but for the active exertions of the firemen, must have shared the same fate. The weight, however, that was in the upper part of Mr. Hamilton's premises, assisted considerably to prevent this conflagration from spreading, as in a little more than an hour from the commencement of the fire, the top fell in with a dreadful crash, by which means the flames were in a great measure confined to the ruins. Happily no lives were lost. Mr. Hamilton's loss, from the nature of the property (printed books), is particularly severe; and we are sorry to add, he was not fully insured. It is supposed to have arisen from the carelessness of a boy, who, in consequence, was taken before a magistrate, and underwent an examination; but nothing transpired so as to fix the negligence upon him: the cause is therefore still left in uncertainty. One circumstance relative to this calamity deserves to be recorded. A part of the works of the late learned and much respected rev. Gilbert Wakefield remained at Mr. Hamilton's warehouses, and had been insured at the Sun fire-office, for *one thousand* pounds, but which

which insurance had lately expired. With a liberality for which our country is so distinguished, the directors have, upon a statement being laid before them, by a very active friend of his widow, presented her with seven hundred and fifty pounds. A circumstance so much to the honour of the company, will, we doubt not, be amply repaid by the continued patronage of the public. The fire burst forth again in the morning of the 18th, but in the course of an hour was happily extinguished *.

TRIALS FOR HIGH TREASON.

5. The judges named in the special commission met at the Surrey sessions-house, Horsemonger-lane. The following prisoners were put to the bar:

Edward Marcus Despard, John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Philips, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, John Doyle, James Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham.

None of the prisoners, except colonel Despard, having had counsel assigned to them, they prayed that privilege; which was immediately granted them; when they nominated Mr. Jekyll and Mr. Howell.

The indictment was then read to the prisoners, who severally pleaded Not Guilty; and the clerk of the arraigns hoped God would send them a good deliverance. The first count was supported by eight charges of overt acts of treason, accusing the prisoners with compassing, imagining, and conspiring the death of the king.

The attorney general remarked upon the extreme impropriety of publishing any part of the proceedings until the whole of the trials were gone through. As the prisoners were to be tried separately, he wished it to be distinctly understood, that the publication of any one of them before they were all concluded, would be prosecuted, not only as a contempt of court, but as an offence at common law. He observed, that it was necessary to the due administration of justice, the jury should neither hear nor read any thing that could by the least degree of possibility excite a prejudice against the prisoners. Upon this principle, he trusted there would be no publications either of the indictment, the overt acts of treason it enumerated, or any part of the evidence.

Lord Ellenborough said he was persuaded the court would have no occasion to exercise its censure, after the notice of the attorney general.

7. This morning about nine o'clock, col. E. M. Despard was brought into court. When the names of the persons summoned for the jury were called over, col. Despard wished to speak, in order to abolish any unfavourable impressions that might have arisen against him from certain pamphlets; but he was however prevented by the judge, who said the time was not proper for his remarks.

The following respectable gentlemen were then chosen as the Jury:

G. Allen, W. Dent, W. Davison, G. Copland, W. Cookson, J. Farmer, J. Collinson, J. Webber, C. Handiside, J. Haymer, P. Dobree, and J. Field.

The attorney and solicitor general, the common serjeant, and

* It may not be improper to mention, that Mr. Hamilton has built very extensive premises in Shoe-lane, Fleet-street, where he carries on the printing business as usual. *Editor.*

Messrs.

Messrs. Shepherd, Garrow, Plomer, and Abbot, attended for the crown; and Mr. serjeant Best and Mr. Gurney for the prisoner.

The attorney general, on addressing the jury, began by enforcing the necessity of a patient attention to his statement, and a due consideration of the evidence. No one would deny, that if there has been a plot to overturn the constitution and destroy our sovereign, the base conspirator should suffer his merited punishment; but the nature of the charge should not operate to his disadvantage; that grand principle of our law ought rather to be confirmed, "that every man should be considered innocent till he is found guilty." He adverted to the nature of the crime of treason, and expressed his expectation, that if the charge were substantiated, the jury would pronounce the prisoner *guilty* without the least hesitation; and after many remarks to show that there was not the least ground for suspecting the prosecution to have been brought forward from any party motive or prejudice on the side of government, he concluded with observing, that from the clearness of the evidence the trial could not be long. He then proceeded to state the counts in the indictment, which were three in number, and charged the acts to have been done with the intention of compassing the death of the king, imprisoning his person, and dethroning him. To prove a criminal intention, an overt act is necessary, and in this indictment eight overt acts were stated, which were divided into two classes: the four first charge the seduction of his majesty's troops, for the purpose of assassinating and imprisoning him; and the remainder, plans for the accomplishing of these purposes. After fully stating the law respecting treason and conspiracy, the attorney general read over the names of the persons included in the indictment, and observed that ten of them, besides the prisoner, were apprehended at the Oakley Arms on the 16th of November. It appeared that in the last spring a detachment of guards returned from Chatham; and shortly after a conspiracy was formed for overturning the government; a society was established for the extension of liberty, of which two men, named Francis and Wood, were very active members; they frequently attempted to seduce soldiers into the association, and sometimes with success. Francis administered unlawful oaths to those that yielded, and among others to two named Blaine and Windsor, giving them two or three copies of the oath, that they might be enabled to make proselytes in their turn. Windsor soon after becoming dissatisfied, gave information of the conspiracy to a Mr. Bonus, and showed him a copy of the oath. This gentleman advised him to continue a member of the association, that he might learn whether there were any persons of consequence engaged in it. The prisoner at the bar tendered this oath; it was found in the possession of Broughton, Smith, and others. It is printed on the cards in these words:

"Constitutional independence of Great Britain and Ireland! Equalization and extension of rights! An ample provision for the families of those heroes who fall in the contest! A liberal reward to all who exert themselves in the cause of the people! These are the objects for which we unite; and we swear never to separate until we have obtained them!" The form of the oath is—"In the awful presence of Almighty God, I A. B. voluntarily declare,

declare, that I will exert myself to the utmost to recover those rights which the Supreme Being has conferred upon his creatures; and that neither fear, hope, nor reward, shall prevail upon me to divulge the secrets of the society, or to give evidence against a member of this or any other society of a similar kind. So help me God!"

The attorney general then commented on different passages contained in this oath, and endeavoured to show that it would bear only a treasonable interpretation. Proceeding in his statement, he observed, that about the middle of summer they began to think it might be dangerous for them always to meet at the same place. To avoid suspicion, they therefore went to various public houses: in Windmill-street, Oxford-street, St. Giles's, Hatton-Garden, Whitechapel, in the Borough, about the Tower, and to the Oakley Arms in Lambeth. To these meetings they invited soldiers, and treated them: toasts were given to answer the objects of the association, such as "The cause of liberty.—Extension of rights.—The model of France, &c." They now increased greatly in audacity, and were betrayed by their confidence into the greatest extravagancies; some of them proposed a day for attacking the Tower, and the great blow was to have been struck on the 16th of November, the day on which the king first intended to go to parliament. On the Friday preceding, a meeting took place; when Broughton prevailed upon two of the members to go to the Flying Horse, Newington, where they would meet a *nice man*, who proved to be col. Despard. The mode in which the Tower was watched and guarded was inquired into, and difficulties of intercepting the king were considered, when Broughton suggested the idea of shooting the horses, as the coach would thus be stopped. "But," said another, "would not the life guards cut us down? Then the prisoner exclaimed, "If no one else will do it, I myself will:" adding, with much solemnity—"I have well weighed the matter, and my heart is callous."

The attorney general then observed, that government was well aware of the proceedings of these people, but would not interfere while danger was at a distance: however, when the schemes were nearly completed, about 80 prisoners were arrested at the Oakley Arms, and a sufficient body of evidence collected to prove them guilty. The conspirators consisted of the lowest order of the people, as journeymen, day-labourers, and common soldiers, with the exception, however, of the prisoner at the bar. Several were discharged, and Windsor, the evidence, came after the arrest, and offered to deliver himself up and communicate all information in his power: on his testimony, several others were taken into custody.

These were the principal points in the speech of the attorney general; but he continued for some time to expatiate on the probable system of defence for the prisoners, which he conceived would be principally an attack on the credibility of the witnesses: he contended that an accomplice is *competent*; observed that there could not be a doubt of the guilt of some of the prisoners; and that the papers were sufficient to prove the conspiracy, independent of oral testimony.

He then concluded with observing to the jury, that if they permitted their inclination to mercy to exceed

exceed the limits of reason, they will do what the prisoner had no right to expect, and what he, as attorney general, would solemnly protest against on the part of the public. He then proceeded to call the witnesses for the prosecution.

Mr. J. Stafford, clerk to the magistrates of Union Hall, stated the arrest of the prisoners. Colonel Despard at first refused to be searched, but afterwards submitted, though nothing was found on him. There were three papers on the floor, which proved to be the oath, &c. already mentioned. Several police officers proved the presence of colonel Despard at the Oakley Arms.

T. Windsor, the principal evidence, said, he was a private in the guards; and that on his return from Chatham, in March, he received some papers from J. Francis, which were similar to those already mentioned: Francis told him the object of the party was to overturn the present tyrannical system of government. The manner of taking the oath was by reading it secretly, and then kissing the card. One object of the members was to raise subscriptions for delegates to go into the country, and to pay for affidavits. The society was divided into companies of ten men, commanded by another, who bore the title of colonel: Francis, and a person named Macnamara, called themselves colonels. Encouragements were given to get a number of recruits, for which purpose cards were to be distributed through the country: afterwards the witness was introduced by Broughton to colonel Despard at Newington, when in the course of conversation the colonel said, that a regular organisation in the country was necessary, and he believed it was general. The people were every where ripe, and were anxious for the moment of the attack; "and," added he, "I believe this to be the moment; particularly in Leeds, Sheffield, Birmingham, and every great town throughout the kingdom. I have walked twenty miles to-day, and wherever I have been, the people are ripe." Colonel Despard then said, that the attack was to be made on the day when the king would go to parliament. He then repeated the words used by the colonel respecting the callousness of his heart; and stated that, after the destruction of the king, it was proposed that the mail-coaches should be stopped, as a signal to the people in the country that the revolt had taken place in London. The colonel was cautious as to the admission of new members. At another meeting, the colonel, accompanied by Heron, a discharged soldier, and another person, observed—"We have been deceived as to the number of arms in the Bank; there are only six hundred stand there, and they have taken the hammers out to render them useless, as they must have been apprised of our intention." They then returned to a public-house, when the colonel said privately to the witness—"Windsor, the king must be put to death the day he goes to the house, and then the people will be at liberty." He said, he would himself make the attack upon his majesty, if he could get no assistance on that (meaning the Middlesex) side of the water. The prisoner Wood said, that when the king was going to the house he would post himself as sentry over the great gun in the Park; that he would load it, and fire at his majesty's coach as he passed through the Park.

Park. Wood might, in the course of his duty, be sometimes placed as a sentry over that gun.

Mr. Bonus proved the copy of the constitution and oath given to him by Windsor.

T. Blaise, a private in the 2d battalion of guards, deposed, that Wood had told him of the union of several gentlemen who had determined to form an independent constitution at the risk of their lives and fortunes: he said, the executive government had appointed Francis to be colonel of the first regiment of national guards. Macnamara called upon F. to point out three colonels, and one artillery officer; and charged him to do it with the utmost impartiality. Francis then pointed out him (the witness) as a proper man for a colonel. The commissions were to be distributed previous to the attack, when one of the persons, named Pendril, observed, that if it had not been for four or five cowards, it would have taken place before that day; adding, that he himself could bring 1000 men into the field; and if any man showed symptoms of cowardice, he would blow his brains out: if any body dared to betray the secret, that man, he said, should have a dagger in his breast. The witness then deposed to meeting with colonel Despard at the Oakley Arms, on which occasion he heard much conversation about the best method of attacking the king: some said, the Parliament-house must also be attacked, and after that they must file away for the Tower. This witness, on his cross-examination, admitted that he had been three times tried by a court-martial for desertion, and accused of theft.

W. Francis, a private in the 1st guards, deposed nearly to the same effect as the preceding witness, as to the nature of the oath, which was read to him, because he could not read himself: he said, at one time there was an assemblage of people near the Tower, but they were immediately dispersed by orders from colonel Despard; but he admitted that the oath was administered to him by the colonel himself; at one meeting, the soldiers drew their bayonets, and said they were ready to die in the cause. On his cross-examination, he denied that he had ever been flogged, or had deserted.

J. Connel, who had been arrested at the Oakley Arms, and admitted evidence, denied that his name was John, and insisted that it was *Pat*: he afterwards admitted that he was advised by the prisoner to play this trick on the counsel. He was dismissed.

Several other soldiers in the guards gave evidence as to the meeting of societies for overturning the government, under the name of "*Free and easy*," which met at different public-houses.

J. Emblin, a watch-maker, and a witness who appeared to be of a superior understanding, deposed, that he attended at the Oakley Arms on the suggestion of Lander, but disapproved of the plans. He also agreed in stating the plan of attack already mentioned, which was explained to him by Broughton, Graham, and others. Colonel Despard informed him that a very considerable force would come forward, particularly in all the great towns; and said that he had been engaged in this business for two years; and added—"I have travelled twenty miles to-day: every where I have been, the people are ripe, and anxious for the moment of attack." This witness deposed to the plan for shooting the horses, as well as to the

the remarkable expression of the colonel before mentioned; also to a conversation about seizing the Bank, when it was agreed that the Bank should be seized, and the Tower taken. Various subordinate plans were also detailed by the witness; amongst others, Broughton told him, that it was resolved to load the great gun in the Park with four balls or chain-shots, and fire it at the king's coach as he returned from the house; and he would be d—d if it would not send him to hell.

Here the evidence for the crown was closed.

Serjeant Best then addressed the jury on behalf of the prisoner, and endeavoured to show that, from the nature and spirit of our constitution, a person in his situation is entitled to peculiar favour. From the 36th of the present king, on which the indictment was partly founded, he insisted that it is not by testimony alone, or words spoken, that an accused person is to be found guilty, because a speech is subject to such serious misinterpretation: he laboured to show that words did not constitute an overt-act; yet he admitted that the colonel was at some of the meetings, and that he might have spoken obnoxious words; but before he could be convicted, it was necessary to prove that he knew the meeting was of a treasonable nature. He denied that the printed card or paper was at all connected with the colonel, and cited the case of Layer and others, to prove that the crown did not content themselves with such trivial proof as was here adduced; and laid much stress on the circumstance of no arms having been prepared for the attack. His next object was to impeach the credibility of the witnesses, the concurrent testimony of which was, in the present instance, of no more force than one. The great improbability of the story was his next point of argument; and he ridiculed the idea of fourteen or fifteen men in a common tap-room, with no fire-arms but their tobacco-pipes, men of the lowest orders of society, who were to seize the king, the Bank, the Tower, and the members of both houses of parliament: in short, he considered the whole statement of the witnesses as too absurd to merit attention; and that colonel Despard, who was a gentleman and a soldier, could not have embarked in such impracticable schemes unless he was bereft of reason. He then alluded to the past services of the colonel, who, in a joint command with lord Nelson, had preserved one of our valuable colonies: it was known that the colonel had been suspected by government; but though he had long been confined, there was not sufficient evidence against him to go before a grand jury. He proceeded to comment on the character of the witnesses, and concluded in the words of the attorney general, that an improbable charge should be supported by conclusive evidence.

Lord Nelson, sir A. Clarke, and sir E. Nepean, respectively considered the prisoner as a brave officer, a loyal man, and one who returned from service with such testimonies, that it was impossible to doubt of his character.

Mr. Gurney spoke in behalf of the prisoner, and endeavoured to invalidate the testimony of the witnesses.

Colonel Despard declined saying any thing in his own behalf.

The soliciter general replied on the part of the crown; after which lord

lord Ellenborough summed up the evidence, and stated the nature of overt acts: he read, *verbatim*, the whole of the evidence, commenting, as he proceeded, on the most striking parts; after which the jury withdrew for half an hour, and returned with a verdict of Guilty, but they recommended the prisoner to mercy.

Wednesday, Feb. 9.—The court resumed its sitting at nine o'clock, and the following prisoners were put to the bar:

J. Francis, J. Wood, T. Phillips, T. Broughton, T. Newman, D. Tyndall, J. Doyle, J. Sedgwick Wratten, W. Lander, A. Graham, S. Smith, and J. Macnamara.

After 16 challenges by the crown, and 31 by the prisoners, the following jury was sworn, viz. G. Evans, J. Waring, R. Southby, R. Linton, J. Prior, J. Baker, J. Phillips, C. Tritton, D. Langton, J. Arnold, J. Winter, and B. Chitty.

The solicitor general stated the case to the jury. He gave a short outline of facts to which it was intended evidence should be produced, explaining, as he proceeded, the nature of the overt acts constituting the treason alleged against the prisoners. The learned solicitor concluded with observing to the jury, that if they had any doubts relative to the degrees of guilt in the prisoners, it would become their duty to make the distinction; and he felt assured and confident, that in so doing they would act consonant to justice, and the dictates of their own consciences.

The evidence was then gone into, which was precisely the same as in the former trial, with this difference only, that the witness was made to bear more strongly on the parts which affected the prisoners than in the trial of colonel Despard.

Lord chief justice Ellenborough made one of the most able, eloquent, and impressive addresses to the jury we have ever heard; and with the greatest clearness recapitulated the evidence to them. He did not conclude until six o'clock on Thursday morning.

The jury then retired, and at 25 minutes before eight returned a verdict of Guilty against John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, J. Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, and John Macnamara.—Lander, Newman, and Tyndall, were recommended to mercy.—Thomas Phillips and Samuel Smith were acquitted; and the charge against John Doyle was abandoned on the close of the evidence.

Colonel Despard was then sent for, and placed at the bar, in front of the other prisoners. Those who were acquitted were withdrawn.

Lord Ellenborough then passed the awful sentence of death upon the prisoners, in one of the most impressive speeches ever, perhaps, delivered on a similar occasion.—After describing, in a most able manner, the high enormity of the crime of which they had been convicted, and observing that such vile purposes, however zealously begun, generally terminated in schemes of treachery against each other, he thus proceeded:—

"With respect to the wicked contrivers of abortive treason now before me, it only remains for me to acquit myself of my last judicial duty.—As for you, colonel Despard, born as you were to bet-

ter hopes, and educated to nobler ends and purposes; accustomed as you have hitherto been to a different life and manners, and pursuing, with your former illustrious companions who have appeared on your trial, the paths of virtuous and loyal ambition—it is with the most sensible pain I view the contrast formed by your present degraded condition, and I will not now paint how much these considerations enhance the nature of your crime. I entreat of you, by those hopes of mercy which are closed in this world, to revive in your mind a purpose to subdue that callous insensibility of heart, of which in an ill-fated hour you have boasted, and regain that sanative affection of the mind which may prepare your soul for that salvation, which, by the infinite mercy of God, I beseech of that God you may obtain.

"As to you (naming the other convicts), sad victims of his seduction and example, and of your own wicked purposes; you, who fall a melancholy, but, I trust, an instructive sacrifice, to deter others from the commission of similar crimes, may you apply the little time you have to live in the repentant contemplation of another world! Warned by your example, may the ignorant and unthinking avoid those crimes which bring you to a shameful and untimely end! may they learn duly to estimate the humble but secure blessings of industry; blessings which, in an evil hour, you have cast from you! The same recommendation offered to the leader of your crimes, to prepare for the awful and near termination of your existence, I earnestly impress upon you; and I repeat for you my ardent invocation of mercy in a future state, which the interest of your fellow-creatures will not suffer to be extended to you here.—The only thing now remaining for me, is the painful task of pronouncing against you, and each of you, the awful sentence which the law denounces against your crime; which is, that you, and each of you (here his lordship named the prisoners severally), be taken to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to be drawn on hurdles to the place of execution, where you are to be hanged by the neck, but not until you are dead; for, while you are still living, your bodies are to be taken down, your bowels torn out, and burnt before your faces; your heads are to be then cut off, and your bodies divided each into four quarters, to be at the king's disposal; and may the Almighty God have mercy on your souls!"

The whole of this pathetic address was heard with the most profound silence in the court, and every eye was suffused in tears.—The prisoners were then ordered from the bar, and a few minutes past eight o'clock on Thursday morning the court broke up.

9. We have received the New York papers to the 4th of January inclusive, being nearly a fortnight later than those which were received in the course of the week. The most material intelligence in them is the message from the president of the United States to the house of representatives on the 22d December, respecting the violation, on the part of Spain, of the treaty between that nation and the United States. The message is as follows:

"Gen-

"Gentlemen,

"I now transmit a report from the secretary of state, with the information requisite in your resolution of the 17th instant. In making this communication, I deem it proper to observe, that I was led by the regard due to the rights and interests of the United States, and to the just sensibility of a portion of our fellow-citizens more immediately affected by the irregular proceedings at New Orleans, to lose not a moment in causing every step to be taken which the occasion claimed from me, being equally aware of the obligation to maintain, in all cases, the rights of the nation, and to employ for that purpose those just and honourable means which belong to the character of the United States.

(Signed)

"TH. JEFFERSON."

10. The intelligence received from St. Domingo is of a very interesting kind. It now clearly appears, that at the time that Rochambeau arrived at the Cape, to take the chief command, he did not find himself in a situation to attempt any offensive operations against the brigands, while they, in their turn, elated by the reduced numbers of the French troops, continued to make incessant attacks on the posts in the vicinity of the Cape, on which, though repulsed, they speedily renewed their incursions. At Leogane, in particular, they continued their attack for no less than thirteen hours, and, though ultimately forced to retire, they set fire to all the adjoining plantations. On the 18th a very desperate assault was made by them at the Mole, and from their commencing the attack unexpectedly, it was with great difficulty that it was saved from destruction. The result was that the blacks were driven back, but it was only to retire to their fastnesses.

As a proof how very unimportant the advantage was, it may be sufficient to state, that next day the negroes were at a distance of not more than a league and a half from the town. Fort Dauphin, a station, the possession of which is essential to the safe possession of the Cape, continued in their hands; and it was judged inexpedient to attempt to dislodge them till the expected succours had arrived from France. The 86th demi-brigade at length arrived, and Rochambeau lost no time in making an attack on this fort.

On the first of December the troops dispatched on this service succeeded in dislodging the blacks: their loss is described as considerable; they fled in all quarters; and they were so closely pursued that they had not an opportunity of committing the outrages generally attendant on their retreat. Twenty-five pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the French, who also got possession of the magazines of the negroes, which they found plentifully supplied with every thing requisite for the prosecution of the exterminating contest. This is the whole amount of the success which has been gained over the blacks, who, forced to retire a little into the interior, will make perpetual incursions into the districts held by the French troops, and accomplish, by partial outrages, incessantly repeated, what they could not expect to obtain in the open field.

From these accounts it does not appear that the system of cruelty

and extermination pursued by Leclerc will be discontinued by his successor. Rochambeau is confessedly a man of humane character; but under the present circumstances of St. Domingo, with the spirit of mutual exasperation and revenge with which both parties are actuated, it will be impossible to put a stop to atrocities of the most horrible description. Some expressions which occur in the letters which describe to us the transactions at the Cape, may serve to give us an idea of what cruelties are daily taking place. At the Mole, the negroes were indiscriminately put to the sword, and even those found wounded were instantly dispatched.

Whatever the French official journal may pretend to the contrary, it is well enough known that the news from St. Domingo has excited, in the army, the greatest reluctance to engage in a service which does not lead to the rewards of honourable warfare, but to almost inevitable destruction, from the diseases of an unhealthy climate, or from the sword of the blacks, employed, not so much in the open field, as in places where resistance is impossible.

15. The prefect of the department of the Rhone, in conformity to the answer of the archbishop, and to the wishes of all the citizens of Lyons, that a proper tribute of respect be paid to the remains of general Leclerc, in return for the services which he has rendered to the republic, has notified the following arrangements:

Art. I. A detachment of cavalry, commanded by an officer, is to be stationed at the post nearest to Lyons, on the road by which the funeral procession of general Leclerc will proceed, and shall escort the body to the gate of La Guillotiere.

II. The prefect, and all the authorities, civil and judicial, shall appear in carriages, at the aforesaid gate, to receive the convoy: the military corps to form a part of the procession, in the order that shall be determined by the general of division.

III. A car with four wheels shall be prepared, surmounted by a sarcophagus with four columns painted black; in the midst of which is to be placed the corpse; the columns of the sarcophagus are to be surrounded with burning lamps.

IV. The corpse is to be covered with a funeral pall, bordered with silver lace, &c. and the pall is to be held by four general officers.

V. The funeral car is to be drawn by six black horses, which are to be led by grooms on foot, dressed in mourning, with round hats and crape hatbands.

VI. The horses, the box, and the outside of the carriages of the prefect, the commissary general of police, the three mayors, and the other public functionaries shall, if possible, be covered with black; all the public functionaries are to wear the usual external sign of mourning on their hats, arms, and on their swords, if the latter form a part of their costume.

VII. If the number of troops stationed at Lyons will admit of it, a double line of soldiers shall be formed from the bridge of La Guillotiere to St. John's church, wherein the remains of general Leclerc are to be deposited, and through which the procession is to pass.

VIII. A detachment of cavalry and grenadiers will begin the procession; the car, bearing the body of

of the general, will immediately follow; and afterwards the prefect and all the civil officers, and the tribunals, according to their respective ranks.

IX. On arriving at the gate of La Guillotière, the body is to be saluted by a discharge of artillery. The great guns shall continue to fire every five minutes during the passage of the procession.

(Signed) BUREAU DE PÚSY.

Lyons, Feb. 1803.

18. A letter officially received from Bombay states, that on the 29th of July captain Hayes, of the company's ship of war the Swift, received a requisition from the resident at Amboyna, to proceed to the relief of an outport, named Amoorang, then closely invested by the Magindanao pirates: their fleet consisted of 40 large proas, from which 1200 men had been landed, with 12 pieces of brass ordnance, of eight and six-pounders.

On the first of August, at half-past five P. M. the Swift came up with the piratical fleet, and instantly opened a cannonade upon them, which continued till half-past nine. Besides the annoyance of the enemy, captain Hayes's attention was imperiously called to the critical situation of his own vessel, which was surrounded by islands, and upon a dangerous reef: to this circumstance were the vessels which escaped destruction indebted for their safety. The Swift, however, captured two; one she passed over, and cut in two; 17 others were run ashore, and about 600 of the enemy are supposed to have perished during the conflict.

The company's settlements upon the Celebes, as well as granaries completely stored, have thus been protected from the most serious depredations, by the dispersion of these daring pirates, who had overrun the whole of the Sangir islands, reduced the capital Tairoon to ashes, and carried thence 200 female captives besides males, many of whom perished on the occasion of this attack; one only of the former was saved by the Swift, and one of the pirates from the wreck of the proa which had been run down. Each of the enemy's vessels carried from 60 to 80 men, one six or eight-pounder brass gun forward, besides many smaller ones, with muskets, lances, &c.

Execution of Colonel Despard and others for High Treason.

21. This morning, as soon as daylight appeared, the military took their different stations. Two troops of horse were stationed at the Obelisk; others patroled the roads from the Obelisk to the Elephant and Castle, and down the Borough road: all parts that had a view of the scaffold were completely crammed. We suppose that 20,000 persons might be assembled. At seven o'clock five of the prisoners, Broughton, Francis, Graham, Wood, and Wratten, went into the chapel; colonel Despard refused to attend, remaining in his cell; and Macnamara, being a Roman catholic, prayed in his cell with the priest. The five former conducted themselves with much decorum in the chapel: the sacrament was then administered to them. Before it was over, colonel Despard and Macnamara were brought down from their cells. Their irons were knocked off, and their arms and hands

bound with ropes. Notice was then given to the sheriff that they were ready. The hurdle had been previously prepared in the outer court-yard: it was the body of a small cart, on which two trusses of clean straw were laid, and was drawn by two horses.

Macnamara and Graham were first put into the hurdle, and drawn to the lodge, where the inner gates were opened, and they were conveyed to the staircase that leads up to the scaffold. The hurdle then returned, and brought Broughton and Wratten, then Wood and Francis; last of all, colonel Despard was put into it alone. Macnamara seemed intent upon the book in his hand. Graham remained silent. Broughton jumped into the hurdle, smiled, and looked up to the scaffold. Wood and Francis both smiled, and all of them surveyed the awful scene with much composure.—Despard shook hands with a gentleman as he got into the hurdle, and looked up to the scaffold with a smile.

Macnamara was the first brought up; he held a book in his hand; and when the cord was placed round his neck, he exclaimed, with the greatest devotion—"Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me! O Lord, look down with pity upon me!"

Graham came second. He looked pale and ghastly, but spoke not.

Wratten was the third: he ascended the scaffold with much firmness.

Broughton, the fourth, smiled as he ran up the scaffold stairs; but as soon as the rope was fastened round his neck, he turned pale, and smiled no more. He exhorted the crowd in these words: "I hope that every young man who witnesses my fate, will avoid public-houses, and take a warning! Should they mix with certain companies, they will perhaps see more executions of a similar nature."

He joined in prayer with earnestness.

Wood was the fifth, Francis the sixth.—Francis ascended the scaffold with a composure which he preserved to the last. Wood and Broughton were equally composed. Of all of them, Francis was the best-looking—tall, handsome, and well-made. He and Wood were dressed in the uniform of the foot-guards, and Francis, when he came on the scaffold, had on his full regimental cap: the rest were in coloured clothes.

Colonel Despard ascended the scaffold with great firmness: his countenance underwent not the slightest change. He looked at the multitude assembled with perfect calmness, and thus addressed them:—

"Fellow-citizens, I am come here, as you see, after having served my country faithfully, honourably, and I trust usefully, for thirty years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold, for a crime which I am no more guilty of than any man who is now looking at me. I do solemnly declare that I am no more guilty of it than any of you who may now be listening to me: but, though his majesty's ministers know I am not guilty, they avail themselves of the legal pretext which they have of destroying a man, because they think he is a friend to truth, to liberty, and to justice, and because he has been a friend to the poor and to the oppressed.—But, fellow-citizens, I hope and trust,

trust, notwithstanding my fate, and perhaps the fate of many others who may follow me, that still the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, will triumph over falsehood, despotism, and delusion, and every thing else hostile to the interests of the human race.—And now, having said this, I have nothing more to add, but to wish you all that health, that happiness, and that freedom, which I have ever made it my endeavour, as far as it lay in my power, to procure for every one of you, and for mankind in general."

Immediately after this speech, the crowd cheered; but the impulse immediately subsided. The clergyman now shook hands with each of them. The executioners pulled the caps over the faces of the unhappy persons, and descended the scaffold. Most of them exclaimed—"Lord Jesus, receive our souls!" At seven minutes before nine the signal was given, the platform dropped, and they were launched into eternity.

After hanging about half an hour, they were cut down: colonel Despard first: his head was then severed from his body, and the executioner held it up to the view of the populace, exclaiming—"This is the head of a traitor—Edward Marcus Despard." The same ceremony was performed at the parapet on the left hand. There was some hooting and hissing when the colonel's head was exhibited. His body was now put into the shell that had been prepared for it. The other prisoners were then cut down, their heads severed from their bodies, and exhibited to the populace with the same exclamation of—"This is the head of another traitor!" The bodies were then put into their different shells.

The execution was over, shortly after ten; and the populace soon afterward dispersed.

Macnamara was 50 years of age. He was born in Ireland; by trade a carpenter.

Wood, 26 years of age, born in Derbyshire; a soldier.

Francis, 23 years of age, born in Shropshire; a soldier and shoemaker.

Broughton, 26 years of age, born in London; a carpenter.

Graham, 53 years of age, born in London; a slater.

Wratten, 36 years of age, place of birth not known; a shoemaker.

SUICIDE.

28. To the numerous lamentable accidents that have been occasioned by intoxication, and a propensity to drinking, the present unfortunate instance of self-destruction may be added:—Charlotte Blair, a young woman, only eighteen years old, was observed by the neighbours about Porter-street, Leicester-fields (where she resided), to be on Friday night last extremely unhappy and dejected in her mind. At a late hour she appeared at the street-door of the house in which she lived, apparently in liquor. She addressed several of her acquaintances, and in a peculiar manner bid them good-b'ye, declaring it was the last time she should see them. On meeting a person that lives in the lower part of the house, she said she had just taken half an ounce of laudanum, which she bought for the purpose of putting an end to her existence. No notice, however, was taken of the expression, as the unfortunate girl appeared to be intoxicated. She then went into the room where her mother was, and asked to shake hands with her, ob-

serving that she had taken poison, and would be dead by the next morning. Her mother supposed from her appearance, that she had been drinking, and did not know what she said, therefore placed no confidence in such an assertion, but advised her to go to sleep, and not to give her any uneasiness by fabricating so dreadful a story. It, however, appeared to be too true. She retired to rest, and on the morning following was found dead in her bed. The motives that actuated the deceased thus to put a period to her life, at present are not exactly known. The general belief, however, is, that her predominant passion for drinking had produced a variety of misfortunes, which had so forcibly affected her feelings, that her intellects became deranged; in which situation she had unhappily deprived herself of life.

MARCH.

Dover, March 7.—We have had a most violent storm of wind and snow all day from the eastward. This morning, at eleven o'clock, a large collier brig, the Claude, of Blyth, in attempting to come into the harbour, struck against the south pier head, and was afterwards dashed on shore, where she now lies a perfect wreck. A small fishing-boat, with five men, was upset about the same time at the entrance of the harbour; the boatmen immediately put off their boats to the relief of the poor sufferers, and providentially arrived to their assistance at the moment they were sinking; and it is with much pleasure we state that all of them were brought on shore without receiving any very material injury.

Constantinople, Jan. 12.—The 7th instant arrived here, the French ambassador, general Brune, with a squadron of six ships of war. He did not, however, come on shore till the 8th, when, on landing, he was saluted by a general discharge from all the ships. The 10th, all the French here assembled in the church of the Capuchins, to hear mass for the welfare of the republic and of the new embassy; after which, Te Deum was sung, and the French ships, on a signal given from one of the hotels, fired their guns. The capitan pacha ordered 25,000 okes of fresh meat, and a considerable sum of money for bread, to be distributed among the crews.

The Russian ambassador, Bankinsky, lately arrived here.

Lord Elgin has embarked, and will shortly set sail on his return.

On the 26th of December, in the evening, an adjutant of general Stuart had a conference with the Reis Effendi, and proposed, in the name of the English government, that the Porte should grant a pardon to the Egyptian beys, and assign them a distant place in Upper Egypt for their residence, where they should engage to live peaceably, and conduct themselves as faithful subjects of the Porte.

The Reis Effendi, who had expected very different proposals from the English adjutant, answered, that the Porte would communicate its determination on this subject to the English ambassador lord Elgin. The latter accordingly had several conferences with the Reis Effendi, and the negotiation was yesterday evening brought to a conclusion, as lord Elgin took his leave of the grand vizier. The Porte has in fact, contrary to general expectation, granted a pardon to the beys under the following conditions;

1. The

1. The cavalry of the mamelukes shall enter immediately into the service of the pacha of Cairo.

2. The Porte will assign to the six insurgent beys, the little town of Awan, in Upper Egypt, where they shall reside in peace, and subject to the Porte, without interfering, in any manner, in the public affairs and government of Egypt.

As soon as this convention was concluded, lord Elgin declared officially to the grand vizier, that Egypt should be immediately evacuated by the English troops, which would be conveyed from thence to Malta. The latter island the English will continue to retain possession of, till they have certainty of the maintenance of peace between England and France.

On the 6th instant, the French ambassador, general Brune, arrived here with the squadron from Toulon, consisting of a ship of the line, a frigate, two brigs, and two corvettes. This squadron likewise brought the French agents of legation and commerce, destined for the different ports of the Levant.

9. On Sunday night, about eleven o'clock, a coach was hired at Charing-cross by a man genteelly dressed, who ordered the coachman to drive to St. George's-row, on the Uxbridge road: on the coach arriving at that place, the man got out, and with horrid threats demanded the coachman's money, at the same time presenting a very long pistol to his breast, and slightly wounded him in the side with a tuck in a stick. The coachman delivered his money, amounting to two seven-shilling pieces, and eight shillings and sixpence in silver. The robber, on parting, told the coachman if he attempted to pursue him he would shoot him. The robber returned towards London, and is supposed to have got over the park wall.

A suicide of the most singular nature was committed on Saturday evening last between Walham-green and Great Chelsea. A Mr. Hayward, a housekeeper, in Suffolk-street, Charing-cross, and twelve years head waiter at the British coffee-house, left his home about 12 o'clock, and proceeded as far as Hammersmith. On his return, he went to the house of Mr. Newman, the Swan, at Walham-green, where he called for a glass of brandy; and afterwards inquired if he could be accommodated with a bed: the landlord then informed him, that he never let beds to strangers: the deceased turned round and said, "Sir, it is no reason that I should not have another glass of brandy." He then paid his reckoning, and left the house at half-past ten o'clock in the evening, and proceeded on the road for the King's Arms, Chelsea, within a quarter of a mile of which he took a two-bladed knife out of his pocket, and stabbed himself in several parts of the neck. On perceiving a cart coming up, he threw himself across the road, in order that the cart might ride over him; but the carter alighting, asked who was there, and what was the matter; when taking him up he observed some blood running, when Mr. H. exclaimed, "It is only my nose bleeding!" The man immediately mounted his cart, and rode on. Shortly after the deceased proceeded to lacerate his throat with the knife. Being then in view of two boys, who immediately came after the cart, he threw himself into the ditch, and lay, as he supposed, concealed. On their asking what the matter was, he described, as before, that his nose bled; when the

the others said—"No, sir, you have cut your throat, for the blood comes from your neck." He arose, and said to the two boys, "I am going this way, which way are you going?" They answered that they were going the same way, and walked with him, he still holding his hand upon his neck, until they came near the King's Arms, Chelsea; when he turned round to the two boys, and said; "I am thankful to you, my lads, here is a shilling for your good attention." He proceeded down the lane close by the Thames, and, opposite the King's Arms door, threw himself into the river, where the servant maid soon after heard some groans, and gave the alarm; when the waterman went out in his boat, and discovered him not dead, but weltering in his blood. The unfortunate man exclaimed, "Good God, where am I?" The waterman then conveyed him into the house, where he expired in half an hour. The coroner's inquest sat on the body, at the King's Arms, Chelsea, when they brought in their verdict—Lunacy.

14. On Saturday se'nnight, about eleven o'clock at night, as an old man named Bingham, about seventy years of age, was returning from Barmbro' to Clown, in Derbyshire, he was overtaken on the road by a young fellow called Wells, whom he had seen before at a public-house where he had refreshed himself, and where, unfortunately, he had told the company he had 5*s.* to carry home to his family. For the sake of this pittance the young wretch assaulted the poor old man, and, after robbing him, most barbarously murdered him, by beating out his brains with a stake which he had plucked from the hedge. Just as he had accomplished his atrocious purpose, a third person, who had been with them at the public-house, arrived at the place, and saw the murderer running away. He called after him aloud, but receiving no answer, went forward, and discovered by the moon-light the old man just expiring in his blood. He immediately alarmed the neighbourhood; and from the place where the murder had been committed, Wells was traced in the snow to his mother's house, where he was apprehended in bed, his hands and clothes yet bloody. The next day the coroner's inquest sat on the body, and brought in their verdict *wilful murder* against Wells, who was consequently committed to Derby gaol, for trial at the assizes next week. During the sitting of the coroner's jury, he confessed the fact, and said he had only intended to rob the old man; but a black shape who stood by at the time, advised him to commit the murder for his own security!

Yesterday afternoon, at six o'clock, as his royal highness the prince of Wales was returning in his chariot to Carlton-house, through St. James's-street, it broke down, owing to the axletree of the fore-wheels giving way. His royal highness, we are happy to hear, sustained no material injury, as he walked to Carlton-house immediately after the accident. The coachman was thrown from his box, but luckily not hurt; and the horses were with difficulty stopped, after drawing the carriage more than twenty yards on three wheels.

15. Friday morning a most extraordinary duel took place in Hyde-park, between lieutenant W. of the navy, and captain J. of the army. The antagonists arrived at the appointed place within a few minutes of

of each other: some dispute arose respecting the distance, which the friends of lieutenant W. insisted should not exceed six paces, while the seconds of captain J. urged strongly the rashness of so decisive a distance, and insisted on its being extended. At length the proposal of lieut. W.'s friends was agreed to, and the parties fired per signal, when lieutenant W. received the shot of his adversary on the guard of his pistol, which tore away the third and fourth finger of his right-hand. The seconds then interfered to no purpose; the son of Neptune, apparently callous to pain, wrapped his handkerchief round his hand, and swore he had another which never failed him. Captain J. called his friend aside, and told him it was in vain to urge a reconciliation. They again took their ground. On lieutenant W. receiving the pistol in his left hand, he looked steadfastly at captain J. for some time, then cast his eyes to heaven, and said in a low voice, "Forgive me!" The parties fired as before, and both fell. Captain J. received the shot through his head, and instantly expired; lieutenant W. received the ball in his left breast, and immediately inquired of his friend if captain J.'s wound was mortal. Being answered in the affirmative, he thanked God he had lived thus long, requested a mourning-ring on his finger might be given to his sister, and that she might be assured it was the happiest moment he ever knew. He had scarcely finished the words, when a quantity of blood burst from his wound, and he expired almost without a struggle. The unfortunate young man was on the eve of being married to a lady in Hampshire, to whom for some time he had paid his addresses.

23. American papers of the 10th of February are received. The congress on the 2d resolved, 64 against 26, to refer it to a committee to consider the claims of American subjects against the French government for unlawful captures at sea, and the means of obtaining indemnity therefore. A motion was also made for the more strictly enforcing the law against the admission of foreigners, under certain circumstances, into the United States. —The cause of this is, that the French smuggle in a number of diseased negroes from St. Domingo, to the injury of the health of the Americans.

SURREY ASSIZES.

Kingston, March 23.

The King v. *John Ferne.*

This was an indictment against the defendant, for a misdemeanour in setting fire to a shed, or room, in his possession, in order to burn down the neighbouring houses, with intention to defraud the insurance office.

Mr. Garrow stated, that the defendant was an apothecary residing at Streatham, that he had married a niece of a Mrs. Brind, who was in possession of the house which they imputed to him he meant to burn down. This house was situated in a little row of houses, called Brind's-row, at Dulwich, but at the time of the fire was let, ready furnished, to a Mr. Sanders. At the back of that house there was a lean-to, as it was called, which contained a little room, large enough to hold a bed, and over it was a cock-loft. He would state to the jury those circumstances which led to a suspicion that the fire, which happened on the 24th of February, was wilfully occasioned. The fire being speedily extin-

extinguished, on entering, the following state of things then presented itself: — There evidently had been no fire in the fire-place; the bed curtains on the feet were drawn up, and thrust through the cieling, from which some plaster had been broke down, so as to form a line of communication for the fire, to the rafters and floor of the cock-loft. Two of these floor-boards were raised up, and supported at the ends in that position, evidently for the purpose of giving access to the air, to increase the flame; on the bed was a deal box, in which a quantity of turpentine had been spilt. Under the bed were two hat-boxes, one containing a quantity of paper dipped in spirits of turpentine, the other containing loose paper. Two phosphoric matches were found on the floor, with two pieces of wax-taper which had been lighted. Between the rafters was stuffed a quantity of loose tow, to assist where the curtain was inserted; and from the floor of the cock-loft, some pieces of board were set edgeways, to conduct the flame to the wooden division between that place and Sanders's house.—Mr. Ferne, the defendant, was immediately sent for, but he did not choose then to come. He, however, made his appearance in the evening; and when these things were pointed out to him, he said he must confess that appearances were against him; but he protested his innocence. To explain the unusual situation of the bed curtains, he said he could not say how it happened, but perhaps, in flourishing his stick, it might have been thrown in that position.

A Mrs. Bellamy said, she lived in Brind's-row, Dulwich. Mrs. Preston occupied the house next to that which had the lean-to, in possession of the defendant. On Saturday morning, the 24th of July, she saw the defendant come across the common, and go to that room; he had not left it above a quarter of an hour, when she was alarmed with the cry of fire from Mrs. Preston; and going up stairs, they saw through a hole looking into the cock-loft of the lean-to, that it was full of smoke. She immediately ran to fetch a pail of water: as she returned, she met Mr. Longmore, who took it from her, broke open the room-door, and by a few pails of water the fire was extinguished.

Samuel Longmore gave the same account, and this witness, as well as the last, gave the same account of the situation of the things in the room, as described by Mr. Garrow. This was also confirmed by three other witnesses, who saw the premises, particularly by Mr. Cooper, surveyor to the Sun fire-office, who examined the whole minutely the next Monday.

Nathaniel Ward, from the Sun fire-office, proved, that the houses and goods were insured at their office in May 1780, for 500*l.*

—— Russell, from the Phœnix fire-office, proved that in May last they were insured at their office for 999*l.* in the name of the aunt of the defendant's wife, insured for the wife.

Mr. serjeant Best, for the defendant, made an ingenious defence. He said he should account for all these suspicious appearances. He should show that a fire had been in the room on the day preceding, and in all probability a spark had flown on the bed-clothes, which had mouldered, until by the current of air, occasioned by the defendant's opening the room the next day, it was

was fanned into a flame. — He added, that if his witnesses raised only a doubt in the mind of the jury, they ought to acquit the defendant, as no man ought to be convicted but upon satisfactory testimony.

To explain these circumstances, he called

Mary Chance, who said, she lived servant with the defendant. The day before the fire, she and her master and mistress walked from their house at Streatham to the garden. Her master went on, to visit a patient at Norwood, and, as her mistress was poorly, she lighted the fire with some pieces of old wooden fence. They then went in the garden, and gathered some beans, which they shelled in the room, and they threw the shells about the floor. She thought they would dirty the bed-curtains, so she tucked them up; but as they did not stay up, she tucked the foot curtains through the hole in the cieling. Being asked, how the hole came there? she said her master had a few days before, when in the cock-loft, put his foot through it. How came the boards of the cock-loft floor raised up in the manner they were? She replied, her master did it two or three weeks before the fire, because he wanted to see the thickness of them, in order to know whether they would not do to make a new top to the counter. Improbable as this story was, she did not vary or contradict any part of it in cross-examination.

Thomas Silvester, apprentice of the defendant, was called to prove that his master had taken the spirit of turpentine to that place, to make an embrocation for a patient at Norwood, but he could not tell the name of the patient.

After a very forcible reply from Mr. Garrow, and a minute detail of the evidence, with able comments by the learned judge, the jury found a verdict of Guilty.

The prisoner was immediately sentenced to stand in the pillory, in the Borough, to be imprisoned for two years, and to find sureties for his future good behaviour.

26. On Thursday se'nnight came on, at the castle of Exeter, before a special jury, the long depending and interesting cause for deciding the right of electing a mayor for the borough of Plymouth, in which T. Cleather, esq. was the nominal plaintiff, and J. Langmead, esq. the nominal defendant. Mr. Gibbs led the cause for Mr. Cleather, and Mr. Dallas for Mr. Langmead; when a full verdict was given for Mr. Langmead, by which the right of election of the mayor is decided to be in and from the commonalty at large, instead of being confined to the narrower mode of electing by assurers and a jury, as contended for by the aldermen.

APRIL.

April 6.—This morning, as lieut. col. Montgomery and capt. Macnamara were riding in Hyde park, each followed by a Newfoundland dog, the dogs fought; in consequence of which the gentlemen quarrelled, and used such irritating language to each other, that an exchange of address followed, with an appointment to meet at seven o'clock the same evening, near Primrose-hill; the consequence of which proved fatal. Capt. M.'s ball entered the right side of col. M.'s chest, and, taking a direction to the left, most probably went through the heart; he instantly fell, without uttering a word, but rolled

rolled over two or three times, as if in great agony, and groaned. Col. M.'s ball went through capt. Macnamara, entering on the right side, just above the hip, and passing through the left side, carrying part of the coat and waistcoat in with it, taking part of his leather breeches and the hip button away with it on the other side. Colonel Montgomery was carried, by some of the persons standing by, into Chalk-farm, where he was laid on a bed, attended by Mr. Heaviside. As they were carrying him, he attempted to speak and spit; but the blood choaked him. His mouth foamed much, and, in about five minutes after he was brought into the house, he expired with a gentle sigh.

Captain Macnamara is a naval officer, who has much distinguished himself in two or three actions, as commander in the Cerberus frigate. He lately returned from the West Indies, and his ship was about two months ago paid off at Chatham. He is about 36 years of age; a strong, bold, active man. He has fought two or three duels before; and was remarkable at Cork for keeping the turbulent in awe.

Col. Montgomery was lieutenant-colonel of the 9th regiment of foot, son of sir Robert Montgomery, of Ireland, and half brother to Mrs. George Byng, and to the marchioness of Townshend. He was a remarkably handsome, genteel man; and he had also fought bravely in the service of his country. In the Dutch expedition, the Russians being put to flight, his regiment was thrown into confusion, and retreated in consequence of the Russians falling back upon them: at this time a drummer was killed, and col. Montgomery took up the drum, beating it to rally his men, he himself standing alone; he did rally them, and at their head rendered essential service. On several occasions in Egypt and Malta, he distinguished himself for his courage and spirit. He was very intimate with the prince of Wales and duke of York. The former shed tears on being apprised of the melancholy end of his friend.

9. Last evening about ten o'clock, a melancholy accident took place, at the house of Mr. Carrington, in Mount-street, Grosvenor-square. As Mrs. Adderley, a lady of the highest respectability, whose husband holds a situation of the first rank in the service of the East-India company, was in the act of catching a favourite squirrel, for the purpose of putting it into its cage, she overset the candle, which immediately communicated to her clothes. In this situation she ran down stairs, and threw herself in the passage. Mrs. Carrington opened the door, calling out for assistance. The son of Mr. Piddington, the watch-house keeper, happening to pass at the moment, flew to her assistance, and with much difficulty succeeded in extinguishing the flames. She was conveyed to bed, burnt in a most dreadful manner. Medical assistance was immediately procured; but she was so much burnt, that after languishing till six o'clock on Saturday morning she expired.

Mrs. Adderley is a lady universally regretted by all her friends and acquaintances. Her amiable manners had placed her high in the respect of all who knew her. She was about twenty-five years of age, and was upon the point of joining her husband at Trinidad.

15. Yesterday morning Mr. Heaviside, the surgeon, was arrested by Townshend, under authority

thority of a warrant from sir Richard Ford, wherein he stands charged with having been aiding and assisting in the murder of col. Montgomery; and after undergoing a private examination before the above magistrate at Bow-street, he was fully committed to Newgate for trial at the ensuing Old Bailey sessions.—Several witnesses were also privately examined respecting the duel, before sir Richard Ford, and bound over to appear on the trial. Capt. Macnamara was yesterday declared out of danger, but is not yet well enough to be removed.

16. Yesterday afternoon, at five o'clock, as Mr. Spencer Townsend, a gentleman of great respectability, who holds a high situation in the navy-office, Somerset-house, was returning from the office to his house in Cleveland-court, St. James's, he was stopped within a few yards of his own door by a gentleman of the name of Grant, lately, we understand, a merchant in Lawrence Pountney-lane, with a pistol in each hand, who approached, and thus addressed him: "You d—d v——n, you are the cause of destroying the happiness of my mind; take one of these pistols, and you shall instantly shoot me, or I shall shoot you." Mr. Townsend perceiving Mr. Grant assuming an attitude which indicated a resolution to carry his desperate purpose into immediate execution, made an attempt to rush suddenly by and gain his own door; when Grant, who stood in his way, turning round as it were with intent to follow him, discharged one of the pistols at him. The pistol was loaded with swan shot; but the parties were so close at the time of the fire, the charge probably passed him like a single ball, and Mr. Townsend fortunately escaped unhurt by it; a consequence that could scarcely have happened, had there been distance between for the shot to scatter. Mr. Townsend however was not thus freed from danger; for, in the sudden spring to gain his own door, his foot slipped, and he fell upon the pavement; and Grant, seising the opportunity, followed up his diabolical intent by discharging the contents of the second pistol at him while he lay prostrate upon the ground. The contents of the pistol passed through Mr. Townsend's coat, and slightly wounded one of his knees, and the wadding lodged in the skirt of his coat, and set fire to it. Mr. Townsend however made a sudden exertion, and recovered his feet.

The report of the two pistols brought several of the neighbouring people, some of whom saw the whole transaction from their windows. The populace immediately collected around Mr. Grant: he was secured, and immediately conveyed to Bow-street, where he underwent a long examination before Mr. Bond and sir William Parsons; after which he was committed for further examination. Upon inquiry we learned, that Mr. Townsend has been used for a considerable time past to receive anonymous threatening letters, but from whom he was not able to form any conjecture. The last of this description which he received, was in the following words: — "You have heard the fate of colonel Montgomery: it shall be yours one of these days." This letter, and several others of the same class, and in the same hand-writing, are forthcoming. Mr. Grant, we understand, appears to be insane, and the cause of his melancholy state, as well as of the crime which he attempted, is supposed to be this: —Some time ago he paid his addresses

dresses to a daughter of the late lord Dudley and Ward, who was bequeathed by the will of her father a sum of 4000*l*. Mr. Townsend was one of the trustees in the will, in whom the above sum was vested for the use of the young lady, in case she should marry with the consent of her friends. This consent Mr. Grant was unable to obtain; and Mr. Townsend, as an honourable, faithful, and just trustee, adhered to the will. This disappointment is supposed to have preyed upon the mind of Mr. Grant, and to have produced that alienation of understanding, under the influence of which he made such a deperate attack upon the life of a most respectable and worthy man.

The strong indignation which the shutting of the port of New Orleans had excited in the United States, and the resolution manifested among all parties of asserting their rights to the free navigation of the Mississippi, have at length attracted the notice of the Spanish minister. He has accordingly presented an official note, in which he states, that the shutting of the port of New Orleans was the unauthorised act of the intendant. Things are, therefore, in the mean time, to be restored to their former footing. But while he takes on himself to make this arrangement, he at the same time states, that it is inconvenient for the Spaniards that New Orleans should longer continue to be the place of deposit, and suggests the expediency of fixing on some other station for that purpose. It is rather singular that the marquis Casa Yrajo should so long have delayed this official communication. If he had authority to make it, he certainly had strong inducements to do it at a much earlier period. Many persons in America are disposed to think that he has done it on his own authority, without the knowledge of his court. It is very clear, however, that this arrangement will not at all satisfy the Americans. It is the opinion of a very great proportion of the inhabitants of the United States, and of all the inhabitants of the western districts, without exception, that Louisiana ought to have been seised, as soon as the vexatious proceedings of the intendant were known, and ample redress was refused. The conduct of the American executive government, throughout the whole of this business, has been weak and pusillanimous in the highest degree. A brave and powerful people will, however, assert their rights in spite of the discouragements which the government offers to its spirit.

26. Yesterday morning, about eight o'clock, corporal Lynn, of the second battalion of the artillery, was shot at Woolwich Warren, for having deserted from three several regiments: the procession from the prison was as follows:—first, drums and fifes; second, prisoner; then six marines; and lastly, the band. The prisoner showed not the least signs of dismay or contrition; and even the moment before his execution he smiled, and said, without the least concern, it was the happiest day of his life. He sat down on the coffin, and the marines appointed for the purpose fired and killed him instantly.

From the Bombay Gazette, Nov. 3, 1802.

Poonah.—Accounts have been received here, that early on the morning of Sunday, 24th October, a general attack was made by Holkar, which was well sustained by Scindeah's infantry, who at length giving

giving way to the battalions under colonel Harding, decided the fate of the day. A general confusion ensued in the army of Scindeah, and it is said upwards of 3000 men fell in the action; the guns, baggage, &c. fell into Holkar's hands. Captain Dawes, commander of Scindeah's infantry, fell in the execution of his duty; and colonel Harding also, in the moment of victory, to which his conduct had greatly contributed, received a cannon shot in the shoulder, which was mortal. Holkar's loss is about 1000. As this severe conflict took place within a short distance of the city, the general consternation and affright are not easily conceived.

The ship Bangalore, captain Lynch, was wrecked last May, on an unknown shoal, in lat. 7. 38. south, long. 120. 45 east, about 11 or 12 leagues to the northward of the island of Mangeray. This shoal was laid down in old Dutch charts, but has been left out for some years past.

His majesty's armed brigs Amboyna and Mongoose arrived here on the 12th of November, from China; they experienced very boisterous weather, which obliged them to cross over from the coast of Cochin China to the Straits of Balibœ, and through the Solo Sea. They discovered a small island, and shoals of rocks and sands not laid down in any of our charts.

Observations of the Amboyna, lat. 7. 52. N. long. 113. 7. E. Observations of the Mongoose, lat. 7. 51. N. long. 113. 5. E.

Calcutta, Nov. 22, 1802.—Account of a ledge of rocks, discovered by his majesty's ship Arrogant, the Dover Castle, Asia, and Admiral Rainier, in company, 23d January 1802;—"Four hours 30 min. P. M. saw the appearance of breakers, bearing N. N. W. distant about half a mile; brought to, and sent a boat to examine them, which returned at half-past six. Having found a ledge of coral rocks, with only six feet water on them, extending a quarter of a mile N. E. and S. W., the soundings round them two and a half, five, eight, and twelve fathoms, at a cable's length, and twenty-five at about a quarter of a mile distant, latitude 5. 12. S. longitude 113. 0. E. *per* chronometer. The above situations may be depended on, as the time-keepers of all the ships agreed, and the island of Lubeck was seen at noon from the Asia's mast-head, bearing S. S. W.; and we made the island of Salumbo next morning, our run to which agreed very well with the above longitude. The reef is not laid down in any chart, and being in the track of ships going through the Java seas, makes it very dangerous."

28. Yesterday, shortly after ten o'clock, Mr. R. Aslett, assistant to the principal cashier in the Bank of England, was brought to the Mansion-house, privately; and, about eleven o'clock, he was admitted to the lord-mayor's private parlour, where he underwent a final examination before his lordship, alderman Watson, Benjamin Winthorp, esq., the deputy-governor, &c. The examination lasted above two hours. The several examinations sworn against him were read over in his presence, and he was allowed to interrogate the several witnesses who attended. After these forms were gone through, he was fully committed for trial, for embezzling exchequer bills, contrary to the act of the 15th of George II. The charge does not, we believe, specify any thing on account of *omnium*. Mr. Aslett, during his examination,

seemed to possess much resolution; but, after the commitment was made out for Newgate, to which he was conveyed by Mr. Holdsworth, the city-marshal, he became very melancholy and dejected.

MAY.

May 2.—Last week was dug up, about a mile south of Kirk Andrews upon Eden, and about three miles west of Carlisle, (in a rising ground, known by the name of Kirksteads, and resembling a church-yard) a Roman altar, about four feet four inches in height, two feet in breadth, and fourteen inches in thickness; with the following inscription thereon, quite distinct, in seven lines, viz.

LIVNIVS VIC
TORINVS EL
CAELIANVS LEG
AVG LEG VI VIC
PFOBRESTRAIS
VALLEVM PRO
SPEREGESTAS.

The altar has a hollow, or cup, on the top, about two inches deep, and twelve or thirteen in breadth.

Many stones, curiously carved, have been found at that place; such as fragments of pillars, statues, &c. some with inscriptions, but none legible except the above. The situation is about a mile south of the Picts Wall.

5. This morning, before nine o'clock, the following notice was delivered at the Mansion-house, to the right honourable the lord mayor, by a person representing himself as coming directly from lord Hawkesbury:—

"Lord Hawkesbury presents his compliments to the lord mayor, and has the honour to acquaint his lordship, that the negotiation between this country and the French republic is brought to an amicable conclusion."

His lordship, immediately on the receipt of intelligence of so important a kind, sent for a respectable stock-broker, to announce it on the Stock-exchange. The effect which it produced is inconceivable. No sooner had the market opened, than bargains were done as high as 70. In a very short time a rumour began to prevail that the pretended letter from lord Hawkesbury was a forgery, and there was a fluctuation between 69 and the price at which they opened. The rumour did not gain much credit, and the fall was represented as originating from intelligence said to have been received in town last night by a respectable mercantile house in the city, that the French had been compelled to evacuate St. Domingo. About twelve o'clock, the lord mayor received a letter from the treasury, stating, in direct terms, that the letter was a scandalous forgery, and that no communication of any kind had been sent from any of the offices of government. His lordship lost not a moment in going to the Stock-exchange, to communicate the contents of the treasury letter. The uproar and confusion which the explanation produced is indescribable. Amid the tumult that prevailed very little business was done, but the funds fell back to 63½.

The following is a copy of the letter sent by lord Hawkesbury to the lord mayor:—

Downing-street, May 5, 1803.

"My Lord,

"As I have just been informed that a letter has been sent to your lordship, pretended to be signed by me, respecting the state of the negotiation between this country and France, I lose no time in informing

ing your lordship that no such letter has been sent by me; and I request, therefore, that you would take immediate steps for undeceiving the public, and detecting the daring forgery.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"HAWKESBURY.

"*To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.*"

6. The following resolutions were stuck up at the Stock-exchange this forenoon:—

Resolutions of the Stock Exchange, in reference to the unprincipled attempts made to plunder the Public, on the 5th of May, 1803.

I. That all bargains made on Thursday, 5th of May, 1803, of every kind whatsoever, whether for money or time, be considered as null and void.

II. That every member of the Stock-exchange be obliged, on or before four o'clock this day, to prepare and deliver into the select committee, to be hereafter named, a copy or statement of all and every bargain by him transacted on the 4th and 5th of May, 1803.

III. That in the event of the committee calling on any member for his books, or the names of his principals, after such statement shall have been left, the members aforesaid shall be obliged to produce and avow the same, but not otherwise.

IV. That messrs. John Battye, Thomas Bish, John Capel, William Geekie, C. H. Hancock, James Kiernan, William Morgan, Robert Podmore, David Ricardo, Thomas Roberts, William Shepherd, William Steer, James Steers, Peter Templeman, and David Walters, be appointed to form and constitute the committee aforesaid, and that the said committee do act by virtue of this resolution, with the firm endeavour of tracing out the party or parties concerned in this abominable attempt at fraud.

V. That an immediate subscription be entered into by the members of this house, to be left entirely at the disposal of the committee.

Resolutions of the Select Committee, appointed to act in consequence of the attempted Fraud on the 5th of May.

Resolved,

That it appears to the committee aforesaid, that many persons have neglected to conform to resolution the second: they hereby give notice, that unless those gentlemen who have this day failed to deposit a statement of their accounts, do leave the same in the committee-room, on or before two o'clock to-morrow, a list of their names will be published in the room, by ten o'clock on Saturday following.

By authority of the committee,

C. H. HANCOCK, *Ch.*

Stock-Exchange, May 5, 1803.

N. B. It is requested that those gentlemen who did not transact any business on the days above mentioned, will avow the same by letter to the committee, on or before the time stated.

14. Mr. Lyell, the messenger, arrived at lord Hawkesbury's office, about half past one o'clock, and a little after two the lord mayor went to the Stock exchange, and delivered the following communication from lord Hawkesbury:—

Downing-street, May 14, 1803.

"MY LORD,

"I think it right to lose no time in informing your lordship, that

Lyell, the messenger, has just arrived from Paris, with dispatches from lord Whitworth; by which it appears, that his lordship had received his passport on Thursday evening, and was on the point of setting out from Paris, when the messenger came away.

I have the honour to be,
My lord, Your lordship's
Most obedient humble servant,
HAWKESBURY.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor."

19. INSTALLATION

Of the Knights of the most honourable military order of the Bath, at Westminster Abbey.

From the prince's chamber in the house of lords, there was a covered platform, which reached to the N. E. door of the abbey, covered with a matting, and wide enough to admit six persons to pass in breadth; this platform was lined with the guards. So strong was the expectation of the crowd, that as early as six o'clock several houses were filled with visitors, and at eight o'clock the windows and houses in New Palace-yard were crowded. At half-past eight o'clock, the life-guards were stationed in all the streets and avenues leading to the abbey, from the horse-guards to Petty France, Dean's-yard, Millbank, and all the leading avenues, with sixty horses, which guarded the platform on each side leading to the door, to prevent the pressure of the crowd. About nine o'clock a passage was made to the platform, large enough to admit carriages, where the knights and esquires were set down, and afterwards proceeded to the anti-chamber leading to the prince of Wales's chamber, where they were received by the dean and chapter of Westminster, pursuivants, herald, and provincial king of arms, who conducted them to the prince's chamber, preparatory to forming the procession.

At ten o'clock her majesty and the princesses arrived, and entered the great south door, and soon after his royal highness the duke of York appeared in his state carriage, his horses ornamented with yellow ribbons; his appearance was announced by the beat of drums and sound of trumpets: his royal highness alighted near the door of the abbey, and proceeded upon the platform, attended by Mr. Stepnay, his train-bearer, from thence to the prince's chamber, where the procession was in waiting. About ten minutes past eleven o'clock, the spectators were aroused by the sound of fifteen knights' trumpeters, six drums, and a kettle drum. The old national air of "Britons, strike home," was played, after several interchanges between the drums and trumpets. The procession advanced in slow march to the middle of the platform, where it remained for some time, till the remainder of the procession came on in regular succession.

KNIGHTS.	ESQUIRES.
Lord Nelson; Proxy, Mr. A. Davison	Tyler, Nelson, Bolton.
Lord Keith	Thomas, Harwell, Elphinston.
Sir W. Pitt	Winyard, Gordon, Long.
Sir J. Craig	Parkill, A. Dalrymple, L. Dalrymple.

Sir

Sir E. Coote	Hammersly, Pearce.
Sir J. Craddock	Sandford, Mead, Dillon.
Sir J. Saumarez; Proxy, sir T. Saunders	Saumarez, Saumarez.
Lord Henley	Eden, Eden, Cheeseman.
Sir J. Banks	G. Crawford, J. Crawford, Crofts.
Sir W. Meadows; Proxy, sir J. Pulteney	C. Pierrepoint, H. Pierrepoint, and R. Pierrepoint.
Lord Whitworth; Proxy, colonel Whitworth	Shelly, Lane.
Lord Hutchinson	Wilson, Sutton, Pitcairn.
Sir J. Colpoys	Otway, Trotter, Curzon.
Sir H. Hervey	T. Hervey, J. Hervey, capt. Boys.
Sir A. Clarke	Orby Hunter, Edwin.
Sir R. Abercromby; Proxy, col. Auchmuty	Tucker, Metcalfe, Bruere.
Sir T. Trigge; Proxy, governor Green	Bathurst, Garrett, Welles.
Sir D. Dundas	Elford, Cholmondeley, Hulse.
Sir J. B. Warren; Proxy, sir Edw. Neagle	Blackman, Sidley.
Sir T. Graves; Proxy, Mr. Crauford	Puget, George.
Sir J. Duckworth; Proxy, sir G. Shee	Raikes, Baker, Peacock, Dyer.
Sir A. Mitchell; Proxy, Mr. Sterling	Lawford, Maddox.

About half-past eleven the procession entered Westminster-abbey, by the south-east door, leading into the south cross, and passed down the south aisle in the following order:

Six Gentlemen in dark crimson silk scarfs, uncovered, preceding the procession.
Drums of his Majesty's Household.
The Drum-Major.
Kettle-drums and Trumpets.
The Serjeant-Trumpeter with his Mace.
Twelve Alms-men of the Church of Westminster, two and two, in their gowns, with the badges of the Order.
The Messenger of the Order in his surcoat.
The Esquires of the Knights-elect, three and three, their caps in their hands.
The Esquires of the Knights-Companions, their caps on their heads.
Prebendaries of the Church of Westminster, two and two.
The Sub-Dean, carrying the Bible in his right hand.
Officers of Arms according to their rank in their tabards, viz.
Pursuivants.
Heralds.
Provincial Kings.

Knights-Elect, two and two, carrying their hats and feathers in their hands.
Gentleman Usher—Register—Secretary—Bath King of Arms—Garter—Genealogist.
The Dean of Westminster, Dean of the Order, carrying in his right-hand the form of the oath and admonition.
His Royal Highness the Duke of York, first and principal Knight-Companion, as Great Master, covered.
Twelve Yeomen of the Guards, to close the procession.

The proxies walked in the place of their respective knights, wearing the surcoat and girt, with the sword of the order; they carried the mantle on their right arm; they had no spurs, nor the hat and feather, but walked with a hat in their hands.

The procession advanced to the end of the south aisle, where her majesty, the princess of Wales, and the princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, Sophia, and Amelia, with the duke of Cumberland, were seated in a box lined with crimson, over Mr. Congreve's monument. The knights halted, and paid their obedience to her majesty and the princesses; the whole of the company in the nave of the cathedral at the same time standing up, the procession then crossed over to the north aisle, and proceeded down, till they came to Henry VIIth's chapel, the trumpets continuing to sound till they reached it.

The banners of the deceased knights were buried under the altar, the band, during the ceremony, playing the Dead March in Saul.

The installation of the respective knights then took place.

Divine service was performed, and the Te Deum composed by Dr. Cook, and appropriate anthems, were sung by the gentlemen of the choir of Westminster, assisted by the choirs of the chapel royal and St. James's.

Divine service having ended, the knights put on their hats and feathers, the proxies remaining uncovered, and approached severally with their companions to the altar, where each knight standing and drawing his sword offered it to the dean, who received it, and laid it on the altar. The knights then received their swords of the dean, who restored them with the proper admonitions.

The ceremony then concluded, and Handel's coronation anthem, God save the king, having been sung, the procession returned back to the prince's chamber, in the same order it came from thence; except that the prebendaries retired to the Jerusalem chamber from the abbey door, and the esquires and officers of arms, and officers of the order, when they came out of the church, were covered: within the south-east abbey door, the king's master cook made the usual admonition to each companion.

Dover, May 15.—The Ant cutter is just arrived from France, with Mr. Sylvester, the messenger; he has just taken horse for London. Lord Whitworth, it is said, had scarcely arrived at Chantilly, before a French messenger overtook him, requesting him to stop; but his lordship proceeded, and when he arrived at Breteuil, Bonaparte's own private secretary overtook him, with a letter from the chief consul, to which lord Whitworth returned

returned an answer, and has continued his route; he sleeps to-night at Parker's hotel, Boulogne: an order is arrived here, by express from London, to lay an embargo on all vessels in this port.

Dover, May 16.—General Andreossi and suite are just arrived. A French packet is ready to take them over.

Dover, May 28.—We have now every reason to believe, that the communication between this port and Calais is stopped, as we have had no arrivals from Calais since Tuesday last, although the wind has been favourable.

The king's packet sailed yesterday with a flag of truce and the mail; but we are doubtful whether any vessel will be suffered to leave Calais for some time.

The greatest activity prevails here, in making every preparation for war: a great number of very large armed cutters are already prepared, some for his majesty's service, and others for privateers.—The Northampton regiment of militia march into the castle to-day; the Leicestershire and Derbyshire regiments are expected next week.

JUNE 1.

Plymouth.—Arrived the Juffrow Brigetta, (Dutch) from St. Ubes for Koningsburg; also the Rebecca, (French) from Lisbon for Brest, sent in by the Russell man of war.

Portsmouth, June 2.—Arrived last night his majesty's ship La Minerve, of 40 guns, captain Bullen, from a cruize, having sent in several valuable prizes to the different ports.

Rear-admiral Collingwood has hoisted his red flag at the mizen of his majesty's ship Diamond, of 38 guns; and as soon as the weather moderates, will proceed to join the channel fleet, when he will shift his flag to his majesty's ship Venerable, of 74 guns.

11. As miss Wills, daughter of Mr. Wills of Golden-square, was returning last week from France, she was stopped at Calais. All her papers and letters were taken from her, sealed up and sent to Paris, as well as those of her female companions. The ladies were then set at liberty, and allowed to return to England.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Admiral Cornwallis, &c. to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. dated *Dreadnought*, at Sea, 3d June, 1803.

Admiralty-office, June 11.

SIR,

I am to request you will be pleased to lay before the lords commissioners of the admiralty for their information, the inclosed letter from captain Wallis, of his majesty's ship the Naiad, dated the 2d instant, acquainting me of his having, on the 29th of last month, taken possession of l'Impatient, French national corvette of 20 guns and 80 men, commanded by citizen Hypolite Arnous, lieutenant de vaisseau, from Senegal to Rochfort; and on the 31st, at noon, the French merchant ship Le Chasseur, from St. Domingo to l'Orient, laden with sugar, cotton, coffee, &c. about 359 tons burthen.

I am, &c.

W. CORNWALLIS.

His Majesty's Ship Naiad, June 2.

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you, that on the 29th ult. at 11 P M. being in latitude 45 deg. 50 min. N. and longitude 4 deg. 40 min. W. I

captured the French national corvette l'Impatient, of 20 guns and 80 men, commanded by citizen Hypolite Arnous, lieutenant de vaisseau, from Senegal, bound to Rochfort. She is a very fine vessel, and is esteemed one of the swiftest sailors out of France.—During the chase, they cut away her anchors from her bows, and threw part of her guns overboard.

I have likewise the honour to inform you, that on the 31st at noon, I captured the French merchant ship le Chasseur, from St. Domingo, bound to l'Orient, laden with sugar, cotton, coffee, &c. She is a very handsome ship, 359 tons burthen, newly coppered, commanded by citizen Lamer, lieutenant de vaisseau.

I am, sir, &c. JAMES WALLIS.

The Hon. Adm. Cornwallis.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-Admiral Dacres, Commanding Officer of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at Plymouth, to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. dated the 3d inst.

SIR,

I inclose, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter I have received from lieutenant Senhouse, of his majesty's ship Conqueror (employed on the impress service on board the Hind revenue cutter), stating his having captured La Felicité French cutter privateer, and carried her into Portland-roads, with sundry other prizes.

I am, &c. JAS. P. DACRES.

Hind Revenue Cutter, Portland-roads, June 1, 1803.

SIR,

I beg leave to acquaint you, that whilst cruizing off Portland, in pursuance to your orders, I have captured and detained the following vessels:—La Felicité, French cutter privateer, armed with 22 men—Le Charles, French merchant brig, laden with oak timber for constructing ships, from Rouen to Rochfort—A Dutch galliot, laden with salt, from the coast of Portugal, bound to Rotterdam — A Dutch Indiaman, from Surinam, with a very valuable cargo of cotton and coffee. The fresh westerly wind, with the bad sailing of my prizes, jointly obliged me to anchor in this roadstead; as soon, however, as the wind and weather will permit, I shall lose no time in proceeding to Plymouth.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. T. SENHOUSE.

Rear-Admiral Dacres, &c. &c.

The French, with a degree of mean perfidy unknown in former wars between civilised states, have detained all those persons who have been so unfortunate as to trust themselves in their dominions after the return of the British ambassador: one of the Paris papers states, that the number of English prisoners of war in France, Italy, and Holland, is 7,500; among whom are several generals, colonels, and officers of all ranks.

16. By a letter from gen. Mortier, addressed to the minister of war in Paris, dated from his head-quarters, Nieuburgh, June 4, it appears, that the electorate of Hanover was surrendered to the French on the 3d instant by capitulation. A partial affair took place between the French and Hanoverians on the 2d instant, at Borsten, in which the Hanoverian line was broken by the enemy, who took on the occasion a number of prisoners. On the following day, as the invaders were on the point of forcing the passage of the Weser, the regency sent com-

commissioners to the French general, whose first proposal was promptly rejected. A convention was then entered into, by which a total surrender of the country was agreed to by the commissioners. The French general is to make what changes in the government, and levy what contributions he may think proper; the authority of the regency is suspended; the French cavalry is to be remounted, and the army to be paid and clothed at the expense of the electorate; the artillery, to the amount of 1000 pieces, the arms, to the number of 100,000 stands, with the whole of the magazines, are to be delivered up to the enemy; all funds have been sequestrated, and the effects belonging to the king of England are placed entirely at the disposal of the invaders: the Hanoverian troops are to retire behind the Elbe, and not to bear arms against France during the present war.

JULY.

4. During the thunder storm on Saturday last, a ball of fire fell upon a public-house near Perry's Stairs, Wapping, which in an instant set fire to it and the house adjoining. They were both burned in several places; the wires and bells were all melted, as also the leads on the roof. The inhabitants had time enough to make their escape. The lightning set fire to a carpenter's shop in Gravel-lane, Southwark. The shavings and other combustibles were instantly in a blaze, but were happily soon extinguished by the endeavours of two men who were at work when the accident happened.

The act for making the new military levy having received the royal assent, the army about to be raised has now officially obtained the denomination which has been before given it in parliament, being called, in orders from the public offices of yesterday's date, *The Royal Army of Reserve.* Stores and accoutrements are preparing for it with great speed. There will be 2000 sergeants and 800 drummers.

9. An accident happened on this day, which, for a time, threatened the destruction of that magnificent and venerable structure Westminster-abbey. About two o'clock the square tower, in the centre of the cross aisles, over that part of the choir which is between the pulpit and the altar, was discovered to be in flames: this part of the roof, which is flat, supported by braces of timber and plaister, most curiously gilt, was in a short time in a blaze. From the great height, it was impossible to carry water speedily to it: to obviate this difficulty, the soldiers and volunteers ranged themselves from the Abbey to the water-side, and a number of buckets were procured, which they filled, and handed from one to another, and afterwards raised to the top by means of ropes. The fall of the melted lead, and of the half-burned timber, was most tremendous, and would soon have laid the whole choir in ashes, but for the exertions of the engines, which arrived in time to play upon and extinguish the burning wood as it fell; and we are happy to state that the organ and the choir, between it and the pulpit, and the monuments in general, have escaped with very little damage.—It was currently reported among the populace, that the Abbey had been wilfully set fire to by some French incendiary; but the fact was, it was attributable to that careless-

carelessness which generally produces such accidents. Some plumbers in the employ of Mr. Jones, of Tothill-street, having a fire lighted in their portable furnace, on the top of the square tower, for heating their solder to repair the leads of the roof, carelessly went to dinner at one o'clock, without leaving a proper person to attend the fire, and before their return the conflagration had commenced.

It is to the elevation of the square roof alone that the building is indebted for its preservation; for had the fire extended to the long-vaulted galleries, which run beneath the roof from east to west, and are principally composed of timber, no human power could have preserved the edifice from destruction.

18. This afternoon, between the hours of five and seven o'clock, P. Duparion, esq. put an end to his life by shooting himself with a pistol, the ball of which entered his upper lip, passed through the centre of the head, and lodged in the cieling of the room. For the last four years his apartments had not been cleaned, nor any person allowed to enter them but his daughters, two or three times, merely as visitors.—The coroner's inquest sat on the body, and brought in a verdict—Lunacy.

The following is a copy of the letter which Mr. Forbes, consul of the United States of America, in Hamburgh, sent to the captains of his nation, on receiving notice of the blockade of the Elbe:

Sir, *Hamburgh, July* 11.

The blockade of the Elbe by the English has been officially announced to the government of this city. In so serious a crisis as the present, it is of consequence to the interest of your owners most strictly to observe, not only the laws as they have been acknowledged by the respective nations, but also those laws as they have been laid down by the principal maritime powers. I therefore advise you not to take any more goods on board, to procure the best certificates that what you have already loaded has been shipped and loaded before the blockade of the Elbe was known, and to hasten your departure as much as possible.

I am, &c.

JOHN M. FORBES.

Downing-street, July 26.—The king has been pleased to cause it to be signified by the right honourable lord Hawkesbury, his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to the ministers of neutral powers residing at this court, that the necessary measures having been taken by his majesty's command for the blockade of the entrance of the river Weser, in consequence of his majesty having recently received authentic information of the occupation of parts of the banks of that river by the French troops, the said river is declared to be in a state of blockade; and that from this time all the measures authorised by the law of nations, and the respective treaties between his majesty and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to all vessels which may attempt to violate the said blockade. Lord Hawkesbury has been further commanded by his majesty to signify to the ministers of the neutral powers, that whenever the French troops will evacuate the positions which they now occupy on the banks of the Weser, and will remove to such a distance from them as to leave the course of that river

river perfectly free and secure to the vessels of his subjects, as well as of other nations, his majesty will immediately direct his ships of war, which may be stationed at the mouth of the river Weser for the purpose of blockading the same, to be withdrawn.

30. A dispatch has been this day received from lieutenant-general Grinfield, commander in chief of his majesty's troops in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee Islands, by the right honourable lord Hobart, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the war department, acquainting his lordship that on the 22d of June the fortress of Morne Fortunée was carried by assault, and the Island of St. Lucia captured for the British government.

AUGUST.

Admiralty Office.

Copy of a Letter to Lord Nelson.

Victory, off Gibraltar,
My Lord, *July* 12.

I beg to acquaint your lordship that on Saturday the 28th ult. in lat. 45 deg. 40 min. long. 6 deg. 10 min. W. I captured the French national frigate L'Embuscade (late his majesty's ship Ambuscade, of 32 guns), commanded by monsieur Fradin, capitaine de vaisseau, and manned with 187 men.

The Ambuscade was from Cape Francois bound to Rochfort, out thirty days.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) SAM. SUTTON.

Admiralty Office, August 9.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Daniel de Putron, Commander of the private Ship of War Alarm, to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. dated Guernsey, 23d July.

Sir,

I beg leave to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that on the 28th ult. in lat. 42 deg. 45 min. N. and long. 11 deg. 7 min. W. I fell in with, and after a chace of fourteen hours, captured the national schooner La Legere, commanded by monsieur Collinet, lieutenant de vaisseau, and mounting 2 brass four-pounders, and 14 brass swivels, with 36 men. She was bound from Rochfort to Senegal.

I have the honour to be, &c.
DANIEL DE PUTRON.

EAST-INDIES.

15. The late accounts from Bombay announce a desperate conflict to have taken place between our troops and a numerous body of Arabs, at Brodera, in Guzerat.—The Arabs had agreed to surrender the place; but, pending the negotiation as to the conditions of the capitulation, by which they were allowed to march out with all their effects, they brought a number of guns to bear upon our people, and commenced a most unexpected and destructive fire: our troops instantly stormed the place, and, carrying it, inflicted on the traitors the punishment they merited. We lost in the affair a great number of officers and men.

Seringapatam, Jan. 27.—Holkar's army, comprising 50,000 cavalry and 24,000 infantry, attacked and defeated the allies in October last, when several European officers were slain on both sides, including the commandant of each party. A variety of circumstances have rendered it necessary that our government should be prepared, and almost

almost the whole of our army has been ordered for field service. Depôts of military stores, provisions, &c. were forming in all the frontier posts, and the commander in chief means to take the field in person, it is believed, to act against Holkar. The Mahratta force consists chiefly of cavalry, and without any other principle of attachment than arises from the wealth of their employers, and they constantly change sides as their interests direct.

Feb. 3.—The army has already commenced its march from hence towards the Mahratta frontiers, and the troops in the Carnatic are likewise in motion. Should we commence hostilities, it will be against Holkar.

Camp in the Mysore Country, Feb. 11.

Our army is moving forward against Holkar, who has deposed the peshwa, after a severe battle, in which many thousands were slain on both sides. The peshwa has taken refuge in a strong hill fort, called Bassine, near Bombay, and we are moving into the Mahratta territories, to assist him, and replace him on the throne; after which a strong subsidiary force will probably be established in Poonah, his capital. No blow has yet been struck on either side; and there is yet a probability that the aim of the marquis Wellesley may be accomplished by negotiation. If this termination is not put to the business, in about three weeks we shall cross the frontier, and our first object, I presume, will be the siege of Darwam, the strongest fortress of the enemy, and which will probably be hereafter converted by us into a depôt.

Our army will consist of about 4000 European and 16,000 native troops, well equipped. Our enemy is brave, and has numbers on his side; but from the state of our army we have not a doubt of the event, if he will once let us bring him to action.

Downing-street, Aug. 15.—A dispatch was this morning received by the right honourable lord Hobart, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the war department, from lieutenant-general Grinfield, commander in chief of his majesty's troops in the Windward and Leeward Islands, announcing the capture of the Island of Tobago, by the British forces, on the 30th of June last.

24. The Italian, who was convicted a few months ago for selling indecent prints at boarding-schools, &c. was pilloried yesterday from twelve to one o'clock, near St. Clement's church, in the Strand. The populace did not think fit to exercise their privilege on the occasion, and the man was taken down without any appearance of being affected by his punishment—He is to stand in the pillory near St. Giles's church before the expiration of his imprisonment.

26. Our Bombay army is again engaged in a most irksome and fatiguing service. The formidable chieftain Mula Row, who lately opposed the government of Guicawar, in Guzzerat, has effected his escape from Nerwaad, where he was on his parole, and has collected a numerous army in the northern mountains: his measures are connected with the pirate Eggendi, who had long infested those seas; and it is supposed, from the magnitude of his resources and force, that he is secretly supported by some powerful friends. Our

govern-

government has reinforced all the forts in his neighbourhood, set a strong corps in motion against him, and stationed numerous cruisers along the Pattan coast, to prevent his receiving succours by sea.

Goulad Sing, one of the most formidable of the insurgent chiefs in India, has overrun the entire of the Nerwa territory, seised the property of the adherents of the legitimate government, and confiscated it amongst his followers. Several strong corps have been dispatched against him, but he has either defeated them or bribed them to retire. A numerous army was, at the date of our letters, on its march against him.

County of Meath.—At a special sessions of the peace, or meeting of the magistrates of said county, convened by Edward Elliot Chambers, clerk of the peace, pursuant to a requisition directed to him by the most noble the marquis of Headfort, governor of said county, Christopher A. Nicholson, and Robert Waller, esqrs., it was unanimously resolved—

That, in consequence of a letter received from government, recommending the measure, we deem it expedient that a memorial be presented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, praying "that the county of Meath be proclaimed to be in a state of insurrection, or in danger of being so."

Dublin, 27.—Two persons, of a mean condition, and one something superior, were brought into town to-day in custody of a party of the military; but though these arrests continue, the country is perfectly quiet, and the yeomanry on permanent pay are reducing in the southern districts.

SEPTEMBER.

Admiralty-Office.

Copy of a letter from Vice-admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, K. B. Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the Mediterranean, to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. dated on board the Amphion, at Sea, June 17, 1803.

Sir,

I herewith transmit to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a letter from captain Mowbray, of his majesty's ship Maidstone, which was delivered to me by the lieutenant sent in with the vessel therein mentioned, on the morning of the 17th instant, as the Amphion was getting under weigh from Malta.

I am, &c.
NELSON & BRONTE.

His Majesty's Ship Maidstone, June 14, 1803, 14 Leagues W. from Isle Faro.

My lord,

I do myself the honour to inform you, that his majesty's ship under my command fell in with and captured, at six this morning, a brig, in the service of the French republic, called L'Arabe, carrying eight 4-pounders and 58 men, commanded by captain Mathurin Theodore Artulam: she was on her return to L'Orient from Athens.

I have the honour to be, &c.
R. H. MOWBRAY.

Lord viscount Nelson,
K. B. &c. Mediterranean.

Downing-street, 6.—The king has been pleased to cause it to be signified, by the right honourable lord Hawkesbury, his majesty's principal

principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, to the ministers of neutral powers residing at this court, that his majesty has thought proper, for the defence of his dominions, and the protection of his subjects, to take the most effectual measures for the blockade of the entrance of the port of Havre-de-Grace, and the other ports of the Seine; and that from this time all the measures authorised by the law of nations, and the respective treaties between his majesty and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to all vessels which may attempt to violate the said blockade.

Kingston, Jamaica.—A most horrid conspiracy among the negroes, by which it was intended to massacre all the whites without exception, and which was just on the point of taking place, has been providentially discovered just time enough to save us all from utter destruction, and (June 22) this day two of the ringleaders have been executed, and numbers taken up.

EAST-INDIES.

Delhee, Jan. 14.—Shanuwaz Khan represented to his majesty, that Maharaja Sendheea Bahadgor had approached Indoor, whence he has dispatched some detachments of his troops to besiege all the fortresses in the possession of the holkurs, who depending solely upon their own strength, have dared to take the field against their numerous enemies. He also states, that his highness the peishwa wrote a letter to Sendheea, sending word that he will come to Sendheea's camp by sea, with a large body of forces, to his assistance, in order to extirpate the holkurs, and re-establish himself so firmly at Poona, as to frustrate in future all the machinations of the enemies to his government.

The latest letters from the Deccan, which have reached Delhee, contain, agreeably to the representations of Shahnuwaz Khan to his majesty, the following particulars:—Holkar is in the most irksome situation possible, in consequence of that pecuniary distress which in India is almost inseparable from the collection of such a numerous army as he has now on the field round his standard.

Futh Sihr Manea, with his division of the troops, has been under the necessity of moving to a considerable distance, in a southern direction, for the subsistence of his people; and he now actually refuses to obey Holkar's orders for the concentration of all his forces in the environs of Poona, unless speedy and effectual measures be adopted by that chief to relieve the pressing wants of the whole army. The puthan surdors, Meer Khan and Shuhamut Khan, seem alike indisposed to brave the hardships of a campaign any longer, under so many inauspicious circumstances, which have probably conspired to induce their detachment also to remove a short distance from the grand encampment in and round Poona.

The peishwa is in a situation of perfect safety, under the protection of his allies, and seems high in spirits with the hopes of immediate restoration, by amicable adjustment, to his former authority and government, between all the parties concerned.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 17.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Bayntun, of the Cumberland, to Rear-

Rear-Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B.

His Majesty's Ship Cumberland, between Jean Rabel and Cape Nichola Mole, 30th June.

Sir,

Having parted with the convoy, as I had the honour of informing you in my letter of yesterday, I stretched in with the squadron, during the night, for St. Domingo: soon after daylight, a large sail was seen near the Tortugas, steering down Cape Nicola Mole, and from the cut of sails I judged her to be a French ship of war; the Cumberland, with the Vanguard, were soon close up to her, the latter on the starboard side, and the former on the larboard bow: in this position she received a few shot from the Vanguard, and, having fired one, struck to his majesty's squadron, and was immediately taken possession of.

She proved to be the Creole, a remarkably fine national French frigate, of 44 guns, carrying 18 pounders, and commanded by citizen Le Bastard, from Cape Francois, bound to Port-au-Prince, at sea one day, having general Morgan (the second in command at St. Domingo) and staff, with 530 troops, on board, the crew of the frigate consisting only of 150 men, two of whom were badly wounded.

While we were taking possession of the prize, a small national schooner, commanded by a lieutenant, came into the squadron, and was taken: she came from Cape Francois, and bound to Port-au-Prince, having on board 100 bloodhounds from Cuba, intended to accompany the army serving against the blacks.

I have the honour to be, &c.

H. W. Bayntun.

Rear-Adm. Sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B.

22. An overland express arrived at the India-house yesterday, with the important intelligence of the capture of Poonah, the capital of the Mahratta States. It appears, that on general Wellesley's taking the field, the Mahratta general sent to inform him, that if his march was continued, he would burn the capital to which our army was directing its attention. General Wellesley, however, being determined to effect its capture, made a forced march of 60 miles in one day, and arrived at Poonah in sufficient time to prevent the enemy's being apprised of his progress.

On the near approach of the British troops, the Mahratta chief made a precipitate and confused retreat, and the place was, in consequence, carried without the slightest opposition.

The overland express also announces the resignation of general Stuart, as commander in chief, and second in council at Fort St. George.

WAR IN CEYLON.

From the Madras Gazette, March 7.

Camp, Wallapoaloa, Feb. 20.

Intelligence has been received, that the detachments of the army had joined on the morning of the 21st.

The king of Candy and the first adigar had abandoned the capital, and fled to the province of Ouva, after having set fire to the palace and several temples. General Macdowall had placed a guard upon the palace; and by the exertions of the British soldiers the fire had been extinguished, but not until the building was nearly consumed.

Columbo, Feb. 26.

G. O. By the Governor.

His excellency the governor is happy to congratulate major-general

ral Macdowall on the possession of the capital of the kingdom of Candy by his majesty's troops; and on the speedy and successful advancement of the important business with which he is charged, the progress of which, his excellency is persuaded, would have been very different, had it not been for the energy, activity, and judgement, displayed by the major-general, and the excellent discipline and spirit maintained by him in the army.

His excellency requests major-general Macdowall to accept of his thanks, and to communicate them to colonel Baillie, lieutenant-colonel Barbut, and all the officers who have so meritoriously seconded him; and at the same time to express to the non-commissioned officers and privates his high approbation of their good conduct and intrepidity.

OCTOBER 15.

Hanover, Oct. 4.—Yesterday the 2d battalion of the 34th half brigade marched from hence, and another battalion from Hameln, into the territory of Gottingen. The occupation of Gottingen and Goubenhagen has taken place, partly because the inhabitants have refused to pay the war tax, and partly to lessen the burden of the other parts of the country. The Hanoverian legion is increased to about 500 men. Nine thousand great coats have been demanded for the French army.

19. On the 4th instant, the rebel general Russel, and another prisoner, were brought into Drogheda from Dublin, in a post-chaise, accompanied by major Sirr, under an escort of the Queen's Bays, commanded by captain Spicer. Russel was removed at the Tholsel into another carriage, and escorted to Dundalk, where he was to remain that night, by a detachment from the same regiment, and a party of the Loyal Drogheda cavalry, both commanded by captain Smyth.

Kingston, Jamaica, July 30.—The Vanguard, of 74 guns, James Walker, esq., commander, arrived yesterday at Port Royal, accompanied by the French ship Le Duquesne, of 74 guns, taken off St. Domingo, on the 25th instant, after a chace of 24 hours. In the action one seaman was killed and one wounded on board the Vanguard. We are sorry to state, that in hoisting out the boats to take possession, a lieutenant, a promising young man, was unfortunately drowned.

26. Last night, at eleven o'clock, a dreadful, accident happened at the foot of Blackfriars-bridge. The driver of a hackney-coach being intoxicated, mounted the box, accompanied by a woman; when being unable to guide the horses, the animals, which were both blind, set off at full gallop over the bridge, and ran with the greatest violence against the iron rails of Mr. Fowler's house, the sign of the Cross Keys. The shock was so great, that the rails gave way, and both the horses fell into the area, writhing with the most horrid torture on the spikes, which suspended their hinder parts for a considerable time. They were both killed, and the coach, which also followed them down the area, was shattered to pieces. The coachman and the woman were previously thrown off the box into the road: the coach went over the latter, and dislocated her arm: the man was taken up beastly drunk, insensible of any injury. The woman was conveyed immediately to a surgeon. Mr. Fowler's house is much

much damaged, and a considerable time elapsed before the dead animals could be dragged out of the area.

28. The Leeward Island mail of yesterday brought letters, containing an account of the failure of an expedition sent by the French against the arsenal and port of Antigua. Seven hundred troops were embarked in thirteen vessels from Guadaloupe. The Emerald frigate fell in with them, captured three, and drove the rest back to Guadaloupe, chasing them under the French batteries, which did some damage to the masts and yards of the frigate.

NOVEMBER.

Dublin, Nov. 2.—On Monday, a quantity of arms were seised in a house in Blackhall-row, near Nicholas-street, by major Sirr, attended by a military guard—a cart was fully laden with muskets, &c. It was some time before the place of concealment was discovered.

A smith of the name of Walter May, of Stillorgan, has been taken into custody, on a charge of being a pike-maker for insurgents, and having been active in the disturbances on the 23d of July.—A certain person of this town in the iron-mongery trade, not far from Pill-lane, we hear, declared this week to a gentleman who had business with him in his line, that he has not had one of his usual twenty men (smiths) at work for him for several days; how they are employed, or spending their time, it is hoped the conservators of the peace of that district will be vigilant to ascertain.

William Hamilton, a native of Enniskillen, for whose apprehension 800*l.* has been offered, (500*l.* by general sir Charles Ross's proclamation, as commandant of the Fermanagh district, and 300*l.* by the lord-lieutenant and council), was this day brought into town under a military escort, from the north. He has been in the French service, and returned to the country about six months ago. A Mr. Lawless, of this city, a person of some eminence in the commercial world, has been also arrested. Quigly, one of the persons whose trial was postponed on Monday, has been since tried before the privy council; and, it is believed, has given the fullest and most efficient information. He is said to have stood high in the confidence of Emmett, and to have filled a situation of great trust and importance, on the night of the 23d of July.

Thirty-six prisoners were lodged in the gaol of Naas, on Sunday last, from the county of Kildare; and six from the same place were yesterday lodged in the gaol of Kilmainham. They are all charged with being concerned in the recent insurrection.

13. A most beautiful vivid meteor descended this evening, about eight o'clock, taking a south-west direction; and the whole atmosphere, for the instant, appeared illumined with a flame of blue light. Its appearance was exactly that of a fire-work, called a Bengal-light, of a bright blue flame; it was not so large as has been stated, nor was its appearance accompanied by any heat or noise. This phænomenon is not calculated to excite that terror and dread which in the dark ages of superstition the designing were wont to raise. A comparision of well-authenticated facts authorises a conclusion that similar events are by no means uncommon: but by happening in the day-time, or after the inhabitants have in general retired to rest, they are observed but by few;

and the relation, if made, is disregarded: and it is, perhaps, as much owing to the time of the evening in which this meteor appeared, as to its magnitude and brilliancy, that it has excited so much curiosity. From the circumstance of its appearance at Dover, Cranbrook, Chelmsford, Lewes, Brighthelmstone, and Southampton, compared with its appearance in London, it seems that the body which occasioned this light was moving with incredible swiftness at a vast height above the earth, in a direction nearly W. or S. W. and in a line passing to the southward of the coast of Essex. Accordingly we expect in due course of time to hear that it was seen in France, and probably further in a S. W. direction; and in the contrary direction across England, Wales, and perhaps Ireland. It was observed near the Horse-guards, in Westminster, to pass about 28 or 30 degrees to the southward of the zenith, and about 28 or 29 minutes after the hour of eight by that clock, which is well and constantly regulated to true or near time; the whole time which the light occasioned by the meteor lasted, was not estimated to exceed five or six seconds. From the great height at which this meteor was moving, and its great velocity, we have but little expectation of hearing of its fall; or of any of those masses of iron and stony matters which have, in so many well-authenticated instances, fallen from the atmosphere, and buried themselves in the earth, on the bursting or extinction of many similar meteors. Should, however, the noise of the fall of any such masses be heard, or the holes be discovered in any part, we hope that the curious will not fail to thoroughly investigate the facts, for the purpose of encreasing our knowledge on this very curious subject.

15. A dreadful scene happened at Whitstable, on Friday night, near the oyster ground. The boat of the gun-brig called the Hackett, with ten men in it, was going to Feversham, but the weather being bad, they returned; and going alongside of the ship, the sails of the boat backed, and in a moment she upset. Seven out of the crew were drowned; one of the other three swam to the stern of the ship, and saved his life; the other two swam to the buoy, called the Cullinbin buoy, and were taken off by another boat that belonged to the jolly-boat. Among the sufferers were the doctor and a midshipsman, two fine men. The ship fired guns of distress, and hoisted a black flag.

CAPTURE OF DEMARARA.

Admiralty-Office, November 15.

Copy of a Dispatch from Commodore Samuel Hood, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Leeward Islands, to Sir Evan Nepean, Bart.; dated on board his Majesty's Ship Centaur, off Demarara, 20th September 1803.

Sir,

Thinking it of the utmost importance to the mercantile interest the earliest information should be sent of the surrender of this colony, and that of Essequibo, to his majesty's forces, I beg leave to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the capitulation was signed on board the Heureux, yesterday morning; in the evening the Hornet and Netley entered the river, and two hundred troops took possession of Fort William Frederick, and this day the colonies surrendered.

The Hippomenes ship corvette, of

of eighteen guns, the only vessel of the Batavian republic here, is included in the capitulation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SAMUEL HOOD.

25. On Wednesday the 16th instant, at three *p. m.*, the Circe frigate had the misfortune to strike on the Lemon and Oar, whilst in chace of a French privateer. The shock was so violent, that it tore away her rudder; and otherwise so damaged her keel, that she immediately sprung a leak. The frigate did not remain long on the sand-bank, but was beat off into deep water. She was, however, rendered entirely unmanageable for want of her rudder, and from other injuries she had received. In the mean time, the leak gained so fast upon the pumps already in use, that it became necessary to employ every one on board. All hands were called to work them, and the officers took their turn with the men; notwithstanding which, it required all their exertions to keep the ship above water.

Until seven o'clock the next evening, the whole ship's company incessantly laboured at the pumps; till every soul on board was completely exhausted, and despaired of saving either the ship or their lives. At length their signals brought to their assistance three fishing smacks, which could not get to them sooner on account of the boisterous state of the weather. The smacks immediately took the whole of the crew on board in the most pitiable situation, without being able to save any of their clothing, except what they wore at the time. When every person was safe on board, the vessels did not take their departure immediately, but waited, at the request of the captain of the Circe, to see her go down, which happened about half-past seven, half an hour after they had quitted her; she went down head foremost. The fishing smacks then made sail for Yarmouth, where they arrived on the Friday evening, and put the crew of the Circe on board the Repulse, admiral Russel's ship. Here the unfortunate sufferers experienced the most humane and hospitable attention imaginable. After the ship's company were perfectly refreshed, they were put on board the Galgo armed ship, and sent to Sheerness, where a court-martial will be immediately held on the officers of the Circe. Not one of the crew was either lost or hurt.

DECEMBER 1.

By dispatches received at lord Hobart's office in Downing-street, from lieutenant-general Grinfield, government is informed of the capture of the colony of Berbice, and its dependencies, by the British troops on the 24th September.

Constantinople, Oct. 30. — The Porte has this day at length received the official confirmation, and circumstantial account, of the defeat of the Wahabis, or partisans of Abdul Wechab. The pacha of Geddes sends advice, that he has had with them 26 engagements, and lost the greater part of his officers; but that he has now entirely broken and exterminated the force of the rebels: the few who remain of them, have saved themselves by flight; and the sheref of Mecca has returned to his post.

12. Dispatches are received from admiral Duckworth in the West-Indies, announcing the capture of the French garrison, at the Mole and Port Dauphin, in Domingo. At port St. Dauphin, La Sagesse frigate, 32 guns, was taken. The French troops at the above stations, and indeed at every other place,

were in the utmost distress. It was to avoid falling into the hands of the blacks, that the French surrendered to our forces, and in every instance they have experienced the protection of British humanity. Captain Bligh, by application to the blacks, obtained the release of general Dumont and his suite, who had fallen into their hands, and were in imminent danger.

Edinburgh, Dec. 26.—On Wednesday night, a most tremendous storm of wind and rain from S. S. E. came on, which lasted the whole of Thursday. Much damage has been done to the shipping on our coast. Early in the morning, a sloop from Dunbarton, coal-laden, was observed on the South Bull; and a coasting vessel, from Cork, on the north side, near the end of the north wall. The crews had betaken themselves to the shrouds. From the violence of the tempest, it was a considerable time before any boats could go to their assistance; they were at length fortunately brought off. A sloop of war, that lay in Poolbeg, was driven from her moorings, and forced up the river, to Carlisle-bridge; where she struck a collier, impelling it with great violence against the abutments of the bridge, by which she sustained much injury.

Admiralty-office, Dec. 27.

The Hon. Admiral Cornwallis has transmitted to this Office a Letter from Captain Winthrop, of his Majesty's Ship the Ardent, to Captain Sir Edward Pellew, of the Tonnant, dated 29th November, 1803, of which the following is a copy.

SIR,

The ship chased from the squadron yesterday by his majesty's ship under my command, I closed with off Cape Finisterre, so near as to be able to give her a few shot; and should have been along-side of her in a few minutes, had not the wind headed me off shore, which enabled her to double the Cape, and get into Finisterre Bay, where she ran on shore, from apprehension of our sending to take possession of her, and at midnight blew up. She proved to be the Bayonnaise French national frigate, of 32 guns and 200 men, from the Havannah, bound to Ferrol.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. WINTHROP.

The earl of Upper Ossory's carriage was plundered on its way to town on Thursday last, of a large trunk, containing linen and wearing apparel. The robbery was a very daring one, being committed in Tottenham-court-road, about the dusk of the evening, and was accomplished under very difficult circumstances. The trunk was placed in the front of the carriage, and secured by an iron chain, and two leathern belts; there were four horses to the carriage, driving at a good round pace.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS *and* BURIALS, *from* December 14, 1802, *to* December 13, 1803.

Christened	Males 11054 / Females 9929	20983.	Buried	Males 9799 / Females 9783	19582. Increase in Burials this Year 209

Whereof have died,

Under 2 Years	5355	20 and 30 -	1929	60 and 70 -	1580	100 -	1
Between 2 and 5	2077	30 and 40 -	2025	70 and 80 -	1088	101 -	0
5 and 10	730	40 and 50 -	2265	80 and 90 -	482	102 -	0
10 and 20	581	50 and 60 -	2044	90 and 100 -	64	107 -	1

BIRTHS, &c.

BIRTHS *in the Year* 1803.

Jan. 2. The lady of col. Campbell, a daughter.

9. Lady Erroll, a daughter.

11. The marchioness of Bute, a son.

16. Lady Powerscourt, a daughter.

—. The countess of Limerick, a daughter.

22. Lady W. Russel, a daughter.

24. Lady le Despenser, a daughter.

25. Lady Harvey, a son.

28. Lady of hon. J. T. Capel, a son.

29. Wife of B. Hobhouse, esq. M. P. a daughter.

Feb. 1. The lady of sir Thomas Liddel, a son.

4. The hon. Mrs. J. Markham, a son.

5. The hon. Mrs. Baird, a son.

6. The countess of Ilchester, a son.

—. Lady Robert Fitzgerald, a daughter.

7. Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.

8. The hon. Mrs. Poyntz, a daughter.

—. The hon. Mrs. Parker, a daughter.

9. Viscountess Southwell, a daughter.

11. The hon. Mrs. Smith, a son.

12. Lady Charles Somerset, a son.

14. The hon. Mrs. Spencer Percival, a son.

18. The hon. Mrs. Ryder, a daughter.

20. The lady of major-gen. sir Charles Ross, a son.

21. The lady of lord Blaney, a son.

23. The queen of Prussia, a princess.

25. The lady of the hon. J. B. Simpson, a son.

28. The lady of the hon. col. Maitland, a son.

March 1. Lady Paget, a son.

3. Viscountess Middleton, a daughter.

4. The lady of the hon. St. George Caulfield, a daughter.

9. Lady Trollope, a daughter.

10. The lady of J. Pytches, esq. M. P. a daughter.

13. Countess of Corke, a son.

16. Duchess of Manchester, a daughter.

24. Lady St. Asaph, a son.

—. The lady of sir John Hayes, bart. a son.

—. Lady Elizabeth Loftus, a son.

31. Princess of Mecklinberg Schwerin, a princess.

April 2. The lady of sir Francis Vincent, bart. a son.

5. The lady of hon. major-gen. Forbes, a son.

6. The lady of hon. J. Abercromby, a son.

10. Lady C. Drummond, a son.

12. Countess of Berkley, a daughter.

13. The lady of sir J. Harrington, a daughter.

17. Lady Peele, a daughter.

25. Lady W. Beauclerk, a son.

27. Viscountess Brome, a daughter.

29. Lady G. H. Cavendish, a daughter.

May 2. Lady Leslie, a daughter.

4. Lady Catherine Graham, a daughter.

5. Lady Sefton, a daughter.

—. The countess of Sutherland, a daughter.

24. The lady of sir John Murray, bart. a son.

26. The hon. Mrs. Boyle, a daughter.

June 5. The lady of sir Thomas Whichcote, bart. a daughter.

8. Lady Henry Stuart, a son.

9. The lady of vice-admiral sir John Orde, a son.

12. Lady Mary Myers, a son.

16. The countess of Albemarle, a daughter.

24. Lady Morpeth, a daughter.

—. The lady of sir Wm. Beechy, a son.

25. Viscountess Boyle, a daughter.

26. The lady of hon. and rev. Thomas de Grey, a daughter.

28. Lady Cathcart, a son.

29. The lady of admiral sir Hyde Parker, a son.

July 2. Lady Sinclair, a son.

—. The lady of hon. Laurence Dundas, a daughter.

5. Lady viscountess Ashbrook, a daughter.

7. Lady Charlotte Gould, a son.

12. Lady Louisa Rodney, a daughter.

17. The hon. Mrs. Bentinck, a son.

21. The lady of sir Edward Knatchbull, a daughter.

23. The lady of sir John Gordon, a daughter.

27. The lady of admiral sir Charles Pole, a daughter.

29. The lady of lord chief justice Ellenborough, a son.

Aug. 1. The lady of sir Henry Harpur, a son.

8. Viscountess Kirkwall, a son.

12. The marchioness of Winchester, a son.

13. Lady Pelham, a daughter.

14. Lady Sarah Bayly, a son.

16. Lady Jane Long, a son.

17. The hon. Mrs. Bernard, a daughter.

—. The lady of hon. Archibald Macdonald, a son.

23. The lady of sir Robert Barclay, M. P. a son.

Sept. 3. The lady of sir Robert Williams, a daughter.

5. The lady of sir Richard Bedingfield, a son.

13. The countess of Mansfield, a daughter.

14. The hon. Mrs. Dundas, a daughter.

22. Lady Augusta Leith, a son.

25. The lady of colonel Beaumont, M. P. a daughter.

Lately, lady Douglas, a son.

Lady Elizabeth Lowther, a son.

Lady Hunloke, a son.

The hon. Mrs. King, a daughter.

—. Lady Southampton, a son.

Oct. 2. Lady Louvaine, a son.

—. Lady Charlotte Lenox, a daughter.

4. Lady Anne Ashley, a son.

11. The lady of sir Joseph Mawbey, a daughter.

12. The lady of the hon. and rev. Henry Ryder, a son.

17. The marchioness of Bath, a son.

21. The duchess of Somerset, a daughter.

22. Lady Caroline Stuart Wortley, a daughter.

27. Lady Caroline Rushout, a daughter.

30. Lady Charlotte Howard, a daughter.

—. The lady of rear-admiral sir James Saumarez, a son.

Oct. 31. The lady of the hon. col. Vaughan, a son.

Nov. 5. Lady Viscountess Falkland, a son.

6. Viscountess Andover, a daughter.

8. Countess of Talbot, a son.

10. The lady of hon. George Nevill, a son.

13. The lady of the hon. E. J. Turnour, a son.

14.

14. Lady Amelia Raye, a son.
15. The lady of gen. Hope, a son.
19. Lady Wilson, a son.
21. The lady of sir Hedworth Williamson, bart. a daughter.
24. Lady Amherst, a son.
Dec. 12. Hon. Mrs. Warneford, a daughter.
16. The lady of John Staniforth, esq. M. P. a son.
17. The lady of hon. Wm. Fitzroy, a son.
19. The hon. Mrs. Petre, a daughter.
20. The lady of John Dent, esq. M. P. a son.
24. The hon. Mrs. Grenfell, a daughter.

MARRIAGES *in the Year* 1803.

Jan. 1. Wm. Orde, esq. M. P. to miss Scott.
3. Lord Andover, to the hon. miss Dutton.
6. Lord Delaval, to miss Knight.
10. The hon. and rev. George Rushout, to lady Caroline Stewart.
13. Rev. William Digby, to the hon. miss C. F. Digby.
31. James Pat. Murray, esq. M. P. to miss Rushworth.
Feb. 2. J. B. Ponsonby, esq. to lady Frances Villiers.
9. The hon. major-gen. Hope, to miss Louisa Dorothea Wedderburn.
19. Lord Wm. Cavendish Bentinck, to the hon. miss Acheson.
Lately, lord Kenyon, to Mrs. Hanmer.
March 7. The hon. Mr. Dutton, to miss Honoria Gubbins.
21. Hon. Andrew Cochrane Johnson, to madame Amelia Constance Gertrude Etiennette de Clugny.
29. Lord Montgomery, to lady Mary Montgomery.
April 2. Sir John Lester, to miss Russell.
11. Hon. Mr. Smith, to the youngest daughter of John Tylee, esq.
15. Lord Polkemmet, to miss Sinclair.
16. Lord Cloncurry, to miss Eliza Morgan.
19. Sir Charles Hamilton, bart. to miss Drummond.
21. Hon. Thomas Kenyon, to miss Charlotte Lloyd.
May 4. Thomas D. Hall, esq. to the hon. miss Lysaght.
5. Thomas Tennison, esq. to lady Frances King.
—. John Thomlinson, esq. to miss Chad.
9. The hon. Henry Blackwood, to miss Gore.
18. Capt. sir Wm. Bolton, to miss Cath. Bolton.
24. Lord viscount Galway, to Mrs. Drummond.
June 4. Hon. and rev. John Blackwood, to Mrs. Brice.
6. Lord Redesdale, to lady Frances Perceval.
7. Hon. and rev. W. Capel, to miss Salter.
—. Lieut.-col. Maitland, to 2d daughter of lady Crofton.
23. His grace John duke of Bedford, to lady Georgiana Gordon.
26. Col. Francis Thomas Hammond, to miss King, daughter of admiral sir Richard King, bart.
27. Lord Graves, to lady Mary Paget.
July 7. Sir Henry Peyton, bart. to Mrs. Bradshaw.
19. Wm. Dickenson, jun. esq. M. P. to miss Smith.
—. Lieut.-col. Browne, to second daughter of sir Wm. Wolseley, bart.

Aug. 4. Lord viscount Fincastle, to lady Susan Hamilton.

—. Sir Hungerford Hoskyns, bart. to miss Phillips.

9. Rev. J. Smith, to the youngest daughter of the late hon. W. Barnett.

11. Philip Roche, esq. to the hon. Anne Plunkett.

—. Hon. John Dutton, to the hon. miss Legge.

13. Matthew White Ridley, esq. to miss Laura Hawkins.

—. Sir Charles Douglas, to lady Caroline Scot.

24. Inigo Freeman Thomas, esq. to the hon. miss Broderick.

Sept. 4. David Kemp, esq. to miss Colquhoun.

5. David Erskine, esq. to the youngest daughter of the late John lord Keith Elphinstone.

19. Lord Campbell, esq. M. P. to the eldest daughter of the late lieut.-col. Hay.

20. Hon. F. Wellesley, to lady Charlotte Cadogan.

Oct. 1. John Atkins, esq. M. P. to miss Burnaby.

21. Charles Tottenham, jun. M. P. to miss Wigram.

24. John Williams, esq. M. P. to miss Elizabeth Currie.

Nov. 1. Wm. Tatton Egerton, esq. M. P. to miss Charlotte Clara Payler.

—. George Aust, esq. to the hon. Mrs. Murray.

6. Francis James Jackson, esq. to mademoiselle de Dorville.

10. The earl of Belvedere, to miss M'Cay.

19. Lord viscount Mahon, to the hon. Catherine Lucy Smith.

23. His excellency Comte de Railley, to mademoiselle Adelaide, princess of Bourbon.

28. Wm. Churchill, esq. to the countess of Strafford.

30. Capt. King, to the only daughter of rear-admiral sir J. T. Duckworth, K. B.

Dec. 1. The hon. F. P. Irby, to miss Emily Drake.

4. Sir Thomas Manners Sutton, to miss Copley.

20. Mr. Serjeant Vaughan, to Augusta, second daughter of lord St. John, of Bletsoe.

DEATHS *in the Year* 1803.

Jan. 2. Hon. Mrs. Cecil, mother of the marquis of Exeter.

14. Hon. Temple Luttrell, next brother to earl Carhampton.

16. Charles Alexander Cricket, esq. M. P.

17. The countess dowager of Aylesbury.

—. The relict of sir John Cumming.

18. The lady of admiral sir Peter Parker.

21. Sir Henry Lambert, bart.

—. The hon. Mrs. Charles Ellis, only daughter of the late lord Hervey.

24. Lady Elizabeth Wemyss.

Feb. 6. Hon. Mrs. Henniker.

12. The hon. Mrs. Bagwell.

March 1. Mary dowager viscountess Andover.

4. The infant son of lord Pelham.

6. Charles Frederick von Fredenhern.

8. Francis duke of Bridgewater.

11. The hon. Julian Howe.

—. The right hon. gen. Warde.

21. The hon. Thomas Walpole.

—. Sir James Marriott, knt.

—. The hon. James Everard Arundel.

28. Mary countess of Darnley.

—. Lady Wallace, sister to the duchess of Gordon.

April

April 3. The right hon. Hester Grenville, baroness of Chatham.
5. Lady Frances Williams Wynn.
6. The right hon. sir William Hamilton, K. B. &c. &c.
7. The earl of Dumfries.
8. The lady of sir John Henslow.
—. Sir John Whitefoord, of Whitefoord, bart.
18. John lord Henniker, F.R.S.
24. Sir John Smith Burges, bt.
25. Sir John Payne, bart.
—. The dowager lady Hogton.
—. The hon. Wm. Neville.
Lately, lady Grace Queade.
May 1. Sir Archibald Dickson, bart.
—. Lady M. Melbourne.
2. Sir George Home, bart. vice-admiral of the blue.
5. Anne, dowager lady Camelford.
—. Samuel Reeve, esq. vice-admiral of the white.
7. Lord Rivers.
8. Sir John Davie, bart.
9. Sir Robert Chambers.
21. The hon. Mrs. Luttrell.
—. Earl of Enniskillen.
—. Lady Catherine O'Tool.
26. Dame Catherine Dunkinfield.
—. The hon. Mr. St. John.
29. Sir James Frances-Edward Scott.
June 4. Lady Caroline Fitzroy.
6. The hon. miss Lambe.
9. Rev. Henry Reginald Courtenay, D. D. lord bishop of Exeter.
—. Joseph Richardson, esq. M. P.
13. Sir John Wedderburn, bart.
15. Sir Henry Oxenden, bart.
20. The right hon. Nathaniel lord Harrowby.
22. The hon. Edward Foley, M. P.
July 8. The earl of Bristol.
11. Vice-admiral Robert Briggs.
17. The lady of sir C. Mitchell.
19. Sir Charles Burdett, bart.
21. Sir Wm. Abdy.
24. Hon. Charlotte Yate.
21. Viscount Hawarden and baron de Montalt.
Sept. 5. The hon. capt. Carpenter.
6. The lady of sir John D'Oyle, bart.
Oct. 1. Earl Ludlow.
—. The hon. lady Helen Sinclair.
8. The hon. Anne Brudenell.
11. Sir John Wm. Rose, knt.
—. Marquis of Worcester.
14. Viscountess Northland.
18. Hon. miss Susan DeCourcy.
21. Lord Frederick Cavendish.
26. Marquis of Stafford.
30. The dowager lady Grantley.
—. Sir Lionel Darell, bart.
Nov. 2. Sir Wm. Blount, bart.
—. The hon. Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Forbes.
5. Sir John Gibbon Carmichael, bart.
16. Princess Matilda, of Este.
17. Rear-admiral Payne.
19. Sir Thomas Esmond, bart.
—. General Benjamin Gordon.
24. The reigning princess of Anhalt.
25. Lady Fowke.
27. Hon. Mrs. Jones.
Dec. 3. Lady Halkett.
7. Lady Ann Mendip.
8. Hon. Mrs. Murray.
11. Lady Fust.
12. Lady Charlotte Tufton.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1803.

January 1. Right hon. Thomas Steele, and John Hiley Addington,

ton, esq. appointed paymaster-general of his majesty's forces.

4. Brevet: col. Hugh Lyle Carmichael, to be brigadier-general in the island of Jamaica only.

5. Right hon. Sylvester lord Glenbervie, appointed surveyor-general of his majesty's woods, oaks, forests, and chaces.

29. Wm. Drummond, esq. to be his majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the sublime Ottoman Porte; Hugh Elliot, esq. to be his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Naples; Anthony Merry, esq. to be his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the united states of America; Edward Thornton, esq. to be his majesty's secretary of legation at the Hague.

Feb. 2. Major Charles Holloway, of the royal engineers, knighted.

5. Hon. and rev. George Pelham, D. D. recommended, by congé-d'elire, to be elected bishop of Bristol.

—. Colonel Thomas Hislop, appointed lieutenant-governor of the island of Grenada and its dependencies.

—. Brevet: colonel Thomas Hislop, to be brigadier-general in the Leeward and Windward Charibbee islands only.

11. Edmond-Henry viscount Limerick, created earl of Limerick; and William Power Keating viscount Dunlo, earl of Clancarty, county of Cork: Charlotte baroness Newcomen, wife of sir William Gleadowe Newcomen, bart. created viscountess Newcomen, of Moss Town, county of Longford.

16. Right hon. John Hiley Addington, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

22. Marquis of Donegal, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

—. Brevet: col. Robert Brereton, of the 63d foot, to be brigadier-general in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee islands only.

March 4. George Harrison, esq. norroy king of arms, appointed clarencieux king of arms, and principal herald of the south, east, and west parts of England.

5. Staff: John Sweetland, to be principal commissary of stores and provisions at Gibraltar; lieutenant-colonel James Butler, of the invalid artillery, to be commandant of the junior department of the royal military college; major Benjamin D'Urban, of the 89th foot, to be superintendant of the junior department.

12. Staff: brevet-major Chas. Irvine, to be deputy quarter-master-general to the forces serving in Jamaica, with the rank of lieut.-col. in the army; lieut.-col. Willoughby Gordon, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the said forces; brevet-major Wm. Gifford, to be deputy adjutant-general to the troops at Malta, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army; major Charles Phillips, to be deputy quarter-master-general to the said troops, with the rank of lieut.-col. in the army.

15. Staff: major-general Robert Brownrigg, to be quarter-master-general to the forces.

16. William Paxton, William Blizard, and Charles Blicke, esqrs. knighted.

30. James Duberley, of Gainshall, Huntingdonshire, esq. Francis Searle, of Kingston-upon-Thames, esq. and John Dumaresq, esq. knighted.

April 4. Ralph Bigland, esq. Rich-

Richmond herald, appointed norroy king of arms, and principal herald of the north parts of England.

9. Right hon. Francis lord Napier, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

—. Staff: lieut.-col. Lewis Lindenthal, of the queen's German regiment; Daniel Patterson, on the retired list of the invalids; Wm. Eden, of the 79th foot; George Murray, of the 3d regiment of foot-guards; and John Brown, of the royal staff corps; to be assistants to the quarter-master-general of the forces: George Williamson, esq. to be commandant of the royal military asylum, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, so long as he shall retain the situation of commandant.

19. Richard earl of Cavan, major-general of his majesty's forces, permitted to receive and wear the badge of the order of the Crescent, transmitted to him by the grand signior.

—. James Gambier, esq. appointed his majesty's consul-general at Lisbon.

—. Hospital staff: Ralph Green, M. D. to be assistant-inspector of hospitals; John Webb, M. D. to be assistant-inspector of hospitals.

30. Staff: major Thomas Birch, to be an assistant to the quarter-master-general to the forces, with the rank of lieut.-col. in the army; major Edward Henry Bunbury, to be an assistant to the quarter-master-general to the forces.

May 4. Wm. earl of Mansfield, appointed lord-lieutenant of the shire of Clackmannan, in N. Britain; colonel Charles Green, Wm. Bulkeley Hughes, esq. and Francis Hartwell, esq. knighted.

7. Staff: colonel Frederick Augustus Weatherall, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces serving in Nova Scotia; lieutenant Richard Leonard, to be fort-major of Frederick Town, New Brunswick.

9. Major-general David Douglas Wemyss, to be commander of all his majesty's land forces serving in the island of Ceylon.

21. Garrison: major-general John Doyle, to be lieutenant-governor of the island of Guernsey.

23. Sir James Pulteney, bart. lieutenant-colonel Francis Whitworth; captain Robert Bolton, of the royal navy; Rupert George, esq. and Richard Hankey, esq. knighted, as proxies to five of the knights of the Bath at the late installation.

24. Reverend Edward Bowyer Sparke, D. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Bristol; rev. Wm. Nelson, D. D. prebendary of the metropolitical church of Canterbury.

28. Rev. Howel Holland Edwards, M. A. prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster.

—. Staff: lieutenant-general the hon. H. E. Fox, to be commander of his majesty's forces in Ireland; major Wm. Nicholson, of the 72d foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the king's troops serving in India, with the rank of lieut.-col. in the army. Assistants to the quarter-master-general of the forces: lieut.-col. W. Gordon, from the 85th foot; major H. Lowe, from the royal fusileers; major W. H. De Lancey, from the 45th foot; and capt. H. F. Brownrigg, from the staff corps, with the rank of major in the army. Hospital staff: Dr. Alexander Robertson, to be a deputy-inspector

inspector of hospitals in the island of Jamaica; L. Krazelsen, to be surgeon to the forces.

June 1. Right hon. George Tierney, treasurer of his majesty's navy, sworn of his majesty's privy-council.

4. Henry duke of Beaufort, confirmed in the barony of Bottetourt, and created baron de Bottetourt.

11. Brevet: col. Martin Hunter, to be a brigadier-general in North America; col. Wm. Dyott, to be a brigadier-general in the Windward and Leeward Charibbee islands. Staff: capt. the hon. D. G. Hallyburton, to be assistant to the quarter-master-general of the forces in Great Britain, with the rank of major in the army.—Assistants in the quarter-master-general's department in Ireland: major Ch. Harcourt; capt. John Pine Coffin, with the rank of major in the army.

14. Richard Brooke de Capell Brooke, of Great Oakley, county of Northampton, and of Ahadoe and Roxborough, county of Cork, esq.; right hon. John Stewart, of Athenree, county of Tyrone; and the rev. James Stronger, M. A. of Tynan, county of Armagh, and of Thornhill, county of Dublin; created baronets of the united kingdom.

17. George earl of Dorchester, appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Dorset.

18. His royal highness prince Adolphus Frederick, K. G. late lieutenant-general in the Hanoverian service, appointed lieutenant-general in the army.

—. The king has granted to Francis Plaistow, esq. barrister at law, his royal licence to take the surname and bear the arms of Trapaud.

25. Spencer Smith, esq. appointed envoy-extraordinary at the court of his serene highness the elector of Wurtemburg; and H. Watkin Williams Wynn, esq. at the court of his serene highness the elector of Saxony; Spiridion Foresti, esq. resident to the republic of the Seven Islands; Henry Savage Yeames, esq. consul-general in the Russian ports in the Black Sea; Waller Wright, esq. consul in the several ports of the republic of the Seven Islands; and Charles Denis, esq. consul at Civita Vecchia.

25. George Hilario Barlow, esq. a member of the council of Fort William in Bengal, created a baronet; rev. Thomas Burgess, D. D. prebendary of Durham, recommended, by congé d'elire, to be elected bishop of St. David's; rev. John Fisher, D. D. prebendary of Windsor, recommended, by congé d'elire, to be elected bishop of Exeter.

28. Sir Rupert George, knt. Ambrose Serle, and Thomas Hamilton, esqrs. the hon. Edward Bouverie, and James Bowen, esq. appointed commissioners for conducting the transport service, and for the care and custody of prisoners of war.

—. Garrison: brevet-major Colin Dundas Graham, to be fort-major of Edinburgh castle.

July 5. Barracks: Alexander Walker, esq. to be barrack-master in Great Britain.

11. Staff: major-general Geo. Hewett, to be inspector-general of the royal army of reserve. Assistant-inspectors of ditto: lieut.-col. John James Barlow; captain Peter Carey. Superintendant of clothing, &c. of ditto: lieut.-col. George Williamson. Deputy-inspector in North Britain: col. Thomas Scott.

12.

12. Staff: col. George Horsford, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in Jamaica.—Hospital staff: assistant-inspector William Greaves, to be an assistant-inspector to the forces; John Buffa, M. D. to be physician to the forces.

19. Rev. William Beaumont Busby, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Windsor.

—. Hospital staff: W. Domcier, M. D. to be physician to the foreign depôt in the Isle of Wight.

26. Brevet: captain Thomas Hardyman, to be major in the army. Staff: James Fisher, esq. late lieut.-col. of the 62d foot, to be paymaster of a recruiting district. Assistant commissaries to the forces in Ireland: assistant-commissaries W. Dillon, Arthur Ormsby, and Thomas Gilston.—Royal Military College: capt. J. M'Dermott, to be inspector of the 2d company of cadets in the junior department, and instructor of tactics. Barracks: assistant-barrack-master-generals, with the rank of major so long as their services shall continue in the barrack department—Charles W. Thornton, esq. late an assistant-barrack-master-general; John Baddeley, esq. captain of the 22d light dragoons. Hospital staff: assistant-inspectors of the forces—assistant-inspectors J. Borland, A. Baillie, J. M'Niell, R. Patrick, A. Jamieson, R. Walters. Physicians to the forces: James Rogerson, M. D. and James Fellows, M. D.

29. Major-general John Doyle, lieutenant-governor of the island of Guernsey, permitted to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the Crescent, transmitted to him by the grand signior.

30. Brevet: capt. Levett Ibbetson, to be major in the army. Staff: Charles Gordon, esq. to be paymaster of a recruiting district.

Aug. 9. Staff: major-general Richard England, to be lieut.-governor of Plymouth; col. sir Samuel Achmuty, to be commandant of the Isle of Thanet. Brevet: capt. Henry Bromley, to be major in the army.

13. Staff: major Wm. Wilson, to be paymaster of a recruiting district.

16. Brevet: col. George Moncrieffe, and col. An. Dunlop, to be brigadier-generals in the West Indies only. Staff: assistant-quarter-masters-general to the forces in Ireland: lieut.-col. G. Airey, lieut.-col. A. R. Dillon, capt. R. Owen, and major James Forster.

17. Right hon. Charles Yorke, sworn one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

20. David Wedderburn, of Ballindean, county of Perth, esq. created a baronet.

—. The earl of Cardigan, elected high steward of the borough of Windsor.

—. Martin Davy, M.D. F.R.S. elected master of Caius college, Cambridge.

30. Brevet-majors: capt. T. Dorrington, of the 15th battalion of reserve; capt. J. Dumaresque, of the 9th ditto; capt. G. Wade, of the 30th foot; and capt. Charles Morley Baldero, of the 53d foot.

Sept. Right rev. Dr. Wm. Knox, bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, alias Tanabor, translated to the see of Derry.

8. His excellency Wm. Drummond, his majesty's ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the sublime porte, permitted to receive and wear the insignia of the order of the Crescent, transmitted to him by the grand signior.

10.

10. Right hon. George Keith, baron Keith of Stonehaven-Marischal, co. Kincardine, in Scotland, K. B. and admiral of the blue, created a baron of the united kingdom, by the title of baron Keith of Banheath, co. Dumbarton; with remainder, in default of issue, with the dignity of a baroness, to Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, only daughter of the said baron Keith, and the dignity of a baron to the lawful heirs male of her body.

—. Dr. James Cowper, appointed professor of practical astronomy and observer in the university of Glasgow.

13. Wm. Wass Langford, esq. appointed his majesty's agent and consul-general at Tripoli.

—. Hospital staff: Edw. N. Bancroft, M. D. to be physician to the forces.

24. Staff: inspecting-field-officers of yeomanry and volunteers, with temporary rank of lieut.-col. in the army so long as they continue to hold these appointments—col. Charles Mac Murdo; lieut.-col. John Jenkinson; lieut.-col. Wm. Thomlinson; major Ralph Gore; Wm. Harris, esq.; John C. Cowell, esq.; Henry Harnage, esq.; John D. Kane, esq.; Heneage Twysden, esq.; James Kirkman, esq.; W. Dalrymple, esq.; John Stewart, esq.; J. Hugh M'Leroch, esq.; Wm. Gore, esq.; col. H. M. Clevering; lieut.-col. Robert Garden; lieut.-col. G. Duke; and major Frederick Metzner.

27. Brevet-majors: captain Wyndham Quinn; capt. Thomas Mellor; capt. Robert Campbell; capt. Nathaniel Myott; and capt. Edward Draper. Staff: captain Wm. Macondy Harvey, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Charibbee islands, with the rank of major in the army.

Oct. 1. Lieutenant-generals Wm. Shirreff, William Grinfield, Samuel Hulse, Albemarle Bertie, Charles Vallancy, John earl of Clanricarde, sir James Steuart, bart. Thomas Carleton, James Marsh, Cavendish Lister, James Ogilvie, sir Robert Lawrie, bart. Wm. Edmeston, David Home, Hugh Debbieg, Montgomery Agnew, Alexander earl of Balcarres, Cornelius Cuyler, Charles earl of Harrington, the hon. Rich. Fitzpatrick, Nisbet Balfour, Edmund Stephens, sir Thomas Trigge, K. B. Francis earl of Moira, and Peter Craig, to be generals in the army.

—. Maj.-generals Geo. Bernard, George Nugent, John Bowater, Thomas Averne, James Barker, John Campbell, Charles Tarrant, John Barclay, William Macarmley, John Freke, sir Robert Stuart, bart. Richard England, William Keppel, John Hely lord Hutchinson, K. B. John Hamilton, Alexander Hay, Thomas Goldie, Simon Fraser, James Stewart, Chas. Hastings, Thomas Davis, Robert Manners, William Loftus, William Myers, Oliver Nichols, Alexander Mercer, Geo. Hewett, and Charles baron Hompesch, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.

—. Colonels Geo. Elliott, Duncan Campbell, Patrick Wauchope, Baldwin Leighton, Patrick Sinclair, Richard Chapman, John Coffin, Richard Armstrong, John Murray, sir Charles Green, knt. William St. Leger, Henry Magan, Richard N. Hopkins, John Smith, Alexander Mackay, Thos. Hartcup, William O. Huddlestone, George Fead, James Sowerby,

erby, Thomas Blomefield, Gother Mann, Donald Macdonald, John Pratt, Forbes Champagne, Josiah Champagne, Harry Calvert, Geo. Cockburne, Edward Dunne, Jas. Drummond, Edwin Hewgill, Wm. Dowdeswell, Alexander Mackenzie, George Moncrieffe, Thomas Meyrick, Charles Craufurd, Geo. H. Vansittart, the hon. Charles Fitzroy, Francis Hugonin, and Thomas P. Vandeleur, to be major-generals in the army.

—. Lieutenant-colonels Duncan Macintosh, Francis Carruthers, Rob. Shaw, Christopher Darby, David Clephane, William Balfour, William Wilkinson, Wm. Dickson, Bulstrode Whitelocke, Henry Tucker Montresor, Albert Gledstanes, John Hodgson, Charles Stevenson, Lawrence Bradshaw, George Wm. Richard Harcourt, Wm. Palmer Acland, Nicholas Nepean, James Taylor, Miles Nightingale, James Hay, the hon. Wm. Eardley, Wm. Cochell, Leon. Shaftoe Orde, Richard Bingham, Joseph French, John Lee, Henry Clinton, John Sontag, James Robertson, Edward William Leyborne, James Dunlop, Fitzroy J. Grafton Maclean, Walter Ker, Alexander Campbell, and John Pigott, to be colonels in the army.

—. Majors Wyndham Quinn, Thomas Dorrington, Thos. Mellor, G. Wade, John Dumaresq, T. Hardyman, H. Bromley, Rob. Campbell, Robert Alex. Dalzell, Claus Pell, George Sutherland, Robert Balfour, Dugald Campbell, James Macdonald, James Green, George Bowater, William Borthwick, John Barton, George Scott, George Miller, Rob. Walker, Breon Bordes, Archib. Mosman, Henry Teesdale, Thos. Goldie, James Cuming, Robert Hamilton, Jasper Grant, Pierre L'Ardy, Francis Plackland, Henry Erskine, James St. Clair, and R. A. Seymour, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.

—. Captains the hon. Henry A. B. Craven, Lewis C. Mears, George Stephens, John H. Brown, Wm. Campbell, Wm. Wishart, Andrew Patton, George Bruhl, Charles Macquarrie, Charles Hill, Colin Campbell, John Macdougall, G. P. Hutchinson, Ames G. Norcott, John Balcomb, J. White, Isaac P. Tinling, William Shipley, W. Hilliard, John Stoddart, George Evans, Charles Bruce, John Blair, Nuttall Green, Wm. Ledwill, J. F. Fitzgerald, Patrick Ross, Ar. Christie, the hon. J. T. Deane, James B. Horner, Thomas Costello, Charles Hicks, George E. Vinicombe, Brook Young, Donald Macbean, James Shortall, Richard Legge, Charles F. Hill, and Robert Crawford, to be majors in the army.

3. Lieut.-gen. Charles Leigh, appointed a general in the army.

4. Henrietta-Laura baroness of Bath, created countess of Bath, co. Somerset, with the dignity of earl of Bath to her lawful male issue.

—. Brevet: lieutenant-colonels Henry Frederick Campbell, Wm. Burnett, Richard Stewart, and the hon. Charles Stuart, to be aides-de-camp to the king. Staff: inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold these appointments—Sir Jas. G. Baird, lieut.-col. George Robert Ainslie, Robert Douglas, esq. Josiah Cottin, esq. Joseph Hardy, esq. Francis Gore, esq. lieut.-col. Manley Power, sir Nathaniel Duckenfield, bart. col. Ronald Craufurd Ferguson, George Lyon, esq. and Francis Mannouch, esq.

13. Brevet: major Henry Eustace, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Capt. John Thomas Eyre, to be major in the army. Staff: inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold these appointments—Peppard Knight, esq. J. P. Addenbroke, esq. H. P. Pulleine, esq. H. Master, esq. and Wm. Douglas, esq.

20. Brevet: col. John Ramsay, to be a brigadier-general in the island of Malta only; major James Campbell, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army; capt. Henry James Shawe, and capt. Francis Forrester, to be majors in the army; capt. Daniel Lyman, to be major in the army in the island of Sicily only. Staff: lieut.-gen. William lord Cathcart, to be commander of his majesty's forces in Ireland. Inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long only as they continue to hold these appointments: John Enys, esq. lieut.-col. Daniel Seddon, and—Dodd, esq.

—. Hon. and rev. Chas. Lindsay, D.D. to be bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, alias Tanabor.

26. Henry Charles duke of Beaufort, lord-lieutenant of the counties of Monmouth and Brecon.

27. John Halkett, esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Tobago.

29. Right hon. lord viscount Castlereagh, the duke of Portland, lord Hawkesbury, lord Hobart, Charles Yorke, Henry Addington, lord Glenbervie, Thomas Wallace, Edward Golding, and Thomas Maitland, esqrs. appointed his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of India; rev. J. Brereton, M. A. appointed a prebendary of Salisbury cathedral.

Nov. 1. William Downes, chief justice of the court of king's bench, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council of Ireland.

3. Brevet: lieut.-col. Richard Thomas Nelson, to be colonel in the army. Major-generals in the East Indies only—col. Richard Lucas, and col. Kenneth Mackenzie. Lieut.-colonels in do.—majors John Chas. Witter, John Bell, and John Arthur Tanner. Majors in do.—capt. James Robertson, and John Griffith. Staff: inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army, so long only as they shall hold the said appointments—col. John Gordon Cuming, and—Blakeney, esq.

7. Right hon. St. George Daly, one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland, appointed one of the justices of the court of king's bench; James M'Clelland, esq. solicitor-general in Ireland, appointed one of the barons of the court of exchequer in Ireland; William Conyngham Plunkett, esq. one of his majesty's counsel at law, appointed his majesty's solicitor-general in Ireland.

9. Right hon. Thomas lord Pelham, sworn chancellor of the duchy and county-palatine of Lancaster.

—. Staff: capt. William Sam. Currey, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the forces serving in both the Canadas, with the rank of major in the army.

12. Hon. Henry Pierrepont, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary at the court of Stockholm.

—. Rev. Walter King, D. D. to be a prebendary of Canterbury.

16.

16. Right hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson (commonly called lord Hawkesbury), summoned to the house of peers, by the style and title of baron Hawkesbury, of Hawkesbury, county of Gloucester.

17. Lieut.-gen. his royal highness Adolphus Frederick duke of Cambridge, K. G. to be colonel in chief of the king's German legion. Brevet: major Wm. Kent, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Staff: major Lachlan M'Quarrie, to be deputy adjutant-general to the forces lately serving in Egypt, with the rank of lieut.-col. in the army; lieut.-col. Henry Cuyler, to be an inspecting field-officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps.

19. Right hon. Henry Addington, George Thynne, esq. (commonly called lord George Thynne), Nathaniel Bond, Wm. Brodrick, and Edward Golding, esqrs. appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year* 1803.

Bedfordshire, Godfrey Thornton, of Moggerhanger, esq.

Berkshire, Daniel Agace, of Winkfield, esq.

Bucks, Joseph Francklin, of Haddenham, esq.

Camb. and Huntingdonsh. James Duberly, of Gain's Hall, esq.

Cheshire, John Feilden, of Great Mollington, esq.

Cumberland, Robert Warwick, of Warwick Hall, esq.

Derbyshire, sir Robert Wilmot, of Chaddesden, bart.

Devonshire, sir Stafford Northcote, of Pynes, bart.

Dorsetshire, Josiah Wedgewood, of Gunville, esq.

Essex, Stephen Frier Gillussi, of Shenfield, esq.

Gloucestershire, Samuel Wathen, of Woodchester, esq.

Herefordshire, Benj. Biddulph, of Burghill, esq.

Hertfordshire, Henry Brown, of North Mims Place, esq.

Kent, Christopher Cooke, of Ash Grove, esq.

Leicestershire, James Vann, of Belgrave, esq.

Lincolnshire, sir Henry Nelthorpe, of Sealby, bart.

Monmouthshire, George Jones, of Major, esq.

Norfolk, Thomas Hare, of Stow Hall, esq.

Northamptonshire, John Harvey Thursby, of Abington, esq.

Northumberland, Shaptoe Craster, of Craster, esq.

Nottinghamshire, Wm. Coape Sherbrooke, of Oxton, esq.

Oxfordshire, James Taylor, of Sandford, esq.

Rutlandshire, Joseph Cooke, of Edith Weston, esq.

Shropshire, Thomas Kinnesley, of Leighton, esq.

Somersetshire, sir Hugh Smith, of Wraxhall, bart.

Staffordshire, Geo. Birch, of Hampstead, esq.

Southampton, Wm. Mills, of Bistern, esq.

Suffolk, sir Harry Parker, of Melford, bart.

Surrey, John Pooley Kensington, of Putney, esq.

Sussex, John Wm. Commerell, of Stroud, esq.

Warwickshire, Henry Greswold Lewis, of Malvern Hall, esq.

Wilts, Thos. Henry Hele Phipps, of Westbury Leigh, esq.

Worcestershire, John Philips, of Winterdyne, esq.

Yorkshire, sir Henry Carr Ibbetson, of Dentan, bart.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen, John Llewellyn, of Castle Piggin, esq.

Pembrokeshire, Geo. Bowen, of Llwngwair, esq.

Cardiganshire, John Lloyd, of Mabus, esq.

Glamorganshire, John Morris, of Clasemont, esq.

Brecon, Sackville Gwynne, of Trimawr, esq.

Radnor, Thomas-Howell-Marmaduke Gwynne, of Llanelwith, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Caernarvon, Gwyllym Lloyd Wardle, of Wern Fawe, esq.

Anglesea, William Bulkeley Hughes, of Plas Coch, esq.

Merioneth, John Forbes, of Ofeebodig, esq.

Montgomery, John Winder, of Vaynor, esq.

Denbigh, Henry Ellis Boates, of Rose Hill, esq.

Flint, Owen Molyneux Wynne, of Overton, esq.

County of Cornwall, Thomas Rawlings, of Padstow, esq.

PUBLIC

PUBLIC PAPERS.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION,

For encouraging Seamen and Landmen to enter themselves on board his Majesty's Ships of War.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS it is our royal intention to give all due encouragement to all such seamen and landmen who shall voluntarily enter themselves in our service; we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to publish this our royal proclamation: and we do hereby promise and declare, that all such able seamen, not above the age of fifty nor under the age of twenty years, fit for our service, who shall, on or before the thirtieth day of April next, voluntarily enter themselves to serve in our royal navy, either with the captains or lieutenants of our ships, or officers employed in tenders or at rendezvous on shore, for raising men for the service of our navy, shall receive, as our royal bounty, the sum of three pounds each man; and all such ordinary seamen fit for our service, who shall so enter themselves as aforesaid, shall receive the sum of two pounds each man; and all such able-bodied landmen, not above the age of thirty-five, nor under the age of twenty years, who shall so enter themselves as aforesaid, shall receive the sum of twenty shillings each man, as our royal bounty; such respective sums to be paid them by the respective clerks of the cheque residing at the ports or places where the ships into which they shall be entered shall be, immediately after the third muster of such seamen and landmen: and we do declare, that the qualifications of the seamen and landmen so entering themselves as aforesaid, shall be certified by the captain, master, and boatswain of the ship or vessel where they shall enter. And for preventing any abuses by any persons leaving the vessels to which they shall belong, and entering themselves on board any other our ships or vessels, in order to obtain the said bounty money: we do hereby declare and command, that such seamen and landmen belonging to any of our ships or vessels as shall absent themselves from any of the said ships or vessels to which they shall belong, and shall enter themselves on board any other of our said ships or vessels, in order to obtain the said bounty, shall not only lose the wages due to them in the ships or vessels they shall leave, but also be severely punished, according to their demerits.

Given at our court at the Queen's House, the 7th day of March, 1803, and in the forty-third year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION,

For recalling and prohibiting Seamen from serving foreign Princes and States; and for granting Rewards for discovering such Seamen as shall conceal themselves.

GEORGE R.

Whereas we are informed, that great numbers of mariners and seafaring men, our natural-born subjects, are in the service of divers foreign princes and states, to the prejudice of our kingdom; we have thought it necessary, by and with the advice of our privy council, to publish this our royal proclamation; and do hereby strictly charge and command all masters of ships, pilots, mariners, seamen, shipwrights, and other seafaring-men whatsoever and wheresoever (being our natural-born subjects), who are in the pay or service of any foreign prince or state, or do serve in any foreign ship or vessel, that forthwith they, and every of them, do (according to their known and bounden duty and allegiance) withdraw themselves, depart from, and quit such foreign services, and return home to their native countries: and further, we do hereby strictly prohibit and forbid all masters of ships, pilots, mariners, seamen, shipwrights, and other seafaring men whatsoever (being our natural-born subjects), from entering, and do charge and command them, and every of them, from henceforth to forbear to enter themselves into the pay or service of any foreign prince or state, or to serve in any foreign ship or vessel whatsoever, without our special license first had and obtained in that behalf; to all which we expect due obedience and exact conformity; and we do hereby publish and declare, that the offenders to the contrary shall not only incur our just displeasure, but be proceeded against for their contempt according to the utmost severities of the law: and we do hereby declare, that if any such masters of ships, pilots, mariners, seamen, shipwrights, or other seafaring men (being our subjects), shall be taken in any foreign service by the Turks, Algerines, or any others, they shall not be reclaimed by us as subjects of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland: and we do hereby further promise and declare, that a reward of twenty shillings for every able and ordinary seaman, fit to serve on board our ships, shall be paid any person who shall discover any seaman or seamen who may conceal him or themselves, so that such seaman or seamen shall be taken for our said service by any of our sea officers employed for raising men, on or before the thirtieth day of April next; the said rewards to be paid for any seaman or seamen so discovered and taken in and about London, by the principal officers and commissioners of our navy; and at the out-ports by the naval officers, (where there are any) and (where there are no naval officers) by the collectors of our customs, immediately upon a certificate being produced to the said principal officers and commissioners of our navy, naval officers, or collectors respectively, by the person who may make discovery of any seaman or seamen as aforesaid, certifying his name, and the name or names, and number of seamen procured in consequence of his discovery: the said certificate to be given by such officer as may take

take such seaman or seamen for our service.

Given at our court at the Queen's House, the 7th day of March, 1803, and in the 43d year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION, for INCREASING the MILITIA.

GEORGE R.

Whereas it is expedient that the number of our militia forces should be increased without delay: and whereas the occasion thereof hath been communicated to parliament: we have thought fit, by and with the advice of our privy council, to publish this our proclamation; and we do hereby, in pursuance of the powers which are vested in us by an act passed in the forty-second year of our reign, intituled, "an act for amending the laws relating to the militia in England, and for augmenting the militia," and of another act passed in the same year, intituled, "an act to raise and establish a militia force in Scotland," order and direct that, in addition to the number of men already required to be raised under the said acts by the several counties, ridings, stewartries, cities, and places therein mentioned, there shall forthwith be raised and enrolled in the said several counties, ridings, stewartries, cities, and places therein mentioned, respectively, such a number of men as may amount to, but not exceed, the proportion of one half of the whole number of men required to be raised by the said acts in each county, riding, stewartry, city, and place respectively: and we do hereby further order and direct our lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants respectively, of the said several counties, ridings, stewartries, cities, and places, immediately to assemble and forthwith proceed to apportion the number of men hereby required to be raised in their respective counties, ridings, stewartries, cities, and places among the several hundreds, rapes, lathes, wapentakes, or other divisions, and also among the several parishes, tithings, or places therein respectively, and thereafter to proceed to raise and enrol such men on or before the 16th day of July next ensuing.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 26th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1803, in the forty-third year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas under the present circumstances much danger may arise to the public tranquillity from alien enemies resorting to and residing in Great Britain: and whereas by an act passed in the forty-third year of our reign, intituled, "an act to repeal an act passed in the last session of parliament for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein; and for establishing, until three months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or resident therein, in certain cases," due provision has been made for inflicting penalties on all such aliens as shall disobey any proclamation issued by us, directing that such aliens shall depart the united kingdom: now we, being desirous of carrying into execution the intent and meaning of the said act, and

thereby providing for the general safety of the realm, do, by this our proclamation, by and with the advice of our privy council, order and direct, that all aliens, being subjects of the French republic, or of any place belonging to, or under the dominion of the government of the French republic, or of any country or territory at war with us, who shall have arrived in Great Britain since the first of October, one thousand eight hundred and one, and on or before this day, the thirty-first of August (other than such aliens as are hereinafter excepted), shall depart Great Britain in manner hereinafter mentioned; that is to say,

All such aliens residing within the city and liberties of Westminster, or elsewhere within the bills of mortality, or within the parishes of Saint Mary-la-bonne, Paddington, Pancras, or Saint Luke at Chelsea, on or before the fifteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and three.

And all such aliens residing in other parts of Great Britain (except as herein excepted) shall depart Great Britain on or before the twentieth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and three.

And we do further declare and make known, that every such alien who shall knowingly and wilfully refuse or neglect to pay due obedience to this our royal proclamation, and shall be found in Great Britain contrary to such proclamation, will be liable to be arrested and committed to the common gaol of the county or place where he or she shall be so arrested; there to remain without bail or mainprise until he or she shall be taken in charge, for the purpose of being sent out of Great Britain; and if any such alien sent out of Great Britain in pursuance of this our proclamation, shall, without license for that purpose by one of our principal secretaries of state, return into any part of the united kingdom, such alien, being duly convicted thereof, will be liable to be transported for life, according to the provisions of the said act.

And in order the better to enable such aliens to comply with this our proclamation and the said act, we have caused to be provided ships and vessels at Gravesend, for conveying such aliens to some port or ports on the continent of Europe: and all such aliens, as are desirous to avail themselves of this accommodation, are directed to repair to Gravesend, on or before the fourteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and three: and all such aliens repairing to Gravesend, and having obtained their passports conformably to the said act, by applying at the alien office, in Crown-court, Westminster, shall be permitted to embark, and shall be conveyed on board the said ships to be furnished by us, free of expense, to some port or ports on the continent of Europe.

And all such aliens as shall decline availing themselves of this accommodation for carrying them out of Great Britain, free of expense, are hereby required nevertheless to repair to the port of London, and to none other port, and there to embark, having their passports conformably to the said act, to be obtained on application to the alien office, as aforesaid, in order to depart on or before the said fifteenth or twentieth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and three, respectively, as the case may require, under the penalties hereinbefore mentioned.

Provided

Provided that nothing herein contained shall be construed to repeal any part of our proclamation of the twelfth of this instant August, requiring the aliens therein mentioned to reside within the limits therein described, except in cases where any aliens as aforesaid, shall be *bona fide* proceeding on their journey to the port of London and to Gravesend, in order to embark and depart thereat from Great Britain.

Provided always, that this our proclamation shall not extend to any foreign ambassador, or other public minister duly authorised, or the servants actually attending upon such ambassador or public minister, or any domestic servant of any of our natural-born subjects, or of any subject who has been made denizen or naturalised, such servant being actually and *bona fide* employed in the service of their respective masters; nor to any such alien as shall, by virtue of a license under the hand and seal of one of our principal secretaries of state, or of such person or persons as shall be appointed for that purpose, be authorised to dwell and reside in some part of Great Britain.

We do hereby charge and command that all aliens to whom this relates, do pay due obedience to the same, and that all justices of the peace, mayors, and other magistrates, and all constables and other peace officers, do respectively use their utmost diligence to enforce the same.

Given at our court at St. James's, this thirty-first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and three, and in the forty-third year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas by an act passed in the forty-third year of our reign, intituled, "an act to repeal an act passed in the last session of parliament for establishing regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or residing therein; and for establishing, until three months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, regulations respecting aliens arriving in this kingdom, or residing therein, in certain cases;" we are authorised by our royal proclamation, from time to time, to require and command every alien who now is in or who shall hereafter come into Great Britain, except as therein excepted, to register himself or herself, and thereupon to obtain our royal license to reside within this kingdom, as therein mentioned; now we, being desirous of carrying into execution the purposes of the said act, do, by this our proclamation, by and with the advice of our privy council, require and command every alien who shall be in this kingdom on the day of the date of this our proclamation, except as hereinafter excepted, to register himself or herself in the manner hereinafter mentioned;—that is to say,

All aliens residing in the city of London, shall, within ten days from the publication of this our proclamation, in the London Gazette, so register themselves with the lord mayor of the said city.

All aliens residing in the city and liberties of Westminster, or elsewhere, within the bills of mortality (except the city of London, or residing within ten miles of the city of London), shall, within ten days from the publication of this

our proclamation in the London Gazette, so register themselves with the magistrates at one of the under-mentioned public offices, in the district of which office such alien shall then reside; that is to say, the police office, Queen-square, Westminster; Great Marlborough-street; Hatton Garden; Lambeth-street, Whitechapel; Worship-street, Shoreditch; High-street, Shadwell; and Union Hall, Southwark.

All aliens residing out of the districts aforesaid, and within any cities or corporate towns, or within the jurisdiction of the magistrates of such cities or corporate towns respectively, shall, within fourteen days from the publication of this our proclamation in the London Gazette, so register themselves with the mayor or other chief magistrate of such cities or corporate towns respectively.

And all aliens residing in other places in Great Britain shall, within eighteen days from the publication of this our proclamation in the London Gazette, so register themselves with some magistrate of the county or place where such aliens respectively shall reside.

And we do further require and command all aliens who shall come nto Great Britain, after the publication of this our proclamation in the London Gazette, to register themselves in the manner hereinafter mentioned with the lord mayor, mayors, or other magistrates as aforesaid, within two days after every such alien shall have arrived within any such city, town, district, or other place, to which he shall be allowed to proceed, by passport granted for that purpose, except aliens who are required by our proclamation of twelfth of August last* to land at no other port than the ports of Yarmouth, Harwich, Dover, and Southampton, and at Gravesend, whom we hereby require and command to register themselves in manner hereinafter mentioned, at the alien office, in Crown-street, Westminster.

And we do further require and command every alien, for the purpose of obtaining such license as aforesaid, to deliver, or cause to be delivered, to the person or persons with whom such alien is hereby required to register himself or herself as aforesaid, a full and true declaration or account in writing of his or her name, age, place of birth, rank, occupation, profession, the place of residence when last in his or her own country, together with the last and principal place of residence before his or her arrival in this kingdom, the name or names of some person or persons in this country to whom known, the reason or purpose for which he or she came to this kingdom, the time when, and the place at which such alien last arrived in Great Britain, and where his or her actual residence has been since such last arrival, and is at the time of giving in such declaration, which said declaration or account shall be signed by such alien with his or her own name and mark.

And we do hereby authorise and appoint the said lord mayor, mayors, and other magistrates as aforesaid respectively, to receive such accounts as aforesaid, and do require and command them respectfully to cause the original account to be transmitted within two

* This proclamation is so much, in substance, like the present, that we thought it needless to insert both.

days

days to our principal secretary of state for the home department, for the purpose of such alien obtaining our royal license to reside within Great Britain from the said secretary, whom we do hereby authorise and appoint to grant such licenses, or from such other person or persons who now are or who shall from time to time be authorised and appointed by us to grant such licenses.

And we do further authorise and require the said lord mayor, mayors, and other magistrates as aforesaid, to whom any such accounts shall be delivered as aforesaid, to grant under his hand and seal, to the alien delivering such account, a provisional license to reside within Great Britain, under such restrictions as shall appear fit, during the time that shall be therein allowed to such alien for obtaining our royal license as aforesaid.

And we do further declare, that this our royal proclamation shall not extend to require any alien to obtain such license as aforesaid, who shall, before the publication of this our proclamation in the London Gazette, have obtained our royal license to reside in any part of this kingdom.

And we do further direct, that every alien as aforesaid, upon every change of residence, as well to any place in the same city, town, district, or place, as to any other city, town, district, or place, shall give four days' previous notice thereof to the person or persons with whom he or she has been so registered, and shall again register himself or herself in manner before mentioned, according to such new residence, declaring the residence from whence he or she so removed.

And we do further declare, that no foreign ambassador, or other public minister duly authorised, nor the domestic servants of any such foreign ambassador, or public minister, registered according to the directions of the laws in force for that purpose, and being actually attendant upon such ambassador or minister; nor any alien not above the age of fourteen years, shall be deemed within the meaning and intent of this proclamation.

And we do further declare, that all such licenses, and provisional licenses, as aforesaid, shall be given without fee or reward, and shall be subject to no duty or charge whatsoever.

And we do further declare and make known, that every alien who shall be found at large in Great Britain after the time by this our proclamation limited for registering and thereupon obtaining licenses as aforesaid, such aliens not having obtained such license respectively, and not being exempted as aforesaid, will be liable on conviction to suffer imprisonment for any time not exceeding six months, according to the provisions of the said act.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 12th day of October, 1803, in the 43d year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

Whereas our parliament stands prorogued to Thursday the third day of November next: we, with the advice of our privy council, do hereby publish and declare, that the said parliament shall be farther prorogued on the said third day of November next to Tuesday the twenty-second day of November next:

next: and we have given order to our chancellor of that part of our united kingdom called Great Britain, to prepare a commission for proroguing the same accordingly. And we do further hereby, with the advice aforesaid, declare our royal will and pleasure, that the said parliament shall, on the said twenty-second day of November next, be held and sit for the dispatch of divers urgent and important affairs; and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights, citizens, and burgesses, and the commissioners for shires and burghs, of the house of commons, are hereby required and commanded to give their attendance accordingly at Westminster, on the said twenty-second day of November next.

Given at our court at St. James's, the twelfth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and three, in the forty-third year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

May 16. Lord Pelham brought down to the lords the following message from his majesty, which was read, first by the lord chancellor, from the woolsack, and next by Mr. Rose, the clerk, at the table.

"G. R.

"His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of peers, that the discussions which he announced to them in his message of the 8th of March last, as then subsisting between his majesty and the French government, have been terminated; that the conduct of the French government has obliged his majesty to recal his ambassador from Paris, and that the ambassador from the French republic has left London.

"His majesty has given directions for laying before the house of Peers, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as will afford the fullest information to his parliament at this important conjuncture.

"It is a consolation to his majesty to reflect, that no endeavours have been wanting on his part to preserve to his subjects the blessings of peace; but under the circumstances which have occurred to disappoint his just expectations, his majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons, and on the exertions of his brave and loyal subjects, to support him in his determination to employ the power and resources of the nation, in opposing the spirit of ambition and encroachment which at present actuates the councils of France, in upholding the dignity of his crown, and in asserting and maintaining the rights and interests of his people."

By the LORD-LIEUTENANT and COUNCIL of IRELAND. A PROCLAMATION.

HARDWICKE.

Whereas divers persons, engaged in a treasonable and daring insurrection against his majesty's government, did, on the evening of yesterday, the 23d of July inst. suddenly assemble in the liberties of Dublin, with fire-arms and pikes, and did there commit several outrages, and particularly in Thomas-street, in the parish of St. Catharine, within the said liberties, did assault the carriage of the right honourable Arthur lord viscount Kilwarden, chief justice of his majesty's court of king's bench, and one of his majesty's most honourable

ble privy council, and did drag the said Arthur lord Viscount Kilwarden, together with his nephew the rev. Richard Wolfe, clerk, from his said carriage, and did there basely and inhumanly murder the said Arthur lord viscount Kilwarden and Richard Wolfe, by stabbing them respectively with pikes in various parts of their bodies, of which wounds they both soon after died.

Now we, the lord-lieutenant and council, in order to bring such enormous offenders to condign punishment, do, by this our proclamation, publish and declare, that if any person or persons shall, within six calendar months from the date hereof, discover any of the person or persons who committed the said inhuman murders on the said Arthur viscount Kilwarden, and the said rev. Richard Wolfe, or either of them, or who aided and assisted therein, or who advised, encouraged, instigated, moved, stimulated, or incited the persons concerned therein to commit the same, such person or persons so discovering shall receive as a reward the sum of one thousand pounds sterling for each and every of the first three persons who shall be apprehended and convicted thereof.

And we do likewise publish and declare, that if any of the persons concerned in the murders aforesaid, save and except the persons who actually stabbed the said lord viscount Kilwarden and the rev. Richard Wolfe, or either of them, as aforesaid, shall discover any other of the persons concerned in the said murders, or either of them, so that such person or persons so discovering shall be convicted thereof, such person or persons so discovering, shall, over and above the said reward, receive his majesty's most gracious pardon for said offences.

And whereas it has appeared to us, that the daring and rebellious outrages aforesaid were committed in prosecution of a rebellious conspiracy against his majesty's government, and that divers other enormities were at the same time committed in Thomas-street aforesaid, and in the neighbourhood thereof, in prosecution of the same treasonable purpose, and that divers of the persons engaged therein, did come to Dublin with intent to commit such outrages and enormities, in order to induce and persuade his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects in the city of Dublin and its neighbourhood, by the tenor thereof, and by apprehensions for their own personal safety, to join in the treasonable conspiracy aforesaid.

Now we, the lord-lieutenant and council, do hereby strictly enjoin and command all his majesty's subjects, in their several stations and according to their several duties, to use their utmost endeavours to suppress all such rebellious insurrections and treasonable practices, and to apprehend and bring the persons engaged therein to the punishment due to their crimes; and more especially we do strictly enjoin and command the lord mayor of the city of Dublin, and all the justices of the peace of the said city of Dublin, and of the county of Dublin, and all sheriffs and other magistrates and officers within their several jurisdictions, and all other his majesty's loving subjects, to do all acts in their power to such purposes.

And we do hereby further require and command all officers commanding his majesty's forces to

to employ the troops under their command in the most speedy and effectual manner for the suppression of all rebellious insurrections and treasonable practices, wherever the same may appear; and particularly to disarm all rebels, and recover all arms forcibly and traitorously taken from his majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, and take up and seize all arms and ammunition which may be found in the custody of any person or persons not duly authorised by law to have and keep the same.

Given at the council chamber, in Dublin, the 24th day of July, 1803.

Signed, Redesdale C., Chas. Dublin, W. Tuam, Drogheda, Ely, Arran, Annesley, Tyrawley, Her. Langrishe, Denis Browne, Henry King, S. Hamilton, St. George Daly, D. La Touche, James Fitzgerald, M. Fitzgerald, H. E. Fox, M. Smith, Standish O'Grady.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

PROCLAMATION

By his Majesty, as Elector of Hanover.

GEORGE R.

Whatever the event of the differences now existing between our crown and the French government may be, we shall, in our capacity as elector and member of the German empire, observe the strictest neutrality; and might therefore justly and confidently expect, that whatever termination the present negotiation may have, our German states and faithful subjects will not be affected by any consequences which may ensue.

Considering, however, the obvious movements of the troops in Holland, the possibility must occur to us, that in case the mentioned differences should, against our wishes, not be amicably settled, our German states and subjects may be exposed to a danger, which, if realised, would have the most unfortunate consequences for the whole country in general, and every individual in particular. We, for this reason, hold it to be our most sacred duty to adopt such means as will, under the blessing of God, prove most efficacious to protect our faithful German subjects, whom Divine Providence has committed to our care. We apply, therefore, to all the loyal subjects of our German states, with that confidence to which the love and affection we bear our people, and their uninterrupted loyalty and attachment entitle us, to make, in case of such danger, all those efforts and sacrifices to which the duties they owe to us their loving sovereign, their attachment to their native country, their family connexions, and every thing dear to them, already bind them. And we do it with the more confidence, as our dearly beloved son, the duke of Cambridge, actuated by the tender affection he bears our faithful German states and subjects, is willing to share every danger that may befal them, and personally to assist in every thing that may promote their safety and security. To be prepared for every event that may happen, it is for the present absolutely necessary to know immediately the exact number of our German subjects, who, if necessity calls, can take up arms for the defence of their country. It is to effect this, that we command all the magistrates of our German states, to lose no time in giving in complete

complete lists of such of our German subjects as are fit for military service, excepting those only who serve us and their country in other capacities; and to make them solemnly promise to come forth when called upon, and give all the assistance in their power for the defence of their country, whenever, and for as long as may be thought necessary.

The known loyalty and patriotism of our beloved subjects, leave us no room to suppose, that any one of them will be so lost, as to transgress so solemn an obligation, or to withdraw himself by a cowardly and treacherous flight from giving his assistance to the defence of his country. Should, however, against our better expectations, such be found, who, in time of danger, would desert their country and refuse their aid, such wretches shall, the case being lawfully proved, without hope of pardon, be deprived of all they may possess in our German dominions, and be cut off from all inheritance therein. But we have a better opinion of all our German subjects, and are firmly persuaded, that, when necessity calls, they will unanimously and zealously assist, to the utmost in their power, in the defence and for the salvation of their native country.

Hanover, May 16, 1803.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, August 12, 1803.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am at length enabled, by the state of public business, to release you from your long and laborious attendance in parliament.

In closing the session, I have the utmost satisfaction in expressing the strong sense which I entertain of that zealous and unwearied regard for the welfare and honour of your country, which has distinguished all your proceedings.

During the continuance of peace, your conduct manifested the just view which you had taken of our actual situation, and of the dangers against which you were peculiarly called upon to provide; and since the recurrence of hostilities, you have displayed an energy and promptitude which have never been surpassed, in the means which you have supplied for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

Your proceedings, in consequence of the late treasonable and atrocious occurrences in Ireland, will, I trust, have the effect of preventing any further interruption of its internal tranquillity: and of convincing my loyal subjects, in that part of the united kingdom, that they may confidently rely on that protection to which they are so justly entitled.

In the midst of the deliberations, which were occasioned by the immediate exigency of the times, you have not been unmindful of other objects, to which I had directed your attention; and I have great satisfaction in observing, that you have completed a system for consolidating the duties, and regulating the collection and management of the several branches of the revenue, and that you have adopted measures which are calculated to afford material accommodation to the mercantile part of the community, and to encourage and extend the navigation and commerce of my dominions.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my particular thanks

thanks for the liberality and readiness with which you have granted the supplies for the public service.

It is painful to me to reflect, that the means of necessary exertion cannot be provided without a heavy pressure upon my faithful people. But I cannot sufficiently applaud that wisdom and fortitude which have led you to overlook considerations of temporary convenience, for the purpose of preventing a large accumulation of debt during the continuance of the war. You may be assured that there shall be as strict an attention to economy on my part as may be consistent with those preparations and exertions which will be best calculated to frustrate the designs and to weaken the power of the enemy, by whose arrogant pretensions and restless ambition alone these sacrifices have been rendered unavoidable.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I am fully persuaded that, during the cessation of your parliamentary duties, you will continue to be actuated by the same spirit which has been uniformly displayed in your councils. It will be your duty to assist in carrying into effect those important measures which your wisdom has matured for the defence and security of the realm; and particularly to give the most beneficial direction to that ardour and enthusiasm in the cause of their country which animate all classes of my people.

Justly sensible of the state of pre-eminence in which it has pleased the Almighty to support us for so many ages, amongst the nations of Europe, I rely with confidence, that, under the continuance of his Divine Protection, the exertions of my brave and loyal subjects will prove to the enemy, and to the world, that an attempt to subvert the independence, or impair the power, of this united kingdom, will terminate in the disgrace and ruin of those by whom it may be made; and that my people will find an ample reward for all their sacrifices, in an undisturbed enjoyment of that freedom and security, which, by their patriotism and valour, they will have preserved and ensured to themselves and their posterity.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, November 22, 1803.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Since I last met you in parliament, it has been my chief object to carry into effect those measures which your wisdom had adopted for the defence of the united kingdom, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. In these preparations I have been seconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of my people, in a manner that has, if possible, strengthened their claims to my confidence and affection; they have proved that the menaces of the enemy have only served to rouse their native and hereditary spirit; and that all other considerations are lost in a general disposition to make those efforts and sacrifices which the honour and safety of the kingdom demand at this important and critical conjuncture.

Though my attention has principally been directed to the great object of internal security, no opportunity has been lost of making an impression on the foreign possessions of the enemy. The island of St. Lucia, of Tobago, of St. Pierre, and Miquelon, and the settlements

tlements of Demerara and Essequibo, have surrendered to the British arms. In the conduct of the operations by which those valuable acquisitions have been made, the utmost promptitude and zeal have been displayed by the officers employed on those services, and by my forces acting under their command by sea and land.

In Ireland, the leaders, and several inferior agents, in the late traitorous and atrocious conspiracy, have been brought to justice; and the public tranquillity has experienced no further interruption. I indulge the hope, that such of my deluded subjects as have swerved from their allegiance are now convinced of their error; and that having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free constitution, with the condition of those countries which are under the dominion of the French government, they will cordially and zealously concur in resisting any attempt that may be made against the security and independence of my united kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have a perfect reliance on your public spirit for making such provision as may be necessary for the service of the year. The progressive improvement of the revenue cannot fail to encourage you to persevere in the system which has been adopted, of defraying the expenses of the war, with as little addition as possible to the public debt, and to the permanent burthens of the state.

I lament the heavy pressure which, under the present circumstances, must unavoidably be experienced by my people; but I am persuaded that they will meet it with the good sense and fortitude which so eminently distinguish their character, under a conviction of the indispensable importance of upholding the dignity and of providing effectually for the safety of the empire.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have concluded a convention with the king of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting all the differences which have arisen on the subject of the eleventh article of the treaty of 1661. I have directed that a copy of this convention should be laid before you; and you will, I trust, be of opinion that the arrangement, whilst it upholds our maritime rights, is founded on those principles of reciprocal advantage which are best calculated to maintain and improve the good understanding which happily subsists between the two countries.

In the prosecution of the contest in which we are engaged, it shall be, as it has ever been, my first object to execute as becomes me the great trust committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cause, it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of my faithful subjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all those valuable interests which are involved in the issue of this momentous contest.

Actuated by these sentiments, and humbly imploring the blessing of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all just expectation, the

the enemy should elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruisers, and attempt to execute their presumptuous threats of invading our coasts, the consequence will be to them, discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace; and that ours will not only be the glory of surmounting present difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the solid and permanent advantage of fixing the safety and independence of the kingdom on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources.

DECLARATION.

His majesty's earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertains the fullest confidence that he shall receive the same support from his parliament, and that the same zeal and spirit will be manifested by his people, which he has experienced on every occasion when the honour of his crown has been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions have been endangered.

During the whole course of the negotiations which led to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between his majesty and the French republic, it was his majesty's sincere desire, not only to put an end to the hostilities which subsisted between the two countries, but to adopt such measures, and to concur in such propositions, as might most effectually contribute to consolidate the general tranquillity of Europe. The same motives by which his majesty was actuated during the negotiations for peace, have since invariably governed his conduct. As soon as the treaty of Amiens was concluded, his majesty's courts were open to the people of France for every purpose of legal redress; all sequestrations were taken off their property; all prohibitions on their trade which had been imposed during the war were removed; and they were placed, in every respect, on the same footing, with regard to commerce and intercourse, as the inhabitants of any other state in amity with his majesty, with which there existed no treaty of commerce.

To a system of conduct thus open, liberal, and friendly, the proceedings of the French government afford the most striking contrast. The prohibitions which had been placed on the commerce of his majesty's subjects during the war have been enforced with increased strictness and severity; violence has been offered in several instances to their vessels and their property; and, in no case, has justice been afforded to those who may have been aggrieved in consequence of such acts, nor has any satisfactory answer been given to the repeated representations made by his majesty's ministers or ambassador at Paris. Under such circumstances, when his majesty's subjects were not suffered to enjoy the common advantages of peace within the territories of the French republic, and the countries dependent upon it, the French government had recourse to the extraordinary measure of sending over to this country a number of persons for the professed purpose of residing in the most considerable sea-port towns of Great Britain and Ireland, in the character of commercial agents or consuls. These persons could have no pretensions to be acknowledged in that character, as the right of being so acknowledged, as well as all the privileges attached to

to such a situation, could only be derived from a commercial treaty; and as no treaty of that description was in existence between his majesty and the French republic.

There was consequently too much reason to suppose that the real object of their mission was by no means of a commercial nature; and this suspicion was confirmed, not only by the circumstance that some of them were military men, but by the actual discovery that several of them were furnished with instructions to obtain the soundings of the harbours, and to procure military surveys of the places where it was intended they should reside. His majesty felt it to be his duty to prevent their departure to their respective places of destination, and represented to the French government the necessity of withdrawing them; and it cannot be denied that the circumstances under which they were sent, and the instructions which were given to them, ought to be considered as decisive indications of the dispositions and intentions of the government by whom they were employed.

The conduct of the French government, with respect to the commercial intercourse between the two countries, must therefore be considered as ill suited to a state of peace; and their proceedings in their more general political relations, as well as in those which immediately concern his majesty's dominions, appear to have been altogether inconsistent with every principle of good faith, moderation, and justice. His majesty had entertained hopes, in consequence of the repeated assurances and professions of the French government, that they might have been induced to adopt a system of policy which, if it had not inspired other powers with confidence, might at least have allayed their jealousies. If the French government had really appeared to be actuated by a due attention to such a system; if their dispositions had proved to be essentially pacific, allowances would have been made for the situation in which a new government must be placed after so dreadful and extensive a convulsion as that which has been produced by the French revolution. But his majesty has unfortunately had too much reason to observe, and to lament, that the system of violence, aggression, and aggrandisement, which characterised the proceedings of the different governments of France during the war, has been continued with as little disguise since its termination. They have continued to keep a French army in Holland against the will, and in defiance of the remonstrances of the Batavian government, and in repugnance to the letter of three solemn treaties. They have, in a period of peace, invaded the territory, and violated the independence of the Swiss nation, in defiance of the treaty of Luneville, which had stipulated the independence of their territory, and the right of the inhabitants to choose their own form of government. They have annexed to the dominions of France, Piedmont, Parma, and Placentia, and the island of Elba, without allotting any provision to the king of Sardinia, whom they have despoiled of the most valuable part of his territory, though they were bound by a solemn engagement to the emperor of Russia, to attend to his interests, and to provide for his establishment. It may, indeed, with truth be asserted, that the period which has elapsed since the conclu-

sion of the definitive treaty, has been marked with one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult, on the part of the French government.

In the month of October last, his majesty was induced, in consequence of the earnest solicitation of the Swiss nation, to make an effort, by a representation to the French government, to avert the evils which were then impending over that country. This representation was couched in the most temperate terms; and measures were taken by his majesty for ascertaining, under the circumstances which then existed, the real situation and wishes of the Swiss cantons, as well as the sentiments of the other cabinets of Europe. His majesty learned, however, with the utmost regret, that no disposition to counteract these repeated infractions of treaties and acts of violence was manifested by any of the powers most immediately interested in preventing them; and his majesty therefore felt, that, with respect to these objects, his single efforts could not be expected to produce any considerable advantage to those in whose favour they might be exerted.

It was about this time that the French government first distinctly advanced the principle, that his majesty had no right to complain of the conduct or to interfere with the proceedings of France, on any point which did not form a part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens. That treaty was unquestionably founded upon the same principle as every other antecedent treaty or convention, on the assumption of the state of possession and of engagements subsisting at the time of its conclusion; and if that state of possession and of engagements is materially affected by the voluntary act of any of the parties, so as to prejudice the condition on which the other party has entered into the contract, the change, so made, may be considered as operating virtually as a breach of the treaty itself, and as giving the party aggrieved a right to demand satisfaction or compensation for any substantial difference which such acts may have effected in their relative situations; but whatever may be the principle on which the treaty is to be considered as founded, there is indisputably a general law of nations, which, though liable to be limited, explained, or restrained, by conventional law, is antecedent to it, and is that law or rule of conduct to which all sovereigns and states have been accustomed to appeal, where conventional law is admitted to have been silent. The treaty of Amiens, and every other treaty, in providing for the objects to which it is particularly directed, does not therefore assume or imply an indifference to all other objects which are not specified in its stipulations; much less does it adjudge them to be of a nature to be left to the will and caprice of the violent and the powerful. The justice of the cause is alone a sufficient ground to warrant the interposition of any of the powers of Europe in the differences which may arise between other states, and the application and extent of that just interposition is to be determined solely by considerations of prudence. These principles can admit of no dispute; but if the new and extraordinary pretension advanced by the French government, to exclude his majesty from any right to interfere with respect to the concerns of other powers, unless they made a specific part

part of the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, was that which it was possible to maintain, those powers would have a right, at least, to claim the benefit of this principle, in every case of difference between the two countries. The indignation of all Europe must surely then be excited by the declarations of the French government, that, in the event of hostilities, these very powers who were no parties to the treaty of Amiens, and who were not allowed to derive any advantage from the remonstrances of his majesty in their behalf, are nevertheless to be made the victims of a war which is alleged to arise out of the same treaty, and are to be sacrificed in a contest which they not only have not occasioned, but which they have had no means whatever of preventing.

His majesty judged it most expedient, under the circumstances which then affected Europe, to abstain from a recurrence to hostilities on account of the views of ambition and acts of aggression manifested by France on the continent; yet an experience of the character and dispositions of the French government could not fail to impress his majesty with a sense of the necessity of increased vigilance in guarding the rights and dignity of his crown, and in protecting the interests of his people.

Whilst his majesty was actuated by these sentiments, he was called upon by the French government to evacuate the island of Malta. His majesty had manifested, from the moment of the signature of the definitive treaty, an anxious disposition to carry into full effect the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens relative to that island. As soon as he was informed that an election of a grand-master had taken place, under the auspices of the emperor of Russia, and that it had been agreed by the different priories assembled at St. Petersburg to acknowledge the person whom the court of Rome should select out of those who had been named by them to be grand-master of the order of St. John, his majesty proposed to the French government, for the purpose of avoiding any difficulties which might arise in the execution of the arrangement, to acknowledge that election to be valid: and when, in the month of August, the French government applied to his majesty to permit the Neapolitan troops to be sent to the island of Malta, as a preliminary measure for preventing any unnecessary delay, his majesty consented without hesitation to this proposal, and gave directions for the admission of the Neapolitan troops into the island. His majesty had thus shown his disposition not only to throw no obstacle in the way of the execution of the treaty, but, on the contrary, to facilitate the execution of it by every means in his power. His majesty cannot, however, admit, that at any period since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, the French government have had a right to call upon him, in conformity to the stipulations of that treaty, to withdraw his forces from the island of Malta. At the time when this demand was made by the French government, several of the most important stipulations of the arrangement respecting Malta remained unexecuted: the election of a grand-master had not been carried into effect. The tenth article had stipulated, that the independence of the island should be placed under the guarantee and protection of Great Britain, France,

Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia. The emperor of Germany had acceded to the guarantee, but only on condition of a like accession on the part of the other powers specified in the article. The emperor of Russia had refused his accession, except on the condition that the Maltese langue should be abrogated; and the king of Prussia had given no answer whatever to the application which had been made to him to accede to the arrangement. But the fundamental principle, upon the existence of which depended the execution of the other parts of the article, had been defeated by the changes which had taken place in the constitution of the order since the conclusion of the treaty of peace. It was to the order of St. John of Jerusalem that his majesty was, by the first stipulation of the tenth article, bound to restore the island of Malta. The order is defined to consist of those langues which were in existence at the time of the conclusion of the treaty: the three French langues having been abolished, and a Maltese language added to the institution. The order consisted, therefore, at that time, of the following langues, viz. the langues of Arrogan, Castile, Germany, Bavaria, and Russia. Since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the langues of Arrogan and Castile have been separated from the order by Spain; a part of the Italian langue has been abolished by the annexation of Piedmont and Parma to France. There is strong reason to believe that it has been in contemplation to sequestrate the property of the Bavarian langue, and the intention has been avowed of keeping the Russian langues within the dominions of the emperor.

Under these circumstances the order of St. John cannot be considered as that body to which, according to the stipulations of the treaty, the island was to be restored; and the funds indispensably necessary for its support, and for the maintenance of the independence of the island, have been nearly, if not wholly, sequestered. Even if this had arisen from circumstances which it was not in the power of any of the contracting parties to the treaty to control, his majesty would nevertheless have had a right to defer the evacuation of the island by his forces, until such time as an equivalent arrangement had been concluded for the preservation of the independence of the order and of the island. But if these changes have taken place in consequence of any acts of the other parties to the treaty; if the French government shall appear to have proceeded upon a system of rendering the order, whose independence they had stipulated, incapable of maintaining that independence, his majesty's right to continue in the occupation of the island, under such circumstances, will hardly be contested. It is indisputable that the revenues of the two Spanish langues have been withdrawn from the order by his catholic majesty; a part of the Italian langue has, in fact, been abolished by France, through the unjust annexation of Piedmont and Parma, and Placentia, to the French territory. The elector of Bavaria has been instigated by the French government to sequestrate the property of the order within his territories; and it is certain that they have not only sanctioned but encouraged the idea of the propriety of separating the Russian langues from the remainder of the order.

As the conduct of the governments

ments of France and Spain have, therefore, in some instances directly, and in others indirectly, contributed to the changes which have taken place in the order, and thus destroyed its means of supporting its independence, it is to those governments, and not to his majesty, that the non-execution of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens must be ascribed.

Such would be the just conclusion if the tenth article of that treaty were considered as an arrangement by itself. It must be observed, however, that this article forms a part only of a treaty of peace, the whole of which is connected together, and the stipulations of which must, upon a principle common to all treaties, be construed as having a reference to each other.

His majesty was induced by the treaty of peace to consent to abandon and to restore to the order of St. John the island of Malta, on condition of its independence and neutrality. But a further condition, which must necessarily be supposed to have had considerable influence with his majesty in inducing him to make so important a concession, was the acquiescence of the French government in an arrangement for the security of the Levant, by the eighth and ninth articles in the treaty stipulating the integrity of the Turkish empire, and the independence of the Ionian islands. His majesty has, however, since learnt, that the French government have entertained views hostile to both these objects; and that they have even suggested the idea of a partition of the Turkish empire. These views must now be manifest to all the world, from the official publication of the report of colonel Sebastiani; from the conduct of that officer, and of the other French agents in Egypt, Syria, and the Ionian islands; and from the distinct admission of the first consul himself, in his communication with lord Whitworth. His majesty was, therefore, warranted in considering it to be the determination of the French government to violate those articles of the treaty of peace, which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, and of the Ionian islands; and consequently he would not have been justified in evacuating the island of Malta; without receiving some other security, which might equally provide for these important objects. His majesty accordingly feels that he has an incontestible claim, in consequence of the conduct of France since the treaty of peace, and with reference to the objects which made part of the stipulations of that treaty, to refuse, under the present circumstances, to relinquish the possession of the island of Malta.

Yet, notwithstanding this right, so clear and so unquestionable, the alternative presented by the French government to his majesty, in language the most peremptory and menacing, was, "the evacuation of Malta, or the renewal of the war."

If the views of ambition and aggrandisement, which have thus been manifested by the French government since the conclusion of the treaty of peace, have in so very particular a manner attracted the attention of his majesty, it has been equally impossible for him not to feel, and not to notice, the repeated indignities which have been offered by that government to his crown and to his people.

The report of colonel Sebastiani contains the most unwarrantable insinuations and charges against

his majesty's government, against the officer who commanded his forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter. The paper cannot be considered as the publication of a private individual; it has been avowed, and indeed bears evidence upon the face of it, that it is the official report of an accredited agent, published by the authority of a government to which it was addressed, who thereby have given it their express sanction.

This report had been published a very short time, when another indignity was offered to this country in the communication of the first consul of France to the legislative body. In this communication he presumes to affirm, in the character of chief magistrate of that country, "that Great Britain cannot singly contend against the power of France;" an assertion as unfounded as it is indecent, disproved by the events of many wars, and by none more than by those of the war which has been recently concluded. Such an assertion, advanced in the most solemn official act of a government, and thereby meant to be avowed to all the powers of Europe, can be considered in no other light than as a defiance publicly offered to his majesty, and to a brave and powerful people, who are both willing and able to defend his just rights, and those of their country, against every insult and aggression.

The conduct of the first consul to his majesty's ambassador, at his audience, in presence of the ministers of most of the sovereigns and states of Europe, furnishes another instance of provocation on the part of the French government, which it would be improper not to notice on the present occasion; and the subsequent explanation of this transaction may be considered as having the effect of aggravating instead of palliating the affront.

At the very time when his majesty was demanding satisfaction and explanation on some of the points above-mentioned, the French minister at Hamburg endeavoured to obtain the insertion in a Hamburg paper of a most gross and opprobrious libel against his majesty; and when difficulties were made respecting the insertion of it, he availed himself of his official character of minister of the French republic to require the publication of it, by order of his government, in the Gazette of the Senate of that town. With this requisition, so made, the senate of Hamburg were induced to comply; and thus has the independence of that town been violated, and a free state made the instrument, by the menace of the French government, of propagating throughout Europe, upon their authority, the most offensive and unfounded calumnies against his majesty and his government. His majesty might add to this list of indignities, the requisition which the French government have repeatedly urged, that the laws and constitution of his country should be changed relative to the liberty of the press. His majesty might likewise add the calls which the French government have, on several occasions, made upon him to violate the laws of hospitality, with respect to persons who had found an asylum within his dominions, and against whose conduct no charge whatever has, at any time, been substantiated. It is impossible to reflect on these different proceedings, and the course which the French government have thought proper to adopt respecting them, without the thorough conviction

viction that they are not the effect of accident; but that they form a part of a system which has been adopted for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his majesty and his government.

Under all these insults and provocations, his majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded with every degree of temper and moderation to obtain satisfaction and redress, while he has neglected no means, consistent with his honour and the safety of his dominions, to induce the government of France to concede to him what is, in his judgement, absolutely necessary for the future tranquillity of Europe. His efforts in this respect have proved abortive, and he has therefore judged it necessary to order his ambassador to leave Paris. In having recourse to this proceeding, it has been his majesty's object to put an end to the fruitless discussions which have too long subsisted between the two governments, and to close a period of suspense peculiarly injurious to the subjects of his majesty.

But though the provocations which his majesty has received might entitle him to larger claims than those which he has advanced, yet, anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is still willing, as far as is consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honourable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring to all Europe, that, notwithstanding all the changes which have taken place since the treaty of peace, notwithstanding the extension of the power of France, in repugnance to that treaty, and to the spirit of peace itself, his majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances, to demand in compensation all that he is entitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement by which satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his crown, and to his people, and substantial security afforded against further encroachments on the part of France.

His majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other state; by no projects of conquest and aggrandisement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system, which, if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilised world.

HOUSE OF LORDS. Aug. 12.

Address of the Commons to the King.

His majesty having taken his seat on the throne, the gentleman usher of the black rod was desired to require the attendance of the speaker of the house of commons. The speaker attended accordingly, and read the following address:—

"Most Gracious Sovereign,

"Your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in parliament assembled, have at length completed the supplies granted to your majesty for the service of the present year—a pe-

riod memorable for the events which it has produced, and awful for those which may be yet to come.

"In granting those supplies, your majesty's faithful commons have considered that a crisis without example, demanded unexampled efforts; and by resolving to raise, annually, a large proportion of the supplies for the current year, so long as the war endures, they have given to all the world a solemn pledge of their inflexible determination to render the public credit unassailable.

"They have also proceeded to revise the system of your majesty's permanent revenue. By consolidating the duties in each of its principal branches, they have simplified its operations, and, at the same time, they have endeavoured to render its pressure less burthensome by regulating its mode of collection.

"The commercial interests of this country, to which our attention was called by your majesty's gracious commands at the commencement of the present session, have been maturely considered; and measures have been taken for affording material accommodations and facilities to mercantile transactions, by rendering our principal ports free for all nations to import, deposit, and re-export their merchandise, without toll or tax, unless voluntarily brought into our own market for home consumption.

"Nor have we forgotten to bestow our earnest and serious thoughts upon the safety and efficacy of our church establishment in every part of the united kingdom. Upon this subject, as comprehending all that consecrates our rational hopes, morals, and policy, we have deliberated with peculiar care and anxiety; and we presume to believe, that the important laws which have been passed in aid of our church establishment, will materially strengthen and gradually extend its influence through succeeding ages.

"But, sire, these were cares and objects belonging to times of peace. Wise, politic, and desirable, as they might be, nevertheless, called upon now by your majesty's commands, we have without hesitation turned all our thoughts and efforts to meet the renewal of war, persuaded that your majesty's paternal care preserved to us the blessings of peace so long as they could be retained with safety and honour, and confident that since they have been openly attacked, and the justice of our cause has been made manifest to the world, our appeal to arms will not be in vain.

"This war we see and know to be a war of no ordinary character. We feel that our religion, laws, and liberties, and existence as a nation, are put to the issue, and we have prepared for the contest accordingly. Besides the supplies of money, we have augmented, beyond all former example, every species of military force known in this country—we have met rebellion with prompt and necessary laws: and, for the defence of a sovereign endeared to us by long experience of his royal virtues, and commanding not an allegiance alone, but our hearts and affections—the whole nation has risen in arms.

"May then the God of our fathers go forth with us to battle, and bless our cause, and establish with victory that throne which we revere as the bulwark of our liberties! and so shall other nations at length learn, that a free, valiant, and

and united people is unconquerable, and able to set lasting bounds to an empire of violence, perfidy, and unrelenting ambition.

GOVERNMENT PROCLAMATION.

By his Honour Lieutenant-General Francis Dundas, Colonel of his Majesty's Scotch Brigade, Governor of Carrickfergus, in Ireland, Lieutenant-Governor, Acting-Governor, and Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's Castle, Town, and Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa, and of the Territories and Dependencies thereof, and Ordinary and Vice-Admiral of the same.

Whereas the circumstances that have lately occurred might excite in the breasts of the ill-disposed part of the community opinions and designs prejudicial to the public welfare and repose; and whereas any attempts originating from such opinions and designs to interrupt the public peace, can have no other effect than to produce disorder and confusion, misery and ruin, the destruction of families, and a general desolation in the country: in order to prevent, as far as possible, such direful consequences, I do hereby prohibit, in the most positive manner, on pain of prompt execution of military law, which, by virtue of the powers in me vested, I do hereby proclaim, all assemblages of armed peasants, or other inhabitants, of any description whatsoever, unless by my authority and commands, conveyed in the usual manner to the landrosts or other officers properly qualified to issue the same. And all the inhabitants of this settlement, bound by the oath of allegiance they have taken to his Britannic majesty, are hereby warned of the fatal consequences that must inevitably ensue to themselves, their families, and property, by any deviation from this public order, it being my positive resolution to enforce a strict and literal obedience to the same.

And whereas it is expedient, during the present state of the settlement, that the inhabitants in general, both of Cape Town and the country districts, should not be permitted to quit their habitations, I do further forbid all persons residing in this town from leaving the same with their families for the purpose of changing their places of abode, without my special leave and authority; and those of the country districts, without the knowledge and approbation of the respective landrosts and heemraaden.

Given under my hand and seal, at the castle of Good Hope, this 2d day of January, 1803.

(Signed) FRANCIS DUNDAS.

By command of his honour the lieutenant and acting governor,

(Signed) A. BARNARD, Sec.

Articles of Agreement concluded this 21st Day of December 1802, between Colonel Hamilton, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and John Pringle, Esq. Commissary-General, duly authorised for that Purpose by their Excellencies Lieutenant-General Dundas, and Vice-Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, Baronet, on the Part of his Britannic Majesty: and Rear-Admiral S. Dekker, Commander-in-Chief of the Batavian Fleet for the East Indies, and Colonel Henry, Commander of the

the Cape Garrison, also duly authorised by his Excellency the Commissary-General De Mist, on the Part of the Batavian Republic.

Art. I. Every thing shall be considered as remaining on the same footing that was stipulated by mutual assent this morning before the arrival of the orders of his Britannic majesty.

II. The commissary-general de Mist shall be at liberty to encamp or canton the Batavian troops in the neighbourhood of Cape Town, and to select for that purpose the most convenient position for the health, safety, and accommodation of these troops.

III. Their excellencies shall not hinder the free transport of baggage, arms, and every thing else necessary for encamping or cantoning the troops.

IV. A free communication shall be allowed with the Batavian ships, whether of war or transport, now in the bay, or which may arrive hereafter; and no impediment shall be made to the disembarkation of any troops that may still arrive, or to their arms, ammunition, and baggage.

V. All Batavian ships, whether of war, transport, or commerce, shall have permission to prosecute their voyages, or to return to Europe, according to the orders they may have on this subject, and which the commissary-general shall deem necessary to give them.

VI. In case his excellency lieut.-general Dundas should receive any orders from Europe relative to the present state of affairs, he shall communicate them to the commissary-general; and in the event of these orders leading to acts of hostility, he engages to give the commissary-general eight days' previous notice, in order that he may take such measures, either for remaining in, or leaving this colony with every person and thing under his present orders, as may be necessary, engaging himself to act reciprocally in this respect towards his excellency.

VII. The only object of the present agreement being the maintenance of good order, the commissary-general of the Batavian republic promises to do every thing that depends on him to prevent disturbances, or any act which might disturb the public peace in the district where the troops may be stationed.

VIII. To ensure the subsistence of the troops of the two nations, the lieutenant-governor shall in no manner hinder the supply of the Batavian troops, as the commissary-general of the Batavian republic on his part will in no way interfere or prevent supplies from the interior going into Cape Town.

IX. None of these arrangements shall be interpreted at any time against the Batavian republic, or against the commissary-general, as abandoning in any shape the clear right that the peace of Amiens has given them to the cession of this colony.

X. Sending detachments to hinder any disturbances in the neighbourhood of the camp, or to constrain the Hottentots, as well as for the escort of provisions, either to the Batavian camp, or to Cape Town, shall not be considered as moving the troops from the position fixed upon.

The Batavian troops shall not return to Cape Town during this agreement; neither shall the English troops take up any position out of the castle or forts which

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can molest the Batavian camp in any manner.

XI. In case of any doubts or difficulties arising concerning the true meaning of the present agreement, they shall be explained in the most advantageous manner for carrying into effect the salutary motives which have induced their excellencies and the commissary-general of the Batavian republic to enter into it; and more especially for ensuring to the commissary-general, the governor, and general in chief, and the officers civil and military, the greatest security, liberty, and independence; the whole in order to cement more strongly the good intelligence so happily established between their excellencies and the commissary-general of the Batavian republic.

(Signed) J. Dekker,
Schout by Nagt.
In dienst der Bataafsche Repub.
John Pringle,
Com.-Gen.

Ratified 3d Jan. 1803.

(Signed) F. Dundas,
Lieutenant-Gen.
J. A. Mist,
Com.-Gen.
(Signed) J. Hamilton, Col.
Dep. Quar.-Mast.-Gen.
P. G. Henry, Col. Com. les
Troupes Bataves au Cap.

Ratified.

(Signed) Roger Curtis,
Vice-Admiral, &c.

Official Letter of the Commander M. Busy, to the Minister of England at Malta.

Sir,

I had the honour this morning to explain to your excellency the object of the mission which his highness the grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem commissioned me to execute at Malta.

To this explanation your excellency answered that no orders had been received for the evacuation of the island by the English garrison, and you gave me to understand that the grand master would do well not to take up his residence there for some time. After reflecting on the answer of your excellency, I have thought that it is not only unsatisfactory, but that it required some further explanation.

As the answer of your excellency seemed to involve a refusal to give up the island of Malta to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, conformably to the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, and as such a violation of that treaty of peace might be attended with the most important consequences —consequences fatal indeed to the repose of Europe—I cannot rest contented with the verbal answer which your excellency has thought proper to give me; and I should be deficient in confidence to the grand master, as well as in the dignity and duty suited to the character with which he has invested me, if I did not invite you, minister plenipotentiary, clearly to explain, in distinct form, the motives of so unexpected a refusal.

I have therefore the honour to remind your excellency, that, conformably to the fourth paragraph of the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, the forces of his Britannic majesty were to evacuate the island and its dependencies within the space of three months after the ratifications were exchanged, or earlier, if possible.

That period has long since expired. The treaty adds, that the *island* shall be given up to the order

order *in its present state, provided that the grand master or his commissaries, fully authorised according to the statutes of the order, should be in the said island to take possession of it, and the troops to be furnished by his Sicilian majesty should have arrived.*

These troops have long since arrived; there remained only one condition to be fulfilled, which was the presence of the grand master, or his commissaries, to take possession. I have the honour to observe to your excellency that by my arrival in the island that condition is fulfilled. His august eminence the grand master has been pleased to appoint me his ambassador and minister plenipotentiary extraordinary, in his name *to treat of, follow up, finish, accomplish, and concert with the English and French ministers plenipotentiary, and with the existing English government of the island, all the articles relative to the restoration of religion at Malta, and particularly whatever relates to the return of the order to the island, and the evacuation of the place,* &c. Such are the terms of the full powers with which I am invested, and of which I have the honour to subjoin a copy for the perusal of your excellency.

Agreeably to the tenor of these full powers, and the fulfilment of the different conditions stipulated by the treaty of Amiens, for the surrender of the island of Malta to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, I formally demand of your excellency the execution of the fourth paragraph of the tenth article of the said treaty; and I call upon you to give me, on this point, a categorical answer.

I request you to accept the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) Busy.

Answer of the English Minister to M. Busy.

Malta, March 2,
Sir, 1803.

I have just received the letter which your excellency did me the honour of writing to me yesterday; in which letter your excellency expresses how far you are from being satisfied with the verbal communication respecting the object of your mission. Your excellency likewise calls upon me to set down, in writing, the reasons which induce me to refuse surrendering the government of those islands, on the arrival of his eminence the grand master of the order of St. John of Jerusalem.

In answer, I beg leave to observe, that, as some of the powers invited by the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens, to guarantee the independence of Malta, have not as yet acceded to that measure, I do not hold myself authorised to give up the dominion of his Britannic majesty over these islands, until I shall have received from my court special instructions to that effect.

Your excellency observes, that I am anxious to dissuade the grand master from coming to reside here: your excellency may recollect my conversation on that subject was to the following purport:

On your excellency having observed that the grand master expected the immediate possession of the government palace in Fort Valette, I replied, that, under the present circumstances, I could not comply with the wishes of his eminence; for it is absolutely necessary that his excellency general Villette and myself continue to occupy that palace, for the dispatch of the official business belonging

longing to our respective departments.

I am moreover desirous to recall to your excellency's recollection, that I at the same time offered the palace of the Boschetta for the residence of the grand master, a situation which, in every respect, I thought suitable to his eminence, until the time arrived for his assuming the direction of government.

But as the palace of the Boschetta is not at present furnished, I took the liberty of suggesting that it might be more convenient for his eminence to remain some time in Sicily, the more so, as his residing there would keep his eminence only a day's journey distant from this island.

For the rest, his eminence may be assured that as soon as I shall deem myself authorised to give up the government, I shall give his eminence immediate information of it.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

Sir,

Your excellency's most obedient,
Very humble servant,
(Signed) ALEX. J. BALL.

Address of the House of Lords, on the Discovery of the treasonable Plot of Colonel Despard and his Accomplices.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, humbly beg leave to approach your majesty with our warmest congratulations upon the discovery and failure of a wicked and treasonable conspiracy formed against your majesty's sacred person and government.

We beg leave to express to your majesty our horror and detestation of so atrocious and unnatural a design to destroy our free and happy constitution, by an attempt against your majesty's most sacred life; a life endeared to us by your majesty's uniform and constant endeavours to preserve that constitution inviolate, and by the manifold blessings derived to all your people from your majesty's mild and beneficent reign; an attempt which furnishes a fresh proof of those flagitious principles which are alike subversive of all the duties of private life, of legitimate authority, of public order, and of civil liberty.

Whilst we trust that the punishment which has been inflicted upon the conspirators will have the effect of preventing traitorous machinations in future, we acknowledge, with the utmost thankfulness and humility, the interposition of Almighty God, who, in detecting and defeating these wicked designs, has afforded your majesty a fresh instance of that all-powerful protection upon which your majesty has invariably placed your reliance.

Your majesty may be assured that it is our fixed resolution, as it is our sacred duty, to defend and protect your majesty's person, to second your majesty's uniform endeavours to maintain and preserve that excellent constitution under which this kingdom has so long flourished, and to transmit it unimpaired to our posterity.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I receive, with peculiar satisfaction,

tion, this dutiful and loyal address, in addition to the many signal proofs which you have given me of your cordial attachment to my person and government.

The strong and just sentiments of hatred and indignation which you have expressed against this conspiracy, will, I doubt not, produce the most salutary effects, in preventing the renewal of such desperate and wicked attempts against our common interests.

The warm, steady, and unshaken loyalty of my people will, I trust, through the continuation of the Divine protection hitherto vouchsafed to me, render effectual my endeavours to maintain and to transmit to the latest posterity, that freedom, security, and happiness, which experience has shown us to be inseparably connected with the preservation of our established constitution.

Convention between the Commanders of the French and Hanoverian Armies.

The king of England having refused to ratify the convention of Suhlingen, the French general found himself under the necessity of declaring that convention null and void. In consequence of this, lieutenant-general Mortier, commander in chief of the French army, and his excellency count de Walmoden, commander in chief of the Hanoverians, have agreed on the following capitulation, which shall be put into immediate execution without being submitted to the two governments.

Art. I. The Hanoverian army shall give up their arms; they shall, with the artillery, be put into the hands of the French army.

II. All the horses belonging to the Hanoverian cavalry and artillery shall be given up to the French army by one of the ministers of state; for this purpose, there shall be nominated, by the general in chief, a commission, whose business it shall be to ascertain their present situation and description.

III. The Hanoverian army shall be dissolved. The troops shall repass the Elbe, and return to their homes. They shall previously engage, on their parole, not to carry arms against France, or her allies, unless exchanged for an equal number of French soldiers, taken by the English in the course of the present war.

IV. The Hanoverian generals and officers shall retire, on their parole, to whatever place they choose to take up their residence, provided they do not leave the continent; they shall be permitted to keep their swords, and take with them their horses, baggage, and effects.

V. There shall be sent, with the least possible delay, to the French commander in chief, a muster-roll of the Hanoverian army.

VI. The Hanoverian soldiers sent home shall not be allowed to wear their uniforms.

VII. The Hanoverian troops shall be allowed subsistence till they return to their homes. The officers shall also be allowed forage for their horses.

VIII. The 16th and 17th articles of the convention of Suhlingen shall be applicable to the Hanoverian army.

IX. The French troops shall immediately occupy that part of the electorate of Hanover which is situated in the district of Lauenburg.

Exchanged

Exchanged on the Elbe this 16th Messidor (June 5), year 11 of the French republic.

(Signed)

Ed. Mortier.

Marshall Count de Walmoden.

The 16th and 17th articles alluded to in the preceding convention refer to the favourable construction of the articles, and state, that the present convention shall not create any prejudice against any future arrangement respecting the electorate, which may be formed betwixt the first consul and any mediating power.

City Address. June 9.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London in Common Council assembled.

May it please your Majesty,

We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London in common council assembled, beg leave to approach the throne, at this important crisis, with our renewed sentiments of fidelity and allegiance to your majesty's person, crown, and government.

We are fully persuaded of the necessity for the decisive and dignified measures adopted by your majesty, by the recal of your majesty's ambassador from France, and the vigorous posture of defence of the united kingdom to repel the designs of that government, whose inordinate and insatiable views of restless ambition are manifestly directed to overthrow the glorious constitution of these realms, and give a mortal stab to our existence as a free and independent nation. The justice of your majesty's cause, and the moderation of your claims, must be felt and acknowledged by every surrounding power; and we are convinced that the brave and happy people of this land, conscious of the purity of their freedom, and the inestimable privileges they enjoy under your majesty's mild and paternal rule, will, with one hand and heart, resolve to defend and maintain them. Your majesty's faithful citizens of London feel a grateful pride in this assurance of kindred loyalty throughout your majesty's dominions, and are deeply sensible of the eminent distinction they are invested with, by this opportunity of testifying their fidelity and attachment to their beloved sovereign. It is their earnest prayer that every blessing may attend and prosper your majesty's zeal and exertions for the welfare of your people; and should substantial peace not be attainable but by the decision of the sword, may the calamities of a war not to be averted be lost in the success and glory of its achievements.

Your majesty's faithful citizens cannot, however, refrain from expressing their satisfaction at the disposition manifested by your majesty, of availing yourself of any favourable circumstance of terminating the subsisting differences, whenever it can be done consistently with the honour and dignity of your majesty's crown, and the security and welfare of the British empire.

Signed, by order of court,

Henry Woodthorpe.

To which his majesty was pleased

pleased to return the following most gracious answer:

I receive, with great satisfaction, this dutiful and loyal address from my city of London.

My endeavours to preserve peace have been unhappily frustrated, by the restless spirit of aggrandisement which actuates the councils of the French government; but I trust the united and vigorous exertions of the nation at large, in support of the just cause we are engaged in, will, under the protection of Divine Providence, enable me to maintain the dignity of my crown, and to defend the rights and interests of my people against every aggression.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the united Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

The right honourable lord Pelham, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, having transmitted to us two additional instructions under his majesty's signet and sign manual, dated the 24th instant, to the commanders of his majesty's ships and privateers that have or may have letters of marque and reprisals against the French and Batavian republics, directing them not to detain or molest any vessels belonging to any state in amity with his majesty, on account of their having on board any organised, thrown, and raw silk, the growth and production of Italy, coming consigned to any merchant of the united kingdom; or to seize (under the provisions therein mentioned) any neutral vessel which shall be carrying on the trade directly between the colonies of the enemy and the neutral country to which the vessel belongs, and laden with the property of inhabitants of such neutral country:

We send you herewith printed copies of his majesty's instructions above mentioned, and do hereby require and direct you to pay the strictest regard and attention thereto.

Given under our hands the 30th of June, 1803.

To the respective captains, commanders, and commanding officers of his majesty's ships and vessels.

By command of their lordships,

A Convention between his Britannic Majesty and the King of Sweden, signed on the 25th of July, 1803.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the king of Sweden, being equally desirous of promoting the good understanding which happily subsists between them, and of preventing the recurrence of those differences which have heretofore arisen respecting the eleventh article of the treaty of alliance concluded and signed at Whitehall on the 21st day of October, 1661, have named and authorised for that purpose, viz. his Britannic majesty, the right hon. Robert Banks Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, one of his said majesty's most honourable privy-council, and his principal secretary of state for the foreign department, and his Swedish majesty, George Uldrick baron de Silverhjelm, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his Britannic majesty, and knight

knight of the order of the polar star, who, after having duly communicated to each other their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. In the event of one of the contracting parties being neutral during a war in which the other contracting party may be belligerent, the vessels of the neutral party shall not carry to the enemy or enemies of the belligerent party, money, arms or bombs with their fusees and other apurtenances, fire-balls, gunpowder, matches, cannon-balls, spears, lances, pikes, halberts, guns, mortars, petards, grenadoes, musket-rests, bandaliers, saltpetre, muskets, musket-bullets, helmets, head-pieces, breast-plates, coats-of-mail, commonly called cuirasses, and the like kind of arms; or troops, horses, or any thing necessary for the equipment of cavalry; or pistols, belts, or any other instruments of war; or ships of war, and guard-ships; nor any manufactured articles immediately serving for the equipment of the same, under the penalty, that, if either of the contracting parties shall seize the same, these articles shall be liable to confiscation.

II. The cruisers of the belligerent power shall exercise the right of bringing in the ships of the neutral going to the ports of an enemy, laden with cargoes of provisions, or with cargoes of pitch, tar, hemp, and generally all unmanufactured articles whatever, serving for the equipment of ships of all descriptions, and likewise all manufactured articles serving for the equipment of merchant vessels (herrings, iron in bars, steel, rose-copper, brass and brass wire, deal, planks not being oak, and spars, however, excepted), and if the cargoes so exported in the bottoms of the neutral power are produce of the territories of the said neutral power, and going on account of the subjects thereof, the belligerent power shall, in that case, exercise the right of purchasing them, upon condition of paying a profit of ten per centum upon a fair invoice price, or the fair market price in England or in Sweden respectively, at the option of the owner, with an indemnification for detention and necessary expenses.

III. If the cargoes specified in the preceding article (not being enemy's property) are proceeding with a professed destination to the ports of a neutral country, and are brought in under suspicion that their true destination is to the ports of the enemy, and it shall turn out, upon due inquiry, that they were really bound to neutral ports, they shall be at liberty to pursue their voyages, after being indemnified for their detention and necessary expenses, unless the government of the belligerent country, from a reasonable apprehension of their falling into the hands of the enemy, should desire to purchase them; in which case the full price shall be paid, which they would have obtained in the ports of the neutral country to which they were going, with an indemnification for detention and necessary expenses.

IV. Herrings, iron in bars, steel, rose-copper, brass and brass wire, deal, planks not being of oak, and spars, shall not be liable to confiscation or pre-emption on the part of the belligerent power, but shall be permitted to pass free in the ships of the neutral country, provided that they are not enemy's property.

V. The present convention shall be ratified by his Britannic majesty and by his Swedish majesty, and the ratifications exchanged at London, in the space of two months, or sooner, if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty, and of his Swedish majesty, have signed the present convention, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at London, the 25th day of July, 1803.

(L.S.)
HAWKESBURY.
(L.S.)
JORAN ULDRICK SILVERHJELM.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, to his Excellency Baron De Silverhjelm, his Swedish Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Great Britain, by him transmitted to Clais Grill, Esq., his Swedish Majesty's Commercial Agent-General.

I have the honour of informing you, that, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of the moment, it has been judged expedient to issue orders, preventing all ships under Swedish or other neutral colours, from entering any port or place on the coast between the Humber and the Downs, with the exception of Yarmouth Roads and the Downs, to which places they will be still permitted to resort.

I have lost no time in enabling you to make an early communication of the measure which the king has thought fit to adopt, as it is his majesty's anxious wish that the trade of neutral nations may be subject to no unnecessary impediment or inconvenience.

I have the honour to be, &c.
HAWKESBURY.

Correspondence between his Majesty, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and Mr. Addington, on the Offer of Military Service made by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

(COPY.)

Carlton House, July 18, 1803.

Sir,

The subject on which I address you presses so heavily on my mind, and daily acquires such additional importance, that, notwithstanding my wish to avoid any interference with the disposition made by his majesty's ministers, I find it impossible to withhold or delay an explicit statement of my feelings, to which I would direct your most serious considerations.

When it was officially communicated to parliament that the avowed object of the enemy was a descent on our kingdoms, the question became so obvious that the circumstances of the times required the voluntary tender of personal services; when parliament, in consequence of this representation, agreed to extraordinary measures for the defence of these realms alone, it was evident the danger was not believed dubious or remote. Animated by the same spirit which pervaded the nation at large, conscious of the duties which I owed to his majesty and the country, I seized the earliest opportunity to express my desire of undertaking the responsibility of a military command: I neither

neither did, nor do presume on supposed talents as entitling me to such an appointment. I am aware I do not possess the experience of actual warfare; at the same time I cannot regard myself as totally unqualified or deficient in military science, since I have long made the service my particular study. My chief pretensions were founded on a sense of those advantages which my example might produce to the state, by exciting the loyal energies of the nation, and a knowledge of those expectations which the public had a right to form as to the personal exertions of their princes at a moment like the present. The more elevated my situation, in so much the efforts of zeal became necessarily greater; and I confess, that, if duty had not been so paramount, a reflexion on the splendid achievements of my predecessors would have excited in me the spirit of emulation; when, however, in addition to such recollections, the nature of the contest in which we are about to engage was impressed on my consideration, I should, indeed, have been devoid of every virtuous sentiment, if I felt no reluctance in remaining a passive spectator of armaments, which have for their object the very existence of the British empire.

Thus was I influenced to make my offer of service, and I did imagine that his majesty's ministers would have attached to it more value. But when I find that, from some unknown cause, my appointment seems to remain so long undetermined; when I feel myself exposed to the obloquy of being regarded by the country as passing my time indifferent to the events which menace, and insensible to the call of patriotism, much more of glory, it then behoves me to examine my rights, and to remind his majesty's ministers that the claim which I have advanced is strictly constitutional, and justified by precedent; and that in the present situation of Europe, to deny my exercising it is fatal to my own immediate honour, and the future interests of the crown.

I can never forget that I have solemn obligations imposed on me by my birth, and that I should ever show myself foremost in contributing to the preservation of the country. The time is arrived when I may prove myself sensible of the duties of my situation, and of evincing my devotion to that sovereign, who by nature as well as public worth commands my most affectionate attachment.

I repeat, that I should be sorry to embarrass the government at any time, most particularly at such a crisis: but, since no event in my future life can compensate me for the misfortune of not participating in the honours and dangers which await the brave men destined to oppose an invading enemy, I cannot forego the earnest renewal of my application.

All I solicit is a more ostensible situation than that in which I am at present placed; for situated as I am, as a mere colonel of a regiment, the major-general commanding the brigade, of which such a regiment must form a part, would justly expect and receive the full credit of pre-arrangement and successful enterprise.

I remain, Sir,

Very sincerely, yours,

(Signed) G. P.

R. H. Henry Addington, &c.

The prince of Wales repeated his application in a letter dated 26th July. An answer from Mr. Addington informs his royal highness that his first letter has been laid before his majesty, who had referred to the answers which his majesty had judged it necessary to return to similar representations—which in obedience to the *commands* of his royal highness, had been laid before his majesty upon former occasions.

The prince then desired his note of the 26th of July to be laid before his majesty, which was accordingly done.

His majesty referred to the order he had before given Mr. Addington; with the addition—that the king's opinion being fixed, he desired that no further mention should be made to him on the subject.

The following letter was then written by the prince to the king.

LETTER TO THE KING.

Sir,

A correspondence has taken place between Mr. Addington and myself on a subject which deeply involves my honour and character. The answers which I have received from that gentleman, the communication which he has made to the house of commons, leave me no hope but in appeal to the justice of your majesty. I make that appeal with confidence, because I feel that you are my natural advocate, and with the sanguine hope that the ears of an affectionate father may still be opened to the supplications of a dutiful son.

I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your majesty's person, crown, and dignity; for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your majesty's subjects have been called on; it would therefore little become me, who am the *first*, and who stand at the very footstool of the throne, to remain a tame, an idle, and lifeless spectator, of the mischiefs which threaten us, unconscious of the dangers which surround us, and indifferent to the consequences which may follow. Hanover is lost—England is menaced with invasion—Ireland is in rebellion—Europe is at the foot of France. At such a moment the prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and devotion—to none of your subjects in duty—to none of your children in tenderness and affection—presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers which he already made through your majesty's minister. A feeling of honest ambition, a sense of what I owe to myself and to my family—and, above all, the fear of sinking in the estimation of that gallant army which may be the support of your majesty's crown and my best hope hereafter, command me to persevere, and to assure your majesty, with all humility and respect, that, conscious of the justice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquish it.

Allow me to say, sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a man, and sacred to me as a prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger? Ought I not to share in the glory of victory, when I have every thing to lose

lose by defeat? The highest places in your majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the royal family; to me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be the junior major-general of your army. If I could submit in silence to such indignities, I should indeed deserve such treatment, and prove to the satisfaction of your enemies, and my own, that I am entirely incapable of those exertions which my birth and the circumstances of the times peculiarly call for. Standing so near the throne, when I am debased, the cause of royalty is wounded; I cannot sink in public opinion, without the participation of your majesty in my degradation. Therefore every motive of private feeling and of public duty induce me to implore your majesty to review your decision, and to place me in that situation, which my birth, the duties of my station, the example of my predecessors, and the expectations of the people of England intitle me to claim.

Should I be disappointed in the hope which I have formed, should this last appeal to the justice of my sovereign, and the affection of my father, fail of success, I shall lament in silent submission his determination; but Europe, the world, and posterity, must judge between us.

I have done my duty; my conscience acquits me; my reason tells me that I was perfectly justified in the request which I have made, because no reasonable arguments have ever been adduced in answer to my pretensions. The precedents in our history are in my favour; but if they were not, the times in which we live, and especially the exigencies of the present moment, require us to become an example to our posterity.

No other cause of refusal has or can be assigned, except that it was the will of your majesty. To that will and pleasure I bow with every degree of humility and resignation; but I can never cease to complain of the severity which has been exercised against me, and the injustice which I have suffered, till I cease to exist.—I have the honour to subscribe myself, with all possible devotion,

Your Majesty's most dutiful and affectionate Son and Subject,

Brighton, Aug. 6. (Signed) G. P.

FROM THE KING.

Windsor, 7th Aug. 1808.

My Dear Son,

Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet, considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no further on the subject. Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the head of your regiment. It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion; and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example in defence of every thing that is dear to me and to my people.

I ever remain, my dear Son,

Your most affectionate Father,

(Signed) G. R.

FROM THE PRINCE TO THE KING.

Sir, *Brighton, 23d Aug.* 1808.

I have delayed thus long an answer to the letter which your majesty did me the honour to write, from a wish to refer to a former correspondence which took place between us in the year 1798. Those

letters were mislaid, and some days elapsed before I could discover them: they have since been found. Allow me then, sir, to recal to your recollection the expressions you were graciously pleased to use, and which I once before took the liberty of reminding you of, when I solicited foreign service, upon my first coming into the army. They were, sir, that your majesty did not then see the opportunity for it; but if any thing was to arise at home, I ought to be "first and foremost." There cannot be a stronger expression in the English language, or one more consonant to the feelings which animate my heart. In this I agree most perfectly with your majesty—"*I ought to be the first and foremost.*" It is the place which my birth assigns me—which Europe—which the English nation expect me to fill—and which the former assurances of your majesty might naturally have led me to hope I should occupy. After such a declaration, I could hardly expect to be told that my place was at the head of a regiment of dragoons.

I understand from your majesty, that it is your intention, sir, in pursuance of that noble example which you have ever shown during the course of your reign, to place yourself at the head of the people of England. My next brother, the duke of York, commands the army; the younger branches of my family are either generals or lieutenant-generals; and I, who am the prince of Wales, am to remain a colonel of dragoons. There is something so humiliating in the contrast, that those who are at a distance would either doubt the reality, or suppose that to be my fault which is only my misfortune.

Who could imagine, that I, who am the oldest colonel in the service, had asked for the rank of a general officer in the army of the king my father, and that it had been refused me!

I am sorry, much more than sorry, to be obliged to break in upon your leisure, and to trespass thus a second time on the attention of your majesty. But I have, sir, an interest in my character more valuable to me than the throne, and dearer, far dearer, to me than life. I am called upon by that interest to persevere, and I pledge myself never to desist till I receive that satisfaction which the justice of my claim leads me to expect.

In these unhappy times the world, sir, examines the conduct of princes with a jealous, a scrutinising, a malignant eye. No man is more aware than I am of the existence of such a disposition, and no man is therefore more determined to place himself above all suspicion.

In desiring to be placed in a forward situation, I have performed one duty to the people of England; I must now perform another, and humbly supplicate your majesty to assign those reasons which have induced you to refuse a request which appears to me and to the world so reasonable and so rational.

I must again repeat my concern that I am obliged to continue a correspondence which I fear is not so grateful to your majesty as I could wish. I have examined my own heart—I am convinced of the justice of my cause—of the purity of my motives. Reason and honour forbid me to yield: where no reason is alleged, I am justified in the conclusion that none can be given.

In this candid exposition of the feelings which have agitated and depressed

depressed my wounded mind, I hope no expressions have escaped me which can be construed to mean the slightest disrespect to your majesty. I most solemnly disavow any such intention; but the circumstances of the times—the danger of invasion—the appeal which has been made to all your subjects, oblige me to recollect what I owe to mine own honour and to my own character, and to state to your majesty with plainness, truth, and candour, but with all the submission of a subject and the duty of an affectionate son, the injuries under which I labour, and which it is in the power of your majesty alone at one moment to redress.

It is with sentiments of the profoundest veneration and respect that I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Your Majesty's most dutiful,
And most affectionate Son and
Subject, (Signed) G. P.

Brighton, 2d Oct. 1808.

My Dear Brother,

By the last night's Gazette, which I have this moment received, I perceive that an extensive promotion has taken place in the army, wherein my pretensions are not noticed; a circumstance which, whatever may have happened upon other occasions, it is impossible for me to pass by, at this momentous crisis, without observation.

My standing in the army, according to the most ordinary routine of promotion, had it been followed up, would have placed me either at the bottom of the list of generals, or at the head of the list of lieutenant-generals. When the younger branches of my family are promoted to the highest military situations, my birth, according to the distinctions usually conferred on it, should have placed me first on that list.

I hope you know me too well, to imagine that idle inactive rank is in my view; much less is the direction and patronage of the military departments an object which suits my place in the state, or my inclinations; but, in a moment when the danger of the country is thought by government so urgent as to call forth the energy of every arm in its defence, I cannot but feel myself degraded, both as a prince and a soldier, if I am not allowed to take a forward and distinguished part in the defence of that empire and crown, of the glory, prosperity, and even existence of that people, in all which mine is the greatest *stake*.

To be told I may display this zeal solely and simply at the head of my regiment, is a *degrading mockery*.

If that be the only situation allotted me, I shall certainly do my duty, as others will; but the considerations to which I have already alluded entitle me to expect, and bind me in every way to require, a situation more correspondent to the dignity of my own character and to the public expectation.

It is for the sake of tendering my services in a way more formal and official than I have before pursued, that I address this to you, my dear brother, as the commander in chief, by whose counsels the constitution presumes that the military department is administered.

If those who have the honour to advise his majesty on this occasion, shall deem my pretensions, among those of all the royal family, to be the only one fit to be rejected and disdained, I may at least hope, as a debt of justice and honour, to have it explained, that I am laid by in virtue of that judgement, and

not in consequence of any omission or want of energy on my part, &c. &c. &c. (Signed) G. P. W.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York, &c.

Horse Guards, Oct. 6, 1803.

Dearest Brother,

Nothing but an extraordinary press of business would have prevented me from acknowledging sooner your letter of the 2d instant, which I received while at Oatlands on Monday evening.

I trust that you are too well acquainted with my affection for you, which has existed since our most tender years, not to be assured of the satisfaction I have felt, and ever must feel, in forwarding, when in my power, every desire or object of yours; and therefore will believe how much I must regret the impossibility there is, upon the present occasion, of my executing your wishes of laying the representation contained in your letter before his majesty.

Suffer me, my dearest brother, as the only answer that I can properly give you, to recal to your memory what passed upon the same subject soon after his majesty was graciously pleased to place me at the head of the army; and I have no doubt that, with your usual candour, you will yourself see the absolute necessity of my declining it.

In the year 1795, upon a general promotion taking place, at your instance I delivered a letter from you to his majesty, urging your pretensions to promotion in the army; to which his majesty was pleased to answer, that, before ever he had appointed you to the command of the 10th light dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to you what his sentiments were with respect to a prince of Wales entering into the army, and the public grounds upon which he could never admit of your considering it as a profession, or of your being promoted in the service. And his majesty, at the same time, added *his positive commands and injunctions* to me, never to mention this subject again to him, and to decline being the bearer of any application of the same nature, should it be proposed to me; which message I was, of course, under the necessity of delivering to you, and have constantly made it the rule of my conduct ever since; and indeed I have ever considered it as one of the greatest proofs of affection and consideration towards me, on the part of his majesty, that he never allowed me to become a party in this business.

Having thus stated to you, fairly and candidly, what has passed, I must trust you will see that there can be no ground for the apprehension expressed in the latter part of your letter, that any slur can attach to your character as an officer —particularly as I recollect your mentioning to me yourself on the day on which you received the notification of your appointment to the 10th light dragoons, the explanation and condition attached to it by his majesty; and, therefore, surely you must be satisfied that your not being advanced in military rank proceeds entirely from his majesty's sentiments respecting the high rank you hold in the state, and not from any impression unfavourable to you. Believe me ever, with the greatest truth,

Dearest Brother,

Your most affectionate Brother,

(Signed) FREDERICK.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Brighton,

Brighton, Oct. 9, 1803.

My Dear Brother,

I have taken two days to consider the contents of your letter of the 6th inst. in order to be as accurate as possible in my answer, which must account to you for its being longer perhaps than I intended, or I could have wished.

I confide entirely in the personal kindness and affection expressed in your letter, and am, for that reason, the more unwilling to trouble you again on a painful subject, in which you are not free to act, as your inclination I am sure would lead you. But, as it is not at all improbable, that every part of this transaction may be publicly canvassed hereafter, it is of the utmost importance to my honour, without which I can have no happiness, that my conduct in it shall be fairly represented, and correctly understood. When I made a tender of my services to his majesty's ministers, it was with a just and natural expectation that my offer would have been accepted in the way in which alone it could have been most beneficial to my country, or creditable to myself: or, if that failed, that at least (in justice to me) the reasons for a refusal would have been distinctly stated; so that the nation might be satisfied that nothing had been omitted on my part, and enabled to judge of the validity of the reasons assigned for such a refusal. In the first instance, I was referred to his majesty's will and pleasure; and now I am informed by your letter, that before "he had appointed me to the command of the 10th light dragoons, he had caused it to be fully explained to me what his sentiments were with respect to a prince of Wales entering into the army."

It is impossible, my dear brother, that I should know all that passed between the king and you; but I perfectly recollect the statement you made of the conversation you had had with his majesty, and which strictly corresponds with that in your letter now before me. But I must, at the same time, recal to your memory my positive denial, at that time, of any condition or stipulation having been made upon my first coming into the army; and I am in possession of full and complete documents, which prove that no terms whatever were then proposed, at least to me, whatever might have been the intention: and the communications which I have found it necessary subsequently to make, have ever disclaimed the existence of such a compromise at any period, as nothing could be more averse to my nature, or more remote from my mind.

As to the conversation you quote in 1796 (when the king was pleased to appoint me to succeed sir William Pitt), I have not the most slight recollection of its having taken place between us. My dear brother, if your date is right, you must be mistaken in your exact terms, or at least in the conclusion you draw from it; for, in the intimacy and familiarity of private conversation, it is not at all unlikely that I should have remembered the communication you made me the year before; but that I should have acquiesced in, or referred to, a compromise which I never made, is utterly impossible.

Neither in his majesty's letter to me, nor in the correspondence with Mr. Addington (of which you may not be fully informed), is there one word, or the most distant allusion to the condition stated in your letter; and even if I had accepted the command of a regiment on such terms, my acquiescence could only have

have relation to the ordinary situation of the country, and not to a case so completely out of all contemplation at that time, as the probable or projected invasion of this kingdom by a foreign force sufficient to bring its safety into question. When the king is pleased to tell me, "that, should the enemy land, he shall think it his duty to set an example in defence of the country;" that is, to expose the only life which, for the public welfare, ought not to be hazarded, I respect and admire the principles which dictate that resolution; and as my heart glows with the same sentiments, I wish to partake in the same danger, that is, with dignity and effect. Whenever his majesty appears as king, he acts and commands; you are commander in chief; others of my family are high in military station; and even by the last brevet a considerable number of junior officers are put over me. In all these arrangements the prince of Wales alone, whose interest in the event yields to none but that of the king, is disregarded, omitted; his services rejected: so that, in fact, he has no post or station whatsoever, in a contest on which the fate of the crown and the kingdom may depend.

I do not, my dear brother, wonder, that, in the hurry of your present occupation, these considerations should have been overlooked. They are now in your view, and I think cannot fail to make a due impression.

As to the rest, with every degree of esteem possible for your judgement of what is due to a soldier's honour, I must be the guardian of mine to the utmost of my power, &c. &c. (Signed) G. P.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

Horse Guards, Oct. 11.

My Dear Brother,

I have this moment, upon my arrival in town, found your letter, and lose no time in answering that part of it which appears to me highly necessary should be clearly understood.

Indeed, my dear brother, you must give me leave to repeat to you, that, upon the fullest consideration, I perfectly recollect your having yourself told me at Carlton-house, in the year 1793, on the day on which you was informed of his majesty's having acquiesced in your request of being appointed to the command of the 10th regiment of light dragoons, of which sir William Pitt was then colonel, the message and condition which was delivered to you from his majesty; and which his majesty repeated to me, in the year 1795, as mentioned in my letter of Thursday last. And I have the fullest reason to know, that there are others, to whom, at that time, you mentioned the same circumstance; nor have I the least recollection of your having denied it to me, when I delivered to you the king's answer; as I should certainly have felt it incumbent upon me to recal to your memory what you had told me yourself in the year 1793.

No conversation whatever passed between us, as you justly remark, in the year 1796, when sir William Pitt was promoted to the king's dragoon guards, which was done in consequence of what was arranged in 1795, upon your first appointment to the 10th light dragoons; and I conceive, that your mentioning in your letter my having stated a conversation to have passed between us in 1798, must have arisen from some misapprehension, as I do

do not find *that* year ever adverted to in my letter.

I have thought it due to us both, my dear brother, thus fully to reply to those parts of your letter in which you appear to have mistaken mine; but, as I am totally unacquainted with the correspondence which has taken place upon this subject, I must decline entering any further into it.

I remain ever, my dear Brother, with the greatest truth,

Your most affectionate Brother,

(Signed) FREDERICK.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Brighton, Oct. 22, 1803.

My Dear Brother,

By my replying to your letter of the 6th instant, which contained no sort of answer to mine of the second, we have fallen into a very frivolous altercation upon a topic which is quite foreign to the present purpose. Indeed, the whole importance of it lies in a seeming contradiction in the statement of a fact, which is unpleasant even upon the idlest occasion.

I meant to assert, that no previous condition to forego all pretensions to ulterior rank, under any circumstances, had been imposed upon me, or even submitted to me, in any shape whatsoever, on my first coming into the service; and with as much confidence as can be used in maintaining a negative, I repeat that assertion.

When I first became acquainted with his majesty's purpose to withhold from me further advancement, it is impossible to recollect; but that it was so early as the year 1793, I do not remember; and, if your expressions were less positive, I should add, nor believe: but I certainly knew it, as you well knew in 1795, and possibly before.—We were then engaged in war, therefore I could not think of resigning my regiment, if under other circumstances I had been disposed to do so; but, in truth, my rank in the nation made military rank, in ordinary times, a matter of little consequence, except to my own private feelings. This sentiment I conveyed to you in my letter of the second, saying expressly that *mere idle inactive* rank was in no sort my object; but upon the prospect of an emergency, when the king was to take the field, and the spirit of every Briton was roused to exertion, the place which I occupy in the nation made it indispensable to demand a post correspondent to that place, and to the public expectation. This sentiment I have the happiness to be assured, in a letter on this occasion, *made a strong impression upon the mind, and commanded the respect and admiration* of one very high in government.

The only purpose of this letter, my dear brother, is to explain, since that is necessary, that my former ones meant not to give you the trouble of interceding as my advocate for mere rank in the army. Urging further my other more important claims upon government, would be vainly addressed to any person, who can really think that a former refusal of mere rank, under circumstances so widely different, or the most express waving of such pretensions, if that had been the case, furnishes the slightest colour for the answer I have received to the tenders I have now made of my services.

Your department, my dear brother, was meant, if I must repeat it, simply as a channel to convey that tender to government, and to obtain

tain either their attention to it, or an open avowal of their refusal, &c.

(Signed) G.P.

To His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

Horse Guards, Oct. 13.

Dear Brother,

I have received your letter this morning, and am sorry to find that you think that I have misconceived the meaning of your first letter, the whole tenor of which, and the military promotion which gave rise to it, led me naturally to suppose your desire was, that I should apply to his majesty, in my official capacity, to give you military rank, to which might be attached the idea of subsequent command.

That I found myself under the necessity of declining, in obedience to his majesty's pointed orders, as I explained to you in my letter of the 16th instant. But, from your letter of to day, I am to understand that your object is *not* military rank, but that a post should be allotted to you, upon the present emergency, suitable to your situation in the state.

This I conceive to be purely a political consideration, and as such totally out of my department; and as I have most carefully avoided, at all times, and under all circumstances, ever interfering in any political points, I must hope that you will not call upon me to deviate from the principles by which I have been invariably governed.

Believe me, my dear Brother,

Your most affectionate Brother,

(Signed) FREDERICK.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Carlton-House, Oct. 14.

My Dear Brother,

It cannot but be painful to me to be reduced to the necessity of further explanation on the subject which it was my earnest wish to have closed, and which was of so clear and distinct a nature, as, in my humble judgement, to have precluded the possibility of either, doubt or misunderstanding.

Surely there must some strange fatality obscure my language in statement, or leave me somewhat deficient in the powers of explanation, when it can lead your mind, my dear brother, to such a palpable misconstruction (for far be it from me to fancy it wilful) of my meaning, as to suppose for a moment I had unconnected my object with *efficient military rank*, and transferred it entirely to the view of a *political station*, when you venture to tell me "my object is *not* military rank, but that a post should be allotted to me, upon the *present* emergency, suitable to my situation in the state."—Upon what ground you can hazard such an assertion, or upon what principles you can draw such an inference, I am utterly at a loss to determine; for I defy the most skilful logician, in torturing the English language, to apply with *fairness* such a construction to any word or phrase of mine, contained in any one of the letters I have ever written on this, *to me*, most interesting subject.

I call upon you to re-peruse the correspondence. In my letter of the 2d instant, I told you *unequivocally* that I hoped you knew me too well to imagine that *idle inactive* rank was in my view; and *that* sentiment, I beg you carefully to observe, I have in no instance whatever for one single moment relinquished or departed from.

Giving, as I did, all the considerations of my heart to the delicacy

cacy and difficulties of your situation, nothing could have been more repugnant to my thoughts, or to my disposition, than to have imposed upon you, my dear brother, either in your capacity as commander-in-chief, or in the near relationship which subsists between us, the task, much less the expectation, of causing you to risk any displeasure from his majesty, by disobeying in *any* degree *his* commands, although they were even to militate against myself. But with the impulse of my feelings towards you, and quickly conceiving what friendship and affection may be capable of, I did not, I own, think it entirely impossible that you might, considering the magnitude and importance which the object carries with it, have officially advanced my wishes, as a matter of propriety, to *military rank and subsequent command*, through his majesty's ministers, for that direct purpose; especially when the honour of my character and my future fame in life were so deeply involved in the consideration. For, I must here *emphatically* again repeat, "that *idle inactive* rank was never in my view; and that military rank, with its consequent command, was NEVER *out* of it."

Feeling how useless, as well as ungracious, controversy is, upon every occasion, and knowing how fatally it operates on human friendship, I must entreat that our correspondence on this subject shall cease here; for nothing could be more distressing to me, than to prolong a topic, on which it is now clear to me, my dear brother, that you and I can never agree, &c. &c.

(Signed) G. P.

His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Henry Addington.

Dated Richmond Park, Oct. 23, 1803.

SIR,

In consequence of some intelligence which has reached me, I am impelled by a sense of duty to your royal highness, and to the public, to express an earnest and anxious hope that you may be induced to postpone your return to Brighton until I shall have had an opportunity of making further inquiries, and of stating the result of them to your royal highness.

I have the honour to be, with the utmost deference and respect, Sir,

Your Royal Highness's faithful And most humble Servant,

(Signed) HENRY ADDINGTON.

The Prince of Wales.

ANSWER.

SIR, *Carlton-House, Oct. 24.*

By your grounding your letter to me upon intelligence which has just reached you, I apprehend that you allude to information which leads you to expect some immediate attempt from the enemy. My wish to accommodate myself to any thing which you represent as material to the public service, would of course make me desirous to comply with your request; but if there be reason to imagine that invasion will take place directly, I am bound by the king's precise order, and by that honest zeal which is not allowed any fitter sphere for its action, to hasten instantly to my regiment. If I learn that my construction of the word intelligence be right, I must deem it necessary to repair to Brighton immediately, &c. &c.

(Signed) G. P.

Right Hon. Henry Addington.

OFFICIAL

OFFICIAL NOTICES AND CIRCULAR LETTERS.

Official Notice to Officers on Half-Pay.

War-Office, 12th March, 1803.

All officers on the half-pay of the land forces, resident in Great Britain and Ireland, who are not serving in the militia, or who do not hold offices under government, are hereby required immediately to transmit to the inspecting field officers of the recruiting districts, within which they respectively reside, an account in writing of their age, past services, and present place of abode, in order that their services may be called for as circumstances shall render it expedient: and such as think themselves, from age or infirmities, unfit for further service, even in this country, are to accompany their reports with sufficient vouchers of their inability, and the causes thereof. Such officers on half-pay as are serving in the militia, or are otherwise employed under government (officers of the yeomanry and volunteer corps excepted, whose reports are to be made to the inspecting field officers of districts as above-mentioned), are to transmit similar accounts to the secretary at war, specifying also the nature of the public situations which they possess.

The inspecting field officers of districts will make returns to the secretary at war of the names of the officers who shall report themselves in pursuance of the above notice. And every officer who shall neglect to make his report, either to a district field officer, or to the secretary at war, according to the circumstances of his situation, within one month from the date hereof, will be considered as otherwise provided for, or dead; and his name will be struck off the half-pay list accordingly.

By his majesty's command,

C. YORKE.

Downing-street, March , 1803.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit to your lordship herewith his majesty's warrant, directing your lordship to draw out and embody the militia of the county of ; and I have received his majesty's commands to desire that your lordship will take the necessary steps for carrying this measure into execution with the least possible delay.

I am further to desire that your lordship will cause the earliest communication of the day and place which may be appointed for the assembling of the militia of the county of to be made to the secretary at war, in order that directions may be given for the issue of the pay of the men, and that such other arrangements may be made, on this occasion, as more immediately belong to his department.

I conclude that the intimation conveyed in the secretary of war's circular letter of the 6th of November last, to the several commanding officers of militia, respecting the arms and accoutrements for the different corps, has been duly attended to; but, in case the number necessary for the militia should be incomplete, immediate application must be made to the board of ordnance for the quantity of arms, and to the war office respecting the accoutrements that are still deficient.

In

In the event of the militia of the county of not being complete, I am directed by his majesty to recommend that the most decisive measures should be taken for supplying the deficiencies, and for enforcing the several provisions of the act.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord, your Lordship's
Most obedient
Humble Servant,
HOBART.

To his Majesty's Lieutenant of the County of

Circular Letter from Lord Hobart to the Lord-Lieutenants of Counties.

Downing-street, March 31, 1803.

My Lord,

The frequent references lately made to me from some of his majesty's lieutenants of counties, in consequence of the anxiety expressed by a large proportion of the volunteer corps to renew their engagements, have induced the king's confidential servants to consider upon what footing it would be advisable to place these establishments, and to determine the extent of the aid to be afforded by government to those whose services his majesty may be pleased to accept.

I convey to your lordship, in the accompanying paper, a general outline of the plan it is intended to act upon; for the purpose of your being enabled to satisfy any inquiries which may be made to you, with regard to the sentiments of government in this respect.

It may be right, however, that I should intimate to your lordship, that, although the actual state of affairs has rendered it advisable that I should make this communication at this time, the plan must rather be considered with a reference to a permanent system than a situation of emergency: the application of it, in point of extent, to depend upon and to be regulated by circumstances.

With this view I must request of your lordship to receive, and to communicate to me, for his majesty's information, any offers of service that may be made to you in the county of , in order that such a selection may be made as may be best calculated to give the most useful effect to that loyalty and public spirit by which the volunteer institution has uniformly been distinguished.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord, your Lordship's
Most obedient
Humble Servant,
HOBART.

His Majesty's Lieutenant of the County of

Circular Letter transmitted to the several Lord-Lieutenants of Counties, by the Speaker of the House of Commons.

House of Commons, 10th of August, 1803.

My Lord,

By command of the house of commons, I have the honour of transmitting to you their unanimous vote of thanks to the several volunteer and yeomanry corps of the united kingdom, for the promptitude and zeal with which, at a crisis the most momentous to their country, they have associated for its defence; accompanied with an order, that a return be prepared, to be laid before the house in the next

next session of parliament, of all volunteer and yeomanry corps, whose services shall have been then accepted by his majesty, describing each corps, in order that such return may be entered on the journals of the house, and the patriotic example of such voluntary exertions transmitted to posterity.

In communicating this resolution and order, I have the greatest satisfaction, at the same time, in bearing testimony to the confidence with which the house is impressed, that the same spirit and exemplary zeal will be exerted throughout the present contest, until, with the blessing of Providence, it shall be brought to a glorious issue.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord, your Lordship's
Most obedient
Humble servant,
CHAS. ABBOTT, Speaker.

To the Right Hon. Lord &c. &c.

CIRCULAR.

Downing-street, Aug. 18, 1803.

My Lord,

The zeal, loyalty, and public spirit which continue to be manifested in every part of the kingdom, having had the effect of producing voluntary offers of service to so considerable an amount as to render it unnecessary for his majesty to order and direct the lieutenant or deputy-lieutenants of the county of to cause the persons comprised in the first, second, and third classes of persons enrolled for military service, in conformity to the provisions of the act of the 43d GEO. III. cap. 96. or any, or either of them, to be trained and exercised in the use of arms; I am to inform your lordship, that it is his majesty's pleasure to suspend, for the present, such of the provisions of the act as require the men enrolled for military service to be trained and exercised, subject nevertheless (conformably to the 53d clause of the said act) to such conditions as to the number of effective men to be constantly existing in the volunteer corps of the country, and to such other rules and regulations as to exercise and muster, or inspection by general or other officers, as to his majesty shall seem necessary.

In order, however, to enable his majesty, if he shall judge it advisable, at a future period, to resort to the clauses respecting the training and exercise, your lordship must be aware of the absolute necessity of carrying into execution those provisions of the act which relate to the enrolment in the several districts and parishes, and to the returns which are to be made to the secretary of state.

I am further to acquaint your lordship, that the inconvenience which must unavoidably arise from carrying the volunteer system to an unlimited extent, has determined his majesty not to authorise, at present, any additional volunteer corps to be raised in any county where the number of effective members of these corps, including the yeomanry, shall exceed the amount of six times the militia, exclusive of the supplementary quota, making, in the county of men; and, in providing that number, your lordship will avail yourself of your own knowledge and experience, with a view to such a selection as may be best suited to local considerations.

But in the event of the effective numbers of the corps, already recommended by your lordship, having

ing arrived at ———, you will postpone the communication of any further offers, until his majesty shall be pleased to signify his intention to increase the volunteer force in the county under your lordship's charge.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HOBART.

To his Majesty's Lieutenant of the County of

Copy of a Letter from Lord Hobart, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, to Earl Fitzwilliam.

Downing-street, Aug. 19.

My Lord,

I have had the honour to receive your lordship's letter of the 17th, and I lose no time in acquainting you, that the printed regulations for volunteer infantry, issued in June last, are not to be considered in any respect applicable to corps accepted by his majesty since the date of my circular letter (the 3d) of August, restricting the allowances before given to volunteer corps of infantry, to the allowances of 20s. for clothing, and 1s. per day for twenty days' exercise; and to corps of cavalry, to the contingent allowance of 120*l.* per troop.

With respect to arms—I have to request your lordship will inform me what quantity will be necessary (in addition to those with which the several corps can provide themselves, and to those already in possession of the yeomanry and volunteers), to complete the number required for the several corps already authorised by his majesty.

Your lordship will understand it to be the intention of government, that the whole number of volunteers, now proposed to be armed, should not exceed six times the amount of the militia, exclusive of the supplementary quota.

Upon the receipt of your lordship's answer to this letter, instructions will be given to the board of ordnance to send the arms, as soon as they can be prepared, to such place within the riding as you may point out, that they may be distributed under your lordship's directions to the several corps, according to your lordship's discretion.

The discrimination which it will become your lordship's duty to make in the distribution of the proportion of arms you will receive, should be guided by a reference to the local situation of the corps requiring them.

I have the honour to be,
My lord, your lordship's
most obedient
humble servant,

(Signed) HOBART.

Earl Fitzwilliam, &c. &c. &c.

CIRCULAR.

Whitehall, August 30.

I have the honour to inform your lordship that directions have been given to the board of ordnance to issue, immediately on your lordship's application, such a proportion of arms, in the first instance, as, including those already delivered or retained in the county of , will amount to one of its quota of volunteers (calculating their establishment at six times the number of the original militia) should your lordship find, upon investigation, that so large a number is actually necessary for the effective strength of such volunteers, after making allowance for the quantity of arms which the respective corps may have provided, or

may be disposed to provide for themselves.

I must request that your lordship will furnish me, without delay, with an accurate return of the number and description of the arms which have been so retained, delivered, provided, or intended to be provided, specifying in whose hands they now are; and that, in making your demand for arms, you will be careful to distinguish what proportion is necessary for the supply of cavalry and artillery; sabres and pistols being appropriated for the use of the former, and pikes for the latter.

I am also to inform your lordship that pikes sufficient to arm the whole number of men serving in the different volunteer corps of artillery will be delivered on your lordship's application, and specification of the number required; and that a further supply of the same nature may be had to the full extent of the wants of any other corps, which may have been or shall hereafter be formed, for whose use this weapon may be preferred.

Your lordship will have the goodness to point out to the board of ordnance, with precision, to what places and into whose charge these arms shall be delivered; and it is particularly requested that your lordship will take such precautions as may be necessary, in communicating with the general officer commanding in the district, to ensure that proper care is taken of them till delivered to the respective corps; and that the commander of each corps is duly made responsible for their safe custody, proper distribution, and accurate re-delivery when called upon for that purpose by regular authority.

When I shall be favoured by your lordship with accurate returns of the amount and description of the whole volunteer force in the county of I flatter myself that I shall be enabled in due time to direct a further issue for the use of such corps or companies as may remain unprovided. It is, however, considered to be highly desirable that the several bodies of volunteers should in the present moment be encouraged, under proper precautions, to supply themselves.

I have the honour to be,
My lord, your lordship's
most obedient
humble servant,
(Signed) C. YORKE.

The Lord-Lieutenant of the County of

CIRCULAR.

Whitehall, August 30.

My Lord,

A great number of letters having been transferred to this office from the war department, and many having since been received by this office from the lieutenants of counties, respecting offers of volunteer corps or companies, which, from the extreme pressure of business, there has not been yet time thoroughly to examine and consider; and being at the same time solicitous to prevent any anxiety or dissatisfaction which might arise among the persons whose zeal and loyalty have induced them to come forward upon the present occasion; I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that his majesty is graciously disposed to accept all the offers which have been recommended by your lordship, provided the total number of rank and file, to be raised under them, together

together with that of the corps and companies heretofore accepted and established, does not in the whole exceed the proportion of the county, as limited by lord Hobart's letter of the 18th inst. and that such efforts do not militate against the regulations of the defence acts, and the general rules which it has been or may be found expedient to adopt.

As soon as I shall be enabled to examine with more particularity the offers which have been transmitted by your lordship, I shall have the honour of communicating his majesty's special directions on the subject. In the mean time, I cannot omit this opportunity of informing your lordship, that it is clearly to be understood that, under the genuine construction and meaning of the late acts of parliament, all volunteer corps and companies to be accepted subsequent to their passing, should be formed with reference to the general militia system. It follows that no company ought to consist of less than sixty privates, and that no body of infantry can be considered as a corps which consists of less than three such companies; and that all smaller assemblages of volunteers, under the above-mentioned acts, within any county, parish, or district, shall be thrown into independent companies of not less than sixty nor more than one hundred and twenty privates. The establishment of field and company officers, as well as of serjeants, corporals, and drummers, is to be fixed by the same rule.

In the yeomanry cavalry, however, a different arrangement will continue to prevail; single troops may be accepted as corps, not being less than forty rank and file, though it is much to be wished that in all cases they should be carried, if possible, to sixty or eighty effectives per troop: and that two or more troops, wherever local circumstances will permit, should be joined together, for the purposes of discipline and interior arrangements.

I take leave to make it my earnest request to your lordship that you will favour me, at your earliest convenience, with an exact return of the different corps heretofore accepted, or which are now transmitted for consideration, or which you may hereafter think proper to recommend for acceptance, specifying the particulars of their establishment, according to a form which you will receive herewith. I cannot sufficiently impress upon you the necessity of furnishing me with this document, with the least possible delay, as great embarrassment is found to arise from a want of sufficient precision upon these points.

Should it have happened that the number of persons who have offered themselves, up to this period, to serve in volunteer corps or companies, has exceeded the proportion limited in the first instance, by lord Hobart's circular letter of the 18th inst. for the county of , and should your lordship be of opinion that it would contribute to the satisfaction of those who might by such limitation be prevented from manifesting their zeal for the public service, I have the honour to inform your lordship, that there will be no objection to a certain number of such persons, properly selected, being attached to the accepted and established corps, as supernumeraries, in such a proportion per troop or

company as shall be hereafter fixed upon.

It is, however, important, that it should be clearly understood, that no expense is to be incurred by the public on account of the arms, pay, or clothing of such *supernumeraries*; and that they will not be considered as entitled to any exemptions from the militia, or other ballots.

I think it proper to take this opportunity of communicating his majesty's commands to your lordship, that measures should be taken without delay, in communication with the general officer commanding in the district, for fixing upon such general place or places of assembly, for the different volunteer corps and established companies of men within the county of , as may be deemed most expedient in case of invasion, or the appearance of the enemy in force upon the coast; and I am further commanded by his majesty to desire your lordship, in communication with the general of the district, to distribute such provisional orders to such volunteer corps and established companies of men as aforesaid, with respect to their assembling together, and moving upon the general places of assembly, so to be fixed upon in the events above alluded to, as the nature of the case may appear to require.

Your lordship will likewise be pleased, in communication with the general officer commanding, to make such arrangements, if not already done, respecting beacons, and other indications of alarm, as may be thought necessary within the county of , either with a view to the conveyance of intelligence upon points merely local, or in connexion with the other neighbouring counties near the sea coast.

I have the honour to be,
My lord,
Your lordship's most obedient
humble servant,
(Signed) C. YORKE.

The Lord-Lieutenant of the County of

Circular Letter to the General Officers commanding Districts, sent to the Lord-Lieutenants of Counties, with a Request to take the earliest Opportunity of making the Arrangement generally known.

Horse-Guards, 17th Sept. 1803.

Sir,

The commander in chief feeling very strongly the necessity of making every possible exertion, with a view to aid the instruction of the yeomanry and volunteer corps, and to bring them into a state of service with as little delay as possible, has commanded me to signify his approbation of your calling upon each regiment within your district, whether of regulars or militia, to furnish their quota to this important duty, in the proportions you may think proper, not exceeding in any instance two serjeants and two corporals per regiment; and his royal highness trusts that officers commanding regiments will be very careful in selecting non-commissioned officers perfectly competent to the discharge of this essential service.

The regiments which are at this time forming second battalions, by receiving men from the army of reserve, are exempted from the operations of this order: and if there should be any corps within your command, to which from particular

ticular circumstances the requisition for this aid would be peculiarly inconvenient, his royal highness desires you will use your discretion in withholding the demand in such instances.

It is his royal highness's further pleasure that recruiting parties shall likewise be employed on this duty, wherever you find it necessary to call for their assistance, and judge that it can be afforded without any material detriment to the service on which they are employed.

The period for which the services of these non-commissioned officers are granted to the yeomanry and volunteer corps should be limited, and in general his royal highness is of opinion that six weeks or two months will be fully adequate to the purpose.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HARRY CALVERT,
Adjutant-general.

To the General Officers commanding Districts.

Circular, sent by Mr. Secretary Yorke, to the Lord-Lieutenants of Counties, dated October 5.

My Lord,

As there is reason to apprehend, that his majesty's proclamation of the 31st of August, requiring the aliens therein described to depart the realm, within the period specified in the said proclamation, has been disobeyed in many instances, and that divers aliens of the description therein mentioned, still continue to reside in this country, without having received licenses for that purpose; I am to signify to your lordship his majesty's commands, that you do earnestly recommend it to the magistrates within the county of , to enforce the provisions of the alien act of the last session, chap. 155, against all such aliens directed in the said proclamation, as continue to reside within your county.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Horse-Guards, Oct. 13.

It is his majesty's command, that all officers appointed to the battalions of the army of reserve, and to the second battalions of the regiments of the line which have received men from that corps, shall forthwith join their respective regiments. His royal highness the commander in chief will lay before his majesty the names of officers belonging to these battalions, who shall not have joined before the 1st of next month (whose absence is not satisfactorily accounted for through their commanding officers), in order that they may be superseded. Officers on being appointed to any of the regiments above mentioned, are required immediately to report themselves to lieutenant-general Hewitt, at his office, No. 6, Suffolk-street, Charing-cross, from whom they will receive further instructions.

By his royal highness's command,

HARRY CALVERT,
Adjutant-general.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Horse-Guards, Oct. 29, 1803.

His royal highness the commander in chief has received the king's command to convey to the several volunteer and associated

corps which were reviewed in Hyde Park on the 26th and 28th inst. his majesty's high approbation of their appearance, which has equalled his majesty's utmost expectation.

His majesty perceives, with heartfelt satisfaction, that the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, on which the system of the armed volunteers throughout the kingdom was originally founded, has risen with the exigencies of the times, and at this moment forms such a bulwark to the constitution and liberties of the country, as will enable us, under the protection of Providence, to bid defiance to the unprovoked malice of our enemies, and to hurl back, with becoming indignation, the threats which they have presumed to vent against our independence, and even our existence as a nation.

His majesty has observed with peculiar pleasure that, amongst the unprecedented exertions which the present circumstances of the country have called forth, those of the capital of his united kingdom have been eminently conspicuous; the appearance of its numerous and well-regulated volunteer corps, which were reviewed on the 26th and 28th inst., indicates a degree of attention and emulation, both in officers and men, which can proceed only from a deep sense of the important objects for which they have enrolled themselves, a just estimation of the blessings we have so long enjoyed, and a firm and manly determination to defend them like Britons, and transmit them unimpaired to our posterity.

The commander in chief has the highest satisfaction in discharging his duty, by communicating these his majesty's most gracious sentiments, and requests that the commanding officers will have recourse to the readiest means of making the same known to their respective corps.

FREDERICK,
Commander in chief.

In Answer to a Letter written to the Transport-Office by General Mazan, on his Parole at Bishop's Waltham, the following Letter was forwarded to him, by the Secretary to the Transport-Board.

Transport-Office, Oct. 31, 1803.

Sir,

I have it in command from the commissioners entrusted with the management of transports for his majesty, as well as with the care and custody of prisoners of war, to inform you, that it is by order of my lord St. Vincent that you have had the option of going to one of the three cities mentioned in your letter.

I am authorised, besides, to acquaint you, that the transport-office, seconding the views of government, has ever been desirous of treating the prisoners of war, taken during actual hostilities, in the same manner as they had been treated in all former wars between the two countries, with all the humanity consistent with the public security; but that, in the existing circumstances, it has deemed it expedient to remove prisoners of war on parole, from places situated near the coast, and to send them to the cities in the interior of the kingdom. You will observe, then, that the order which has been made on this subject, is not confined to you, but applies, in general, to all other prisoners on parole; and as to the comparison you make between the treatment of prisoners in this country, and that of the English

glish prisoners in France, the commissioners think it sufficient to remark that the distance, to which it is now proposed to remove you, does not exceed 70 miles, whereas the English prisoners in France are sent into the interior to the distance of 500 miles from some of the ports to which they had been brought.

As to your application for permission to return to France on parole, I have orders to inform you that above two months have elapsed since captain Jurieu, late commander of the French frigate La Franchise, had permission to go to France on his parole, as bearer of a special proposition to the French minister of marine, for the establishment of a general cartel of exchange, on the basis of that which subsisted between the two countries during the last war; but that no answer has yet been received to that proposition; and, inasmuch as not a single British prisoner has been hitherto permitted to return to England; and that such permission has been granted yet but to five British subjects, who had been detained in France at the commencement of hostilities, though above 400 French prisoners, taken at sea since the commencement of the war, have returned to France; the commissioners are of opinion that if there be any subjects of complaint, they do not arise from the conduct of this country, but solely from that of the first consul.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ALEX. M'LEAY, Sec.

Letter from Lord Hobart to the Lords of the Admiralty.

Downing-street, Nov. 5.

My Lords,

Mr. Sullivan having communicated to me sir Evan Nepean's letter of the 31st ult. containing the demand of citizen Noguez, general of brigade, to obtain permission to return to France on his parole, I am to acquaint your lordships, that it will be expedient to represent to general Noguez, that, as the island of St. Lucia has been surrendered at discretion to his majesty's forces, he can have no right to make the demand of permission to return to France. The indulgence with which the English commanding officers were disposed to treat him, and the other French prisoners of war taken at St. Lucia, in giving them permission, as a simple act of favour, to return to France, was founded on the supposition that the war should be carried on by the French government on the known principles of former wars.

But the first consul having, in open violation of the established usage of all civilised nations, thought proper to detain, as prisoners of war, those of his majesty's subjects who had gone to France during an interval of peace, general Noguez ought to know, that, until such subjects shall be released, no persons taken in arms, except those who may be regularly exchanged, can have permission to leave the British territories: and that, for this reason, he and all the other officers of the army and navy of France, actually prisoners in England, should attribute their detention solely to the measures adopted by the first consul towards his majesty's subjects.

I am, my lords, &c.

(Signed) HOBART.

Circular Letter, addressed by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, to the Lord-Lieutenants

of the maritime Counties of Great Britain.

My Lord,

As there is reason to think that aliens landing in this kingdom, from the continent, neglect in many instances to make their declaration to the magistrates of the places where they reside, as required by the provisions of the 9th and 10th clauses of the alien act, a copy of which I enclose, I am to request that your lordship will be so good as to call the particular attention of the magistrates in the county of ——— to this circumstance, and to desire them to enforce the provisions of the abovementioned clauses, with respect to such aliens within their several jurisdictions as have neglected to comply therewith, and at the same time to return to me a list of such aliens.

I am, &c.
(Signed) PELHAM.

Circular, to the Lord-Lieutenants of the Maritime Counties.

Whitehall, Dec. 24, 1803.

My Lord,

It having appeared that Dutch vessels from Holland, under Prussian colours, have been in the practice of resorting to the east coast of England, for the double purpose of carrying on contraband trade, and conveying intelligence to the enemy, it has been judged proper to direct that they should in future be prevented from so doing between the Humber and the Downs, Yarmouth Roads and the Downs excepted. As, however, the measures taken for this purpose may in some instances be eluded, by their putting persons clandestinely on shore, where the coast will permit of it, I am to desire that your lordship will particularly point the attention of the magistrates residing in the neighbourhood of the coast of Essex to this circumstance, in order that they may direct the peace officers to be particularly watchful in discovering any persons of this description, and in bringing them before the magistrates to be examined; in which case I should wish that the result may be transmitted to me as speedily as possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.
C. YORKE.

Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to the Danish Minister, Count Wedel Jarlsberg, by him transmitted to Mr. Wolfe, the Danish Consul.

Downing-street, Dec. 26.

Sir,

As nothing would be more contrary to his majesty's intention than the imposing unnecessary restraint on the navigation of neutral vessels, I have the honour of informing you, in addition to what I notified in my letter of the 23d inst. that the limitation to Yarmouth Roads and the Downs is applicable to no other vessels than to those which may come to our coast directly from the ports of Holland, or of countries occupied by the arms of France. The necessity which exists for laying down a distinction of this nature, will of course render ships of every description liable to such search or inquiries as may enable the commanders of his majesty's ships of war to ascertain that the regulation now established is in no instance evaded; but this will cause no detriment whatever to the trade of neutral nations, as the whole of our coast will continue to be open to all such vessels as may be engaged in the

the fair purpose of trade, and which have not become objectionable on the ground above mentioned.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) HAWKESBURY.

MANIFESTO OF THE IRISH REBELS.

The Provisional Government to the People of Ireland.

You are now called on to show to the world that you are competent to take your place among nations—that you have a right to claim their recognisance of you, as an independent country, by the only satisfactory proof you can furnish of your capability of maintaining your independence—your wresting it from England with your own hands.

In the developement of this system, which has been organised within the last eight months, at the close of internal defeat, and without the hope of foreign assistance; which has been conducted with a tranquillity, mistaken for obedience; which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England has retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities has accelerated: in the developement of this system you will show to the people of England, that there is a spirit of perseverance in this country beyond their power to calculate or to repress; you will show to them that as long as they think to hold unjust dominion over Ireland, under no change of circumstances can they count on its obedience—under no aspect of affairs can they judge of its intentions; you will show to them that the question, which it now behoves them to take into serious and instant consideration, is not whether they will resist a separation, which it is our fixed determination to effect, but whether or not they will drive us beyond separation; whether they will, by a sanguinary resistance, create a deadly national antipathy between the two countries, or whether they will take the only means still left of driving such a sentiment from our minds—a prompt, manly, and sagacious acquiescence in our just and unalterable determination.

If the secrecy with which the present effort has been conducted, shall have led our enemies to suppose that its extent must have been partial, a few days will undeceive them. That confidence, which was once lost, by trusting to external support, and suffering our own means to be gradually undermined, has been again restored. We have been mutually pledged to each other to look only to our own strength, and that the first introduction of a system of terror, the first attempt to execute an individual in one county, should be the signal of insurrection in all. We have now, without the loss of a man, with our means of communication untouched, brought our plans to the moment when they are ripe for execution; and in the promptitude with which nineteen counties will come forward at once to execute them, it will be found that neither confidence nor communication are wanting to the people of Ireland.

In calling on our countrymen to come forward, we feel ourselves bound, at the same time, to justify our claim to their confidence by a precise declaration of our own views. We, therefore, solemnly declare,

declare, that our object is to establish a free and independent republic in Ireland—that the pursuit of this object we will relinquish only with our lives—that we will never, unless at the express call of our country, abandon our post, until the acknowledgement of its independence is obtained from England—and that we will enter into no negotiation (but for exchange of prisoners) with the government of that country while a British army remains in Ireland. Such is the declaration which we call upon the people of Ireland to support—And we call first on that part of Ireland which was once paralysed by the want of intelligence, to show that to that cause only was its inaction to be attributed—on that part of Ireland which was once foremost by its fortitude in suffering—on that part of Ireland which once offered to take the salvation of the country on itself—on that part of Ireland where the flame of liberty first glowed—we call upon THE NORTH to stand up and shake off their slumber and their oppression.

MEN OF LEINSTER!

stand to your arms!—To the courage which you have already displayed, is your country indebted for the confidence which it now feels in its own strength, and for the dismay with which our enemies will be over-whelmed when they shall find this effort to be universal. But, men of Leinster, you owe more to your country than the having animated it by your past example: you owe more to your own courage than the having obtained by it a protection. If, six years ago, when you rose without arms, without plan, without co-operation, with more troops against you alone than are now in the country at large, you were able to remain for six weeks in open defiance of the government, and within a few miles of the capital, what will you not now effect, with that capital, and every other part of Ireland, ready to support you? But it is not on this head that we have need to address you. No! we now speak to you, and through you to the rest of Ireland, on a subject dear to us, even as the success of our country—its honour. You are accused by your enemies of having violated that honour; excesses which they themselves had in their fullest extent provoked, but which they have grossly exaggerated, have been attributed to you. The opportunity of vindicating yourselves by actions is now for the first time before you: and we call upon you to give the lie to such assertions, by carefully avoiding every appearance of plunder, intoxication, or revenge, recollecting that you lost Ireland before, not from want of courage, but from not having that courage rightly directed by discipline. But we trust that your past sufferings have taught you experience, and that you will respect the declaration which we now make, and which we are determined by every means in our power to enforce.

The nation alone possesses the right of punishing individuals; and whosoever shall put another person to death, except in battle, without a fair trial by his country, is guilty of murder. The intention of the provisional government of Ireland is to claim from the English government such Irishmen as have been sold or transported by it for their attachment to freedom; and for this purpose it will retain, as hostages for their safe return, such adherents of that government as shall

shall fall into its hands. It therefore calls upon the people to respect those hostages, and to recollect, that, in spilling their blood, they would leave their own countrymen in the hands of their enemies.

The intention of the provisional government is to resign its functions as soon as the nation shall have chosen its delegates; but in the mean time it is determined to enforce the regulations hereunto subjoined: it in consequence takes the property of the country under its protection, and will punish, with the utmost rigour, any person who shall violate that property, and thereby injure the present resources and the future prosperity of Ireland.

Whoever refuses to march to whatever part of the country he is ordered, is guilty of disobedience to the government, which alone is competent to decide in what place his services are necessary, and which desires him to recollect, that, in whatever part of Ireland he is fighting, he is still fighting for its freedom.

Whoever presumes, by acts or otherwise, to give countenance to the calumny propagated by our enemies, that this is a religious contest, is guilty of the grievous crime of belying the motives of his country. Religious disqualification is but one of the many grievances of which Ireland has to complain. Our intention is to remove not that only, but every other oppression under which we labour. We fight that all of us may have our country; and that done, each of us shall have his religion.

We are aware of the apprehensions which you have expressed, that, in quitting your own counties, you leave your wives and children in the hands of your enemies: but on this head have no uneasiness. If there are still men base enough to persecute those who are unable to resist, show them by your victories that we have the power to punish, and by your obedience, that we have the power to protect; and we pledge ourselves to you, that these men shall be made to feel, that the safety of every thing they hold dear depends on the conduct they observe to you. Go forth then with confidence, conquer the foreign enemies of your country, and leave to us the care of preserving its internal tranquillity; recollect that not only the victory, but also the honour of your country is placed in your hands; give up your private resentments, and show to the world that the Irish are not only a brave, but also a generous and a forgiving people.

MEN OF MUNSTER AND CONNAUGHT! you have your instructions—we trust that you will execute them. The example of the rest of your countrymen is now before you, your own strength is unbroken. Five months ago you were eager to act without any other assistance; we now call upon you to show, what you then declared you only wanted the opportunity of proving, that you possess the same love of liberty, and the same courage, with which the rest of your countrymen are animated.

We now turn to that portion of our countrymen whose prejudices we had rather overcome by a frank declaration of our intentions, than conquer their persons in the field: and in making this declaration we do not wish to dwell on events, which, however they may bring tenfold odium on their authors, must still tend to keep alive in the minds both of the instruments and victims

victims of them, a spirit of animosity, which it is our wish to destroy. We will, therefore, enter into no detail of the atrocities and oppression which Ireland has laboured under during its connexion with England; but we justify our determination to separate from that country on the broad historical statement, that, during six hundred years, she has been unable to conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland; that during that time five rebellions were entered into to shake off the yoke; that she has been obliged to resort to a system of unprecedented torture in her defence; that she has broken every tie of voluntary connexion by taking even the name of independence from Ireland, through the intervention of a parliament notoriously bribed, and not representing the will of the people; that, in her vindication of this measure, she has herself given the justification of the views of the United Irishmen, by declaring, in the words of her ministers—"That Ireland never had nor ever could enjoy, under the then circumstances, the benefits of British connexion; that it necessarily must happen, when one country is connected with another, that the interests of the lesser will be borne down by those of the greater *:—that England had supported and encouraged the English colonists in their oppression towards the natives of Ireland; that Ireland had been left in a state of ignorance, rudeness, and barbarism, worse in its effects, and more degrading in its nature, than that in which it was found six centuries before †." Now to what cause are these things to be attributed? Did the curse of the Almighty keep alive a spirit of obstinacy in the minds of the Irish people for six hundred years? Did the doctrines of the French revolution produce five rebellions? Could the misrepresentations of ambitious and designing men, drive from the mind of a whole people the recollection of defeat, and raise the infant from the cradle with the same feelings with which his father sunk into the grave? Will this gross avowal which our enemies have made of their own views, remove none of the calumny that has been thrown upon ours? Will none of the credit which has been lavished on them, be transferred to the solemn declaration which we now make in the face of God and our Country?—We war not against property—we war against no religious sect—we war not against past opinions or prejudices—we war against English dominion. We will not, however, deny that there are some men, who, not because they have supported the government of our oppressors, but because they have violated the common laws of morality, which exist alike under all or under no government, have put it beyond our power to give to them the protection of a government. We will not hazard the influence we may have with the people, and the power it may give us of preventing the excesses of revolution, by undertaking to place in tranquillity the man who has been guilty of torture, free quarters, rape and murder, by the side of the sufferer, or their relations; but, in the frankness with which we warn these men of their danger, let those who do not feel that they have

* Lord Castlereagh's speech.

† Considerations on the State of Affairs in Ireland, by Lord Auckland.

passed

passed this boundary of mediation, count on their safety.

We had hoped, for the sake of our enemies, to have taken them by surprise, and to have committed the cause of our country before they could have time to commit themselves against it: but though we have not altogether been able to succeed, we are yet rejoiced to find, that they have not come forward with promptitude on the side of those who have deceived them; and we now call on them, before it is yet too late, not to commit themselves further against a people they are unable to resist, and in support of a government, which, by their own declaration, has forfeited its claim to their allegiance.

To that government, in whose hands, though not the issue, at least the features with which the present contest is to be marked, are placed, we now turn. How is it to be decided? Is open and honourable force alone to be resorted to? or is it your intention to employ those laws which custom has placed in your hands, and to force us to employ the law of retaliation in our defence?

Of the inefficacy of a system of terror, in preventing the people of Ireland from coming forward to assert their freedom, you have already had experience. Of the effect which such a system will have on our minds in case of success, we have already forewarned you. We now address to you another consideration: if, in the question which is now to receive a solemn, and we trust a final, decision; if we have been deceived, reflexion would point out that that conduct should be resorted to which was the best calculated to produce conviction on our minds. What would that conduct be? It would be to show us, that the difference of strength between the two countries is such, as to render it unnecessary for you to bring out all your force; to show to us that you have something in reserve wherewith to crush hereafter, not only a greater exertion on the part of the people, but a greater exertion, rendered still greater by foreign assistance; it would be to show to us, that what we have vainly supposed to be a prosperity growing beyond your grasp, is only a partial exuberance, requiring but the pressure of your hand to reduce it into form.

But, for your own sake, do not resort to a system which, while it increased the acrimony of your minds, would leave us under the melancholy delusion that we had been forced to yield, not to the sound and temperate exertions of superior strength, but to the frantic struggles of weakness, concealing itself under desperation. Consider also, that the distinction of rebel and enemy is of a very fluctuating nature; that, during the course of your own experience, you have already been obliged to lay it aside; that should you be forced to abandon it towards Ireland, you cannot hope to do so as tranquilly as you have done towards America; for in the exasperated state to which you have raised the minds of the Irish people—a people whom you profess to have left in a state of barbarism and ignorance, with what confidence can you say to that people, "while the advantage of cruelty lay upon our side, we slaughtered you without mercy; but the measure of our own blood is beginning to preponderate: it is no longer our interest that this bloody system should continue:

—show

—show us then that forbearance which we never taught you by precept or example; lay aside your resentment; give quarter to us; and let us mutually forget that we never gave quarter to you."

Cease then, we intreat you, uselessly to violate humanity, by resorting to a system inefficacious as an instrument of terror; inefficacious as a mode of defence; inefficacious as a mode of conviction; ruinous to the future relations of the two countries, in case of our success; and destructive of those instruments of defence which you will then find it doubly necessary to have preserved unimpaired. But if your determination be otherwise, hear ours. We will not imitate you in cruelty; we will put no man to death in cold blood; the prisoners which first fall into our hands shall be treated with the respect due to the unfortunate; but if the life of a single Irish soldier is taken after the battle is over, the orders thenceforth to be issued to the Irish army are, neither to give nor take quarter.—Countrymen, if a cruel necessity forces us to retaliate, we will bury our resentment in the field of battle; if we are to fall, we will fall where we fight for our country. Fully impressed with this determination, of the necessity of adhering to which past experience has but too fatally convinced us; fully impressed with the justice of our cause, which we now put to issue, we make our last and solemn appeal to the sword and to Heaven; and as the cause of Ireland deserves to prosper, may God give it victory!

Conformably to the above proclamation, the provisional government of Ireland decree as follows:

1. From the date and promulgation hereof, tithes are for ever abolished, and church lands are the property of the nation.

2. From the same date, all transfers of landed property are prohibited, each person holding what he now possesses, on paying his rent until the national government is established, the national will declared, and the courts of justice organised.

3. From the same date, all transfer of bonds, debentures, and all public securities, are, in like manner and form, forbidden, and declared void, for the same time, and for the same reasons.

4. The Irish generals commanding districts shall seize such of the partisans of England as may serve for hostages, and shall apprise the English commander opposed to them, that a strict retaliation shall take place, if any outrages contrary to the laws of war shall be committed by the troops under his command, or by the partisans of England in the district which he occupies.

5. That the Irish generals are to treat (except where retaliation makes it necessary) the English troops who may fall into their hands, or such Irish as serve in the regular forces of England, and who shall have acted conformably to the laws of war, as prisoners of war; but all Irish militia, yeomen, or volunteer corps, or bodies of Irish, or individuals, who, 14 days from the promulgation and date hereof, shall be found in arms, shall be considered as rebels, committed for trial, and their properties confiscated.

6. The generals are to assemble court-martials, who are to be sworn to

to administer justice; who are not to condemn without sufficient evidence, and before whom all military offenders are to be sent instantly for trial.

7. No man is to suffer death by their sentence, except for mutiny; the sentences of such others as are judged worthy of death shall not be put in execution until the provisional government declares its will; nor are court-martials, on any pretence, to sentence; nor is any officer to suffer the punishment of flogging, or any species of torture to be inflicted.

8. The generals are to enforce the strictest discipline, and to send offenders immediately before court-martials; and are enjoined to chase away from the Irish armies all such as shall disgrace themselves by being drunk in presence of the enemy.

9. The generals are to apprise their respective armies that all military stores, arms, or ammunition, belonging to the English government, be the property of the captors, and the value is to be divided equally, without respect of rank, between them; except that the widows, orphans, parents, or other heirs of such as gloriously fall in the attack, shall be entitled to a double share.

10. As the English nation has made war on Ireland, all English property, in ships or otherwise, is subject to the same rule, and all transfer of them is forbidden, and declared void, in the like manner as is expressed in Nos. 2 and 3.

11. The generals of the different districts are hereby empowered to confer rank up to colonels, inclusive, on such as they conceive to merit it from the nation, but are not to make more colonels than one for fifteen hundred men, nor more lieutenant-colonels than one for every thousand men.

12. The generals shall seize on all sums of public money in the custom-houses in their districts, or in the hands of the different collectors, county treasurers, or other revenue officers, whom they shall render responsible for the sums in their hands. The generals shall pass receipts for the amount, and account to the provisional government for the expenditure.

13. When the people elect their officers up to the colonels, the general is bound to confirm it. No officer can be broke but by sentence of a court-martial.

14. The generals shall correspond with the provisional government, to whom they shall give details of all their operations; they are to correspond with the neighbouring generals, to whom they are to transmit all necessary intelligence, and to co-operate with them.

15. The generals commanding in each county shall, as soon as it is cleared of the enemy, assemble the county committee, who shall be elected conformably to the constitution of United Irishmen. All the requisitions necessary for the army shall be made in writing by the generals to the committee, who are hereby empowered and enjoined to pass their receipts for each article to the owners, to the end that they may receive their full value from the nation.

16. The county committee is charged with the civil direction of the county, the care of the national property, and the preservation of order and justice in the county; for which purpose the county committee are to appoint a high sheriff, and one or more sub-sheriffs, to execute their orders; a sufficient

sufficient number of justices of the peace for the county, a high and a sufficient number of petty constables in each barony, who are respectively charged with the duties now performed by these magistrates.

17. The county of Cork, on account of its extent, is to be divided, conformably to the boundaries for raising the militia, into the counties of North and South Cork, for each of which, a county constable, high sheriff, and all magistrates above directed are to be appointed.

18. The county committee are hereby empowered and enjoined to issue warrants to apprehend such persons as it shall appear, on sufficient evidence, perpetrated murder, torture, or other breaches of the acknowledged laws of war and morality, on the people, to the end that they may be tried for those offences, so soon as the competent courts of justice are established by the nation.

19. The county committee shall cause the sheriff or his officers to seize on all the personal and real property of such persons, to put seals on their effects, to appoint proper persons to preserve all such property until the national courts of justice shall have decided on the fate of the proprietors.

20. The county committee shall act in like manner, with all state and church lands, parochial estates, and all public lands and edifices.

21. The county committee shall, in the interim, receive all the rents and debts of such persons and estates, and shall give receipts for the same; shall transmit to the provisional government an exact account of their value, extent, and amount, and receive the directions of the provisional government thereon.

22. They shall appoint some proper house in the county, where the sheriff is permanently to reside, and where the county committee shall assemble: they shall cause all the records and papers of the county to be there transferred, arranged, and kept, and the orders of government are there to be transmitted and received.

23. The county committee is hereby empowered to pay, out of these effects, or by assessment, reasonable salaries for themselves, the sheriff, justices, and other magistrates, whom they shall appoint.

24. They shall keep a written journal of all their proceedings, signed each day by the members of the committee, or a sufficient number of them, for the inspection of government.

25. The county committee shall correspond with government on all the subjects with which they are charged, and transmit to the general of the district such information as they may conceive useful to the public.

26. The county committee shall take care that the state prisoners, however great their offences, shall be treated with humanity, and allow them a sufficient support, to the end that all the world may know that the Irish nation is not actuated by the spirit of revenge, but of justice.

27. The provisional government, wishing to commit, as soon as possible, the sovereign authority to the people, direct that each county and city shall elect, agreeably to the constitution of United Irishmen, representatives to meet in Dublin; to whom, the moment they

they assemble, the provisional government will resign its functions; and, without presuming to dictate to the people, they beg to suggest, that, for the important purpose to which these electors are called, integrity of character should be the first object.

28. The number of representatives being arbitrary, the provisional government have adopted that of the late house of commons, three hundred, and, according to the best return of the population of the cities and counties, the following numbers are to be returned from each: Antrim 13, Armagh 9, Belfast town 1, Carlow 3, Cavan 7, Clare 8, Cork county north 14, Cork county south 14, Cork city 6, Donnegal 10, Down 16, Drogheda 1, Dublin county 4, Dublin city 14, Fermanagh 5, Galway 10, Kerry 9, Kildare 4, Kilkenny 7, King's county 6, Leitrim 5, Limerick county 10, Limerick city 3, Londonderry 9, Longford 4, Louth 4, Mayo 12, Meath 9, Monaghan 9, Queen's county 6, Roscommon 8, Sligo 6, Tipperary 13, Tyrone 14, Waterford county 6, Waterford city 2, Westmeath 5, Wexford 9, Wicklow 5.

29. In the cities the same sort of regulations as in the counties shall be adopted; the city committee shall appoint one or more sheriffs, as they think proper, and shall take possession of all the public and corporation properties in their jurisdiction, in like manner as is directed for counties.

30. The provisional government strictly exhort and enjoin all magistrates, officers civil and military, and the whole of the nation, to cause the laws of morality to be enforced and respected, and to execute, as far as in them lies, justice with mercy; by which alone liberty can be established, and the blessings of Divine Providence secured.

CITIZENS OF DUBLIN! a band of patriots, mindful of their oath, and faithful to their engagements as United Irishmen, have determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long career of English oppression!

In this endeavour they are now successfully engaged, and their efforts are seconded by complete and universal co-operation from the country; every part of which, from the extremity of the north to that of the south, pours forth its warriors in support of our hallowed cause. Citizens of Dublin, we require your aid. Necessary secrecy has prevented to many of you notice of our plan; but the erection of our national standard, the sacred though long-degraded green, will be found a sufficient call. To arms, and rally round it, every man in whose breast exists a spark of patriotism, or sense of duty: avail yourselves of your local advantages; in a city, each street becomes a defile, and each house a battery; impede the march of your oppressors; charge them with the arms of the brave—the pike; and from your windows and roofs hurl stones, bricks, bottles, and all other convenient implements, on the heads of the satellites of your tyrant—the mercenary, the sanguinary soldiery of England.

Orangemen! add not to the catalogue of your follies and crimes; already have you been duped to the ruin of your country in the legislative union with its ———; attempt not an opposition which

will carry with it your inevitable destruction; return from the paths of delusion, return to the arms of your countrymen, who will receive and hail your repentance.

Countrymen of all descriptions! let us act with union and concert; all sects—catholic, protestant, presbyterian—are equally and indiscriminately embraced in the benevolence of our object; repress, prevent, and discourage excesses, pillage, and intoxication; let each man do his duty, and remember that, during public agitation, inaction becomes a crime: be no other competition known than that of doing good; remember against whom you fight—your oppressors for six hundred years; remember their massacres, their tortures; remember your murdered friends, your burned houses, your violated females; keep in mind your country, to whom we are now giving her high rank among nations, and in the honest terror of feeling, let us all exclaim, that as in the hour of her trial we serve this country, so may God serve us in that which will be last of all!

VOLUNTEER CAVALRY.

Regulations during War, for the Clothing, Appointments, and the Allowances for contingent Expenses, of Corps of Yeomanry and Volunteer Cavalry.

1. Every officer, non-commissioned officer, and private man, to take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his majesty.

2. Every troop to consist of not less than forty rank and file, which comprehends corporals and privates only.

3. Three pounds per man for effectives will be allowed annually for clothing and appointments, and issued for three years at once, if required; and the sum of 120*l.* per troop per annum, at the disposal of the commandant, to be in lieu of the pay of serjeants and trumpeters, and of every charge of whatever description, heretofore defrayed by government.

4. Constant pay, at the rate of 6*s.* per diem, to be allowed for an adjutant to corps of three troops and upwards.

5. Serjeants receiving constant pay, and all trumpeters (or bugle men) receiving pay either at a daily or weekly rate, to be attested and made subject to military law, until they shall be regularly discharged by the commandants.

6. If a corps, or any part thereof, shall be called upon in cases of riot or disturbance, the charge of constant pay to be made for such services must be at the rate following, being the pay of the regular cavalry, and be supported by a certificate from his majesty's lieutenant or the sheriff of the county.

Per diem.	*s.*	*d.*
Captain -	14	7
Lieutenant -	9	0
Cornet - -	8	0
Quarter-master -	5	6
Adjutant - -	10	0
Serjeant-major, including 9*d.* for a horse -	3	11
Serjeant, ditto -	2	11
Corporal, ditto -	2	4½
Trumpeter, ditto -	2	4
Private, ditto -	2	0

Such troops as have received the reduced clothing allowance of 2*l.* per man for the years 1802 and 1803, may, upon the application of the commandants, receive the difference between that allowance and the augmented rate above specified.

AMERICAN

AMERICAN PAPERS.

Congress, Wednesday, Dec. 13, 1802.

The following Message was delivered to each House by Mr. Lewis, Secretary to the President.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

When we assemble together, fellow-citizens, to consider the state of our beloved country, our just attentions are first drawn to those pleasing circumstances which mark the goodness of that Being from whose favour they flow; and the large measure of thankfulness we owe for his bounty. Another year has come around, and finds us still blessed with peace and friendship abroad; law, order, and religion, at home; good affection and harmony with our Indian neighbours; our burdens lightened, yet our income sufficient for the public wants, and the produce of the year great beyond example. These, fellow-citizens, are the circumstances under which we meet; and we remark, with special satisfaction, those which, under the smiles of Providence, result from the skill, industry, and order of our citizens, managing their own affairs in their own way, and for their own use, unembarrassed by too much regulation, unoppressed by fiscal exactions.

On the restoration of peace in Europe, that portion of the carrying trade which had fallen to our share during the war was abridged by the returning competition of the belligerent powers. This was to be expected, and was just. But, in addition, we find, in some parts of Europe, monopolising discriminations, which, in the form of duties, tend effectually to prohibit the carrying thither our own produce in our own vessels. From existing amities, and a spirit of justice, it is hoped that friendly discussion will produce a fair and adequate reciprocity. But should false calculations of interest defeat our hope, it rests with the legislature to decide whether they will meet inequalities abroad with countervailing inequalities at home, or provide for the evil in any other way.

It is with satisfaction I lay before you an act of the British parliament, anticipating this subject, so far as to authorise a mutual abolition of the duties, and countervailing duties, permitted under the treaty of 1794. It shows, on their part, a spirit of justice and friendly accommodation, which it is our duty and our interest to cultivate with all nations. Whether this would produce a due equality in the navigation between the two countries, is a subject for your consideration.

Another circumstance which claims attention, as directly affecting the very source of our navigation, is the effect of the evasion of the law providing for the return of seamen, and particularly of those belonging to vessels sold abroad. Numbers of them, discharged in foreign ports, have been thrown on the hands of our consuls; who, to rescue them from the dangers into which their distresses might plunge them, and save them to their country, have found it necessary, in some cases, to return them at the public charge.

The cession of the Spanish province of Louisiana to France, which took place in the course of the late war, will, if carried into effect, make a change in the aspect of our foreign relations, which will doubtless have just weight in any

deliberations of the legislature connected with that subject.

There was reason, not long since, to apprehend that the warfare in which we were engaged with Tripoli might be taken up by some other of the Barbary powers. A reinforcement, therefore, was immediately ordered to the vessels already there. Subsequent information, however, has removed these apprehensions for the present. To secure our commerce in that sea, with the smallest force competent, we have supposed it best to watch strictly the harbour of Tripoli. Still, however, the shallowness of their coast, and the want of smaller vessels on our part, has permitted some cruisers to escape unobserved; and to one of these an American vessel unfortunately fell a prey. The captain, one American seaman, and two others of colour, remain prisoners with them, unless exchanged under an agreement formerly made with the bashaw, to whom, on the faith of that, some of his captive subjects had been restored.

The convention with the state of Georgia has been ratified by their legislature, and a re-purchase from the Creeks has been consequently made of a part of the Tallasscee county. In this purchase has been also comprehended a part of the lands within the fork of Oconee and Oakmulgee rivers. The particulars of the contract will be laid before congress so soon as they shall be in a state for communication.

In order to remove every ground of difference possible with our Indian neighbours, I have proceeded in the work of settling with them, and marking the boundaries between us. That with the Choctaw nation is fixed in one part, and will be through the whole within a short time. The country, to which their title had been extinguished before the revolution, is sufficient to receive a very respectable population, which congress will probably see the expediency of encouraging, so soon as the limits shall be declared. We are to view this position as an outpost of the United States, surrounded by strong neighbours, and distant from its support. And how far that monopoly, which prevents population, should here be guarded against, and actual habitation made a condition of the continuance of title, will be for your consideration. A prompt settlement too of all existing rights and claims within this territory, presents itself as a preliminary operation.

In that part of the Indian territory which includes Vincennes, the lines settled with the neighbouring tribes fix the extinction of their title at a breadth of twenty-four leagues from east to west, and about the same length parallel with and including the Wabash. They have also ceded a tract of four miles square, including the salt springs near the mouth of that river.

In the department of finance it is with pleasure I inform you that the receipts of external duties, for the last twelve months, have exceeded those of any former year, and that the ratio of increase has been also greater than usual. This has enabled us to answer all the regular exigencies of government, to pay from the treasury, within one year, upwards of eight millions of dollars, principal and interest, of the public debt, exclusive of upwards of one million paid by the sale of bank stock, and making in the whole a reduction of

nearly

nearly five millions and a half of principal, and to have now in the treasury four millions and a half of dollars, which are in a course of application to the further discharge of debt and current demands. Experience, too, so far authorises us to believe, if no extraordinary event supervenes, and the expenses which will be actually incurred shall not be greater than were contemplated by congress at their last session, that we shall not be disappointed in the expectations then formed. But, nevertheless, as the effect of peace on the amount of duties is not yet fully ascertained, it is the more necessary to practise every useful economy, and to incur no expense which may be avoided without prejudice.

The collection of the internal taxes having been completed in some of the states, the officers employed in it are of course out of commission. In others they will be so shortly. But in a few, where the arrangements for the direct tax had been retarded, it will still be some time before the system is closed. It has not yet been thought necessary to employ the agent authorised by an act of the last session, for transacting business in Europe relative to debts and loans: nor have we used the power, confided by the same act, of prolonging the foreign debt by re-loans, and of redeeming, instead thereof, an equal sum of the domestic debt. Should however the difficulties of remittance on so large a scale, render it necessary at any time, the power shall be executed, and the money thus unemployed abroad shall, in conformity with that law, be faithfully employed here in an equivalent extinction of domestic debt. When effects so salutary result from the plans you have already sanctioned, when, merely by avoiding false objects of expense, we are able, without a direct tax, without internal taxes, and without borrowing, to make large and effectual payments towards the discharge of our public debt, and the emancipation of our posterity from that mortal canker, it is an encouragement, fellow-citizens, of the highest order, to proceed as we have begun in substituting economy for taxation, and in pursuing what is useful for a nation, placed as we are, rather than what is practised by others under different circumstances. And whensoever we are destined to meet events which shall call forth all the energies of our countrymen, we have the firmest reliance on those energies, and the comfort of leaving for calls like these, the extraordinary resources of loans and internal taxes. In the mean time, by payments of the principal of our debt, we are liberating, annually, portions of the external taxes, and forming from them a growing fund, still further to lessen the necessity of recruiting the extraordinary resources.

The usual account of receipts and expenditures for the last year, with an estimate of the expenses of the ensuing one, will be laid before you by the secretary of the treasury.

No change being deemed necessary in our military establishment, an estimate of its expenses for the ensuing year, on its present footing, as also of the sums to be employed in fortifications, and other objects within that department, has been prepared by the secretary at war, and will make a part of the general estimates which will be presented to you.

Considering that our regular troops are employed for local purposes, and that the militia is our general reliance for great and sudden emergencies, you will doubtless think this institution worthy of a review, and give it those improvements of which you find it susceptible.

Estimates for the naval department, prepared by the secretary of the navy, for another year, will in like manner be communicated with the general estimates. A small force in the Mediterranean will still be necessary to restrain the Tripoline cruisers; and the uncertain tenure of peace with some other of the Barbary powers, may eventually require that force to be augmented. The necessity of procuring some smaller vessels for that service, will raise the estimate; but the difference in their maintenance will soon make it a measure of economy.

Presuming it will be deemed expedient to expend annually a convenient sum towards providing the naval defence which our situation may require, I cannot but recommend that the first appropriations for that purpose may go to the saving what we already possess. No cares, no attentions, can preserve vessels from rapid decay, which lie in water, and exposed to the sun. These decays require great and constant repairs, and will consume, if continued, a great portion of the monies destined to naval purposes. To avoid this waste of our resources, it is proposed to add to our navy-yard here, a dock, within which our present vessels may be laid up dry, and under cover from the sun. Under these circumstances, experience proves that works of wood will remain scarcely at all affected by time. The great abundance of running water which this situation possesses, at heights far above the level of the tide, if employed as is practised for lock navigation, furnishes the means for raising and laying up our vessels on a dry and sheltered bed. And should the measure be found useful here, similar depositories for laying up, as well as for building and repairing vessels, may hereafter be undertaken at other navy-yards, offering the same means.—The plans and estimates of the work, prepared by a person of skill and experience, will be presented to you without delay; and from these it will be seen that scarcely more than has been the cost of one vessel is necessary to save the whole, and that the annual sum to be employed towards its completion may be adapted to the views of the legislature as to naval expenditure.

To cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises; to foster our fisheries as nurseries of navigation, and for the nurture of man, and protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances; to preserve the faith of the nation by an exact discharge of its debts and contracts, expend the public money with the same care and economy we would practise with our own, and impose on our citizens no unnecessary burdens; to keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the federal union, as the only rock of safety; these, fellow-citizens, are the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings. By continuing to make these our rule of action, we shall endear to our countrymen the true principles of their constitution,

constitution, and promote an union of sentiment and of action, equally auspicious to their happiness and safety. On my part, you may count on a cordial concurrence in every measure for the public good; and on all the information I possess which may enable you to discharge to advantage the high functions with which you are invested by your country.

(Signed)

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Official.—From the Marquis De Casa Yrujo, to the Secretary of State.

Washington, March 10, 1803.

Sir,

When you represented, towards the end of November last, that the port of New Orleans had been shut against the citizens of the United States, without the assignment of any equivalent place of deposit for their merchandise on the banks of the Mississippi, according to the stipulation in the 22d article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation between the king my master and the United States, I did not hesitate to declare to you, that I considered this measure as flowing solely from the mistaken zeal of the intendant of Louisiana, without the knowledge of my court. I well knew the sincere desire of the king my master to live in peace and good harmony with the United States; as I also knew well the scrupulous good faith with which the Spanish government fulfils the engagements which it forms, particularly when they are founded upon the solemnity of a treaty. I have now the satisfaction of informing you, that my first opinion has been verified, and of declaring, in the most positive terms, that the proclamation of the intendant is an act purely personal, without the sanction, and even without the knowledge of his Catholic majesty. In reality, if the said proclamation had appeared in an entire state, no doubt could have taken place as to the course of the proceeding. But the operate part thereof alone has circulated through the United States, the preamble introducing it having been, probably without design, omitted. I have, therefore, the honour to communicate herewith, an entire and correct copy of the aforesaid proclamation; and, by the expressions which I have underlined, it will be clearly seen that the arrangement is absolutely personal, and has originated in the faculties which the intendant supposed to be incident to his station. This assertion is not founded merely on the obvious inference from those expressions. The intendant himself declares it to me in the most direct terms, in a letter of January 15, which I have just received from him, and the governor of the province confirms the same thing with the same solemnity, in another letter of the same date. Neither the one nor the other disputes the right of the citizens of the United States to a place of deposit on the Spanish banks of the Mississippi; but the intendant thinks that the term of three years allowed for the purpose at New Orleans having expired, and much prejudices to the royal interests being experienced from its continuance in that city, it was incumbent on him to suspend the deposit there, without venturing to take on himself the assignment of another equivalent place; not because he

doubted the right of the inhabitants of the United States thereto, but because it appeared to him to be an act exceeding his authority, and which he ought to leave to the royal determination of our sovereign. The governor of Louisiana saw the subject under a point of view more correct, in my judgement, and more favourable to the inhabitants of the United States.

From the whole, it results, that the suspension of the deposit not being an act of my court, and no person ever disputing the right of the American citizens in the case, I shall now take upon myself to adopt measures which must ensure to the United States the enjoyment of all the rights stipulated in the 22d article of the treaty, on the arrival at New Orleans of the dispatches which will be forwarded under this date.

Note from M. Pichon, Chargé d'Affaires of the French Republic, to the Governor of his Catholic Majesty at Louisiana.

(Communicated to the Secretary of State.)

George Town, near Washington City, March 11, 1803.

Sir,

The marquis D'Yrajo has communicated to me the contents of the dispatches which he has just received from your excellency, and from the intendant of his Catholic majesty, at the province under your command, in answer to those which he wrote to you in relation to the late suspension of the right of deposit conceded to the United States at New Orleans. The marquis D'Yrajo finds himself necessitated again to remonstrate to your excellency on that subject. I avail myself of the opportunity to beg of you, sir, in the name of the French government, whose interests are implicated in this case, maturely to consider the alarming consequences which may result if the intendant should persist in his measures. The intelligence which has been transmitted to the marquis D'Yrajo has at least made it appear indubitable that the measure alluded to was exclusively grounded on the personal opinions of this officer, and supported by no order from his Catholic majesty, or any intimation from the French government. This information, while it screens from suspicion the dispositions of both governments, and lays entirely on the intendant the consequences of the present state of things, does not, however, remove the apprehensions which that state is calculated to excite. These advices, sir, give an additional force to the remonstrances, which, for my part, and in the anticipated conviction which I entertained that these measures had a cause merely local, I had no hesitation lately to address to the authorities, hourly expected, of the French republic at New Orleans, under cover to the intendant. So pressing are the circumstances, that I deem it my duty to renew these remonstrances, and to entreat your excellency to exert your superior authority to prevent the consequences which the prolongation of the present order of things may produce.

It will not escape your notice, sir, that, France being now notoriously the proprietor of Louisiana, and the authorities of his Catholic majesty exercising in this colony, at present, only an intermediary power, any measure having a tendency to commit France,

France, on whom the odium and the consequences of what has been done, visibly fall, ought, were its justice and its lawfulness doubtful only, to be suspended; otherwise France may find herself committed, and her relations with the United States materially changed without her consent.

I enter into no further details with your excellency, being satisfied that they would be superfluous. Your excellency will be aware that the present is a most critical moment. In the collision of two authorities, one of which undertakes to initiate a construction of treaties which may lead to war, it fortunately happens, that the paramount authority, which is eminently entrusted with the preservation and safety of the colony, is of an opinion calculated to maintain peace. In such an alternative, sir, your excellency ought to hesitate no longer in using your power to preserve this peace. If it should be disturbed, the responsibility of the event must inevitably lie upon your excellency. His Catholic majesty, who is in some measure guarantee to France for Louisiana, until France shall have occupied it, would have to blame you for not having taken the measures necessary to fulfil that guarantee towards his ally.

The contents of this letter, sir, will, I am confident, be fully justified to your excellency by the existing circumstances, which the marquis D'Yrajo, in behalf of his court, will doubtless make known to you more particularly. It only remains for me, therefore, to pray your excellency to accept the assurance of my respect and high consideration.

(Signed) L. A. PICHON.

His Excellency the Governor of his Catholic Majesty, in the Province of Louisiana.

FRENCH PAPERS.

Publication issued by Monsieur, Brother to the King of France.

Monsieur, brother of the king of France, has deemed it his duty no longer to remain silent respecting an important fact, of which too vague an idea has hitherto gone abroad. The variety of lights in which it has been represented, and the false reports industriously circulated by an usurped government, imperiously require that the opinion of the public, but more particularly that of Frenchmen, should be set right respecting the real state of the matter.

Such are the reasons which at the present conjuncture induce Monsieur to make public certain details which particular circumstances do not allow, however interesting they may be, to be enumerated more at length than as follows:

On the 26th of February, of the current year, a personage of prominent distinction, empowered by high authority, waited on the king of France at Warsaw, and verbally made to his majesty, in terms the most respectful, but at the same time the most urgent, and, in the opinion of him who urged them, the most persuasive, the astonishing proposal to renounce the throne of France, and to require the same renunciation on the part of all the members of the house of Bourbon: the envoy, moreover, observed, that, as a price of this sacrifice, Bonaparte would secure indemnities to his majesty, and even a splendid establishment. His majesty, strongly animated by that sentiment which the hand of Adversity is never able to obliterate from elevated souls, and which

which makes him cling as tenaciously to his rights as he does to the happiness of France, immediately wrote the following answer, which he delivered on the 28th of February to the person who was deputed to him.

ANSWER OF THE KING.

"I am far from being inclined to confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour, and of his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims, for otherwise he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has now taken.

"I cannot pretend to know what may be the intention of the Almighty respecting my race and myself, but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a Christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of St. Louis, I shall endeavour to imitate his example by respecting myself—even in captivity and chains. As successor of Francis I., I shall at least aspire to say with him—*We have lost every thing but our honour.*"

At the bottom of this answer are written the following words:

"With the permission of the king, my uncle, I adhere, with heart and soul, to the contents of this note.
(Signed) LOUIS ANTOINE."

On the 2d of March the king wrote to Monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructed him to make known the same to the princes of the blood who were in England, taking charge himself to inform such of them respecting it who do not reside in that country. On the 22d of April, Monsieur called a meeting of the princes, who, with equal alacrity and unanimity, have signed the following adhesion to the answer of the king of the 28th February.

ADHESION OF THE PRINCES.

"We, the undersigned princes, the brother, nephews, and cousins of his majesty Louis XVIII., king of France and of Navarre,

"Thoroughly impressed with the same sentiments with which our sovereign lord and king has shown himself to be so honourably animated in his answer to the proposal made to him of renouncing the throne of France, and of requiring all the princes of his house in like manner to renounce all the imprescriptible claims to the succession to that same throne, DECLARE,

"That, as our attachment to our rights, to our duty, and to our honour, can never permit us to forego our claims, we adhere, with heart and soul, to the answer made by our king.

"That, in imitation of his example, we shall not lend ourselves in any manner whatever to any step or proceeding that can imply on our part a failing in what we owe to ourselves, to our ancestors, to our descendants.

"WE FINALLY DECLARE, that, being fully convinced that a large majority of the French people inwardly participate in all the sentiments

ments by which we are animated, it is in the name of our loyal countrymen, as well as our own, that we renew upon our sword, and to our king, the solemn and sacred oath to live and die faithful to our honour, and to our legitimate sovereign.

(Signed)

" CHARLES PHILIPPE OF FRANCE,
" CHARLES FERDINAND OF ARTOIS, Duke of Berri,
" LOUIS PHILIPPE OF ORLEANS, Duke of Orleans,
" ANTOINE PHILIPPE OF ORLEANS, Duke of Montpelier,
" LOUIS CHARLES OF ORLEANS, Count of Beaujolois,
" LOUIS JOSEPH DE BOURBON, Prince of Condé,
" LOUIS HENRY JOSEPH DE BOURBON-CONDE, Duke of Bourbon."

Wansted House, April 23, 1803.

ADHESION OF THE DUKE OF ENGHIEN.

" Sire,

" The letter of the 2d March, with which your majesty has vouchsafed to honour me, reached me in due time. Your majesty is too well acquainted with the blood which flows in my veins, to have entertained a moment's doubt respecting the tenor and spirit of the answer which your majesty calls for. I am a Frenchman, sire, and a Frenchman faithful to his God, to his king, and to the oaths that are binding on his honour; many others may perhaps one day envy me this triple advantage. Will your majesty therefore vouchsafe to permit me to annex my signature to that of the duke d'Angouleme, adhering, as I do, with him, in heart and soul, to the contents of the note of my sovereign? It is in these invariable sentiments that I remain, sire,

" Your majesty's most humble, most obedient, and very faithful subject and servant,

(Signed) LOUIS ANTOINE HENRY DE BOURBON."

Ettenheim, in the Dominions of the Margrave of Baden, March 22, 1803.

Declaration of the First Consul, in a Message to the Senate, the Legislative Body, and the Tribunate.

Saint Cloud, May 20.

The ambassador of England has been recalled. Compelled by this circumstance, the ambassador of the republic has quitted a country where he could no longer hear the language of peace. At this decisive moment, the government submits to your view, and it will submit to the view of France, and of Europe, its first relations with the British ministry, the negotiations which were terminated by the treaty of Amiens, and the new discussions which seem to finish by an absolute rupture. The present age and posterity will there see all that it has done to put an end to the calamities of war, and with what moderation, and what patience it has laboured to prevent their return. Nothing has been able to interrupt the course of the projects formed to rekindle discord between the two nations. The treaty of Amiens had been negotiated amid the clamours of a party hostile to peace: scarcely was it concluded, when it was the object of bitter censure. It was represented as fatal to England, because it was not disgraceful to France. Soon after alarms were disseminated; dangers were pretended, on which

was

was established the necessity of a state of peace, such as to be a permanent signal of new hostilities. There were kept in reserve, and hired, those vile miscreants who had torn the bosom of their country, and who were intended to tear it anew. Vain calculations of hatred! We are no longer that France which was divided by factions, and buffeted by storms; but France, restored to internal tranquillity, regenerated in her administration and her laws, and ready to fall, with her whole weight, upon whatever foreign state may dare to attack her, or to unite with the banditti whom an atrocious policy would once more cast upon her shores to organise pillage and assassination. At length an unexpected message, all at once, terrifies England with imaginary armaments in France and Batavia: she supposes the existence of important discussions which divided the two governments, while no such discussion was known to the French government. Immediately formidable armaments take place on the coasts and in the ports of Great Britain; the sea is covered with her ships of war; and it is in the midst of these preparations that the cabinet of London demands of France the abrogation of a fundamental article of the treaty of Amiens. They wanted, they said, new guarantees; and they despised the sanctity of treaties, the execution of which is the first of guarantees which nations can give to each other. In vain did France invoke that faith which had been sworn; in vain did she appeal to the forms received among nations; in vain did she consent to shut her eyes to the actual non-execution of the article of the treaty of Amiens, from which England pretended to release herself; in vain was she willing to delay taking a definitive resolution, until Spain and Batavia, both of them contracting parties, could have manifested their disposition. In vain, in short, did she propose to request the mediation of the powers, who had been invited to guarantee, and who, in effect, did guarantee the stipulation required to be abrogated. Every proposition was rejected, and the demands of England became more imperious and more absolute. It is not in the principles of our government to yield to menace; it is not in their power to bend the majesty of the French people to laws prescribed to them with forms so haughty and so new. Had they done so, they would have consecrated, in favour of England, the right of annulling, at her sole pleasure, all the stipulations which bind her toward France. It would have authorised her to demand from France new guarantees on the slightest alarm which she might have thought proper to pretend; and hence two new principles would have been placed in the public code of Great Britain, by the side of that by which she has disinherited the other nations of the common sovereignty of the seas, and submitted to her laws and to her regulations the independence of the flag. The government stopped at the limit traced out by its principles and its duties. The negotiation is interrupted, and we are ready to fight, if we are attacked. We shall, at least, fight to maintain the faith of treaties, and for the honour of the French name. Had we yielded to a vain terror, we should soon have had to fight to repel new pretensions; but we should fight dishonoured by a previous weakness, fallen in our own

eyes,

eyes, and degraded in the eyes of an enemy which should have once made us bend to her unjust pretensions. The nation will repose itself in the consciousness of its strength, whatever injuries the enemy may do us in places where we shall not have been able to prevent them, or to reach them. The result of this contest will be such as we have a right to expect from the justice of our cause, and the courage of our warriors.

The First Consul,
(Signed) BONAPARTE.
The Secretary of State,
(Signed) MARET.

OFFICE OF THE PREFECT OF THE POLICE.

Feb. 14.

An Order respecting Strangers in the City of Paris who are Lodgers in private Houses.

The counsellor of state, who is prefect of the police, in consideration that persons who, under the character of relations or friends, are lodgers in private houses in Paris, and that the proprietors, immediate renters, masters, and porters of unfurnished lodging-houses, neglect to make the declaration enjoined by the law of the 27th Ventose, of the 4th year of the existence of the republic, as well as by the order issued by the consuls on the 12th Messidor, of the 8th year of the republic, enjoins as follows:

1. The proprietors, immediate renters, and keepers, masters, or porters of houses, not otherwise occupied than by occasional lodgers, whenever they have strangers lodging in their houses, shall be bound to comply with the second article of the law, 27th Ventose, 4th year, by making, within twenty-four hours after the arrival of such strangers, the declaration which that article requires, before the commissary of the police, for the division in which they reside.

2. They shall, at the same time, bear to the commissary of the police, the passports of the persons who have so taken lodgings in their houses.

The commissary, upon receiving each passport, shall deliver, instead of it, a billet or card, with which the respective strangers shall, within three days after their arrival in Paris, appear at the office of the prefect of the police, there to receive back their passports, and with them, an order to leave the city or permission to prolong their stay in it.

3. Those who shall fail to comply with this order, shall be liable to the necessary measures of restraint, on the part of the ministers of the police, and shall be further subject to such prosecution as may be regularly instituted against them before the criminal courts.

4. The present order shall be printed, published, and communicated fully to the public by bills stuck up in suitable places.

The commissaries of the police, the officers of the peace, and those who conduct the business in the office of the prefect of the police, shall each, so far as it shall fall within the range of his functions, see that this order is vigilantly executed.

The general-commandant of the armed force of Paris, the chefs de legion of the select gendarmeries, and of the national gendarmerie of the department of the Seine, are required to give military assistance

to

to the civil officers, if that shall, at any time, become necessary.

(Signed) DUBOIS,
Prefect and Counsellor of State.
By the Counsellor of State, Prefect,
(Signed) PITS, Sec. Gen.

Order respecting Innkeepers, Masters of furnished Hotels, and Persons letting Lodgings.

The counsellor of state, prefect of the police, in consideration of the 2d and 7th articles of the order of the consuls, dated 12 Messidor, year 8, enjoins as follows:—

1. Persons entering into the employment of innkeeper, or master of a furnished hotel, or purposing to let lodgings, are to make a declaration to that effect at the office of the prefect of the police; to open registers, in which shall be inscribed, on stamped paper, bearing the mark of the commissary of the police for that division, the names of all the travellers, whether Frenchmen or foreigners, whom they shall receive in their houses. They shall, likewise, put up in a conspicuous situation, over the door of the house, a table indicating the profession or employment which they exercise.

2. Innkeepers, masters of furnished hotels, and persons letting furnished lodgings, shall, every day, without blank or omission, enter, in the above-described register, the names, age, quality, ordinary residence, profession, arrival, and departure of every person who lodges with them for even a single night.

3. They are expressly prohibited from harbouring vagabonds, beggars, and persons who give no account of themselves.

4. Innkeepers, masters of hotels, and keepers of lodging-houses shall, whenever required, produce their registers to the commissaries of the police (who shall mark them with their *visa*), to the officers of the peace, or to those who conduct the business at the office of the prefect of the police.

ACTS OF GOVERNMENT.

The consuls of the republic, on the report of the minister of the interior, decree as follows:—

Chamber of Commerce.—Decree of December 24.

CHAP. I.

ART. I. There shall be established chambers of commerce in the following towns: Lyons, Rouen, Bordeaux, Marseilles, Brussels, Antwerp, Nants, Dunkirk, Lisle, Mentz, Nismes, Avignon, Strasburg, Turin, Montpellier, Geneva, Bayonne, Toulouse, Tours, Carcassonne, Amiens, and Havre.

II. The chambers of commerce shall consist of fifteen merchants in those towns whose population exceed 50,000 souls; and of nine, in all those where the population is below that amount; not counting the prefect, who is always, in virtue of his office, to be a member of, and to preside over it, whenever he assists at its sittings. The mayor will officiate, in room of the prefect, in those towns where there is no resident prefecture.

III. No person shall be eligible as a member of the chamber, unless he has himself been engaged in commerce at least ten years.

IV. The functions to be performed by the chambers of commerce are—

To draw up memorials respecting the best means of promoting the prosperity of commerce.

To

To explain to government the causes that check or impede its progress.

To point out such resources as may be availed of, to superintend the execution of the public works relative to commerce, such, for example, as the repair of harbours, the navigation of rivers, and the execution of the laws respecting contraband.

V. The chambers of commerce shall hold a direct intercourse with the minister of the interior.

VI. The first institution of the chamber of commerce shall be proceeded in as follows:

The prefects, and, where there are none, the mayors in those towns which are not head-residences of prefects, shall unite under their presidency from forty to sixty of the principal merchants of the town, who shall proceed by a secret scrutiny, and an absolute majority of votes, to the election of members who are to compose the chamber.

VII. One third of the members of the chamber shall be changed every year;—the members who go out are re-eligible.

For the first two years after the establishment of the chamber, the members to go out are to be determined by lot. Their places shall be filled up by the chamber, and by a majority of votes.

VIII. Every appointment shall be transmitted to the minister of the interior, in order to receive his approbation.

IX. The chamber of commerce shall give in to the minister of the interior a statement of their expenses, and devise means for defraying them.

The minister will present their statements to government.

CHAP. II.

Institution of a General Council of Commerce.

X. There shall be at Paris a general council of commerce.

This council shall reside near the office of the minister of the interior.

XI. The members of the general council shall be appointed by the chambers of commerce.

Each chamber shall nominate two persons, and out of the whole the first consul will choose fifteen.

These fifteen shall assemble together at Paris once or twice a year. Three of them shall be always on the spot.

No one shall be eligible unless he be actually engaged in commerce in the town sending the deputation, and unless he be in the town at the time of his nomination.

XII. The minister of the interior is charged with the execution of the present decree, which shall be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

By order of the First Consul,
(Signed) BONAPARTE, First Consul.
(Signed) H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

ACTS OF GOVERNMENT.

The government of the republic, on the report of the minister of the interior, makes the following decree:

1. There shall be, in the port of Rouen, an entrepôt of foreign merchandise and goods not prohibited, as well as of articles of colonial produce.

2. The city of Rouen shall be bound

bound to provide, at that port, a convenient magazine for the establishment of this entrepôt. For this purpose the plan of the building shall be laid before the government, which shall sanction the establishment by a special decree.

3. The entrepôt of Rouen forms part of that of Havre; of consequence, every ship loaded with goods destined for the entrepôt of Rouen shall touch at Havre, for the purpose of enabling the master to make a declaration of the quantity and quality of the goods which he proposes to lodge in the entrepôt of Havre; and the principal superintendant of the customs of Havre shall give an authenticated copy of this declaration.

When the custom-house officers have no reason to suspect that vessels contain contraband goods, they may permit them to proceed on their voyage without entering Havre. The masters of vessels coming from Havre to Rouen shall be bound to present the copy of this declaration to the superintendants, who may wish to inspect them, on both banks of the river. In every case where the nature and quality of goods are not conformable to this declaration, the master of the vessel shall be held guilty of fraud. The same goods shall be verified at the time of their being deposited in the entrepôt of Rouen, by the copy of the declaration made at Havre; and it shall be held a fraud, if the quantity of the merchandise is larger or smaller than what is stated in the declaration.

4. All goods taken out of the entrepôt, for the purpose of re-exportation, shall be specified by the weight and quality, in a manifest delivered by the director of the customs at Rouen. The manifest shall follow the ship, and shall be presented to the principal superintendant of the customs at Havre, to enable him to verify the goods; and it shall be held a fraud, if the quantity of goods falls short of, or exceeds, what is mentioned in the manifest.

5. The ministers of the interior and of finance are charged with the execution of this decree, which shall be inserted in the bulletin of the laws.

The First Consul,

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

By order of the First Consul,

(Signed)

H. B. MARET, Secretary of State.

FRENCH EMIGRANTS.

Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Citizen Hersingen, Resident at Frankfort.

Paris, April 14.

Citizens,

The observations which have been sent to me by several agents of the republic, concerning the execution of the dispositions of the *senatus consultum* of the 6th Floreal, relative to the emigrants, having induced me to make a reference upon it to the grand judge, requesting him to propose to the government a measure which might conciliate to the republic the submission of the Frenchmen settled in foreign countries, with the continuance of a residence necessary for the care of their fortunes, and for the interests of the establishments which they have formed:

I have received an answer in the following terms:

"Citizen Minister,

"I took a fit time to submit to the

the first consul, the important question proposed in your letter of the 17th of this month. He has signified to me the following to be his intentions upon this head.

"He does not understand that the delay fixed by the *senatus consultum* of the 6th Floreal, year 10, can have effect against those natives of France who have, at different periods, quitted their country only to visit foreign countries for the purposes of commercial speculations, of the exercise of the liberal and mechanic arts, or of public and private instruction.

"His intention is, that the declarations of all such Frenchmen shall be received by our ambassadors and diplomatic agents, notwithstanding the lapse of the time since the 1st Vendemaire; and that they shall receive letters of amnesty from me, as soon as their declarations come into my hands.

"The first consul also allows all such Frenchmen to continue their residence abroad, as long as may be necessary for the purposes of their trade, arts, or instruction, on account of which they left France.

"If they be disposed to continue their residence abroad, they must appear before our diplomatic resident, and make a declaration to that effect, upon which he will deliver to them the necessary permission. The formal act of permission must be transmitted to the prefect of the department where he who receives it had his last residence, that it may be there known where he now lives, and that he may enjoy in France all the rights belonging to Frenchmen, to which he is restored by the letters of amnesty, and by the permission to continue his residence abroad.

"The first consul intends to free from the disadvantage incurred by the delay since the 1st Vendemaire, none but persons belonging to the classes above specified; and this act of clemency and generosity cannot apply to those who forsook their country to bear arms against her, or, what was still worse, to excite foreign powers, by their intrigues, to take arms against France. The indifference which those persons affected at the first, for an act of grace so signal, and which they ought to have received with the liveliest gratitude, or even their hesitation amid a desire to avail themselves of it, renders them now utterly unworthy."

INVASION OF ENGLAND.

Bruges, July 12.

The government of the republic decrees as follows:—

Eight thousand knee timbers, and twenty thousand feet of trees fit for the service of the marine, shall be cut down in the national forests in the 25th division of the conservation of forests.

The agents of the marine shall proceed to mark out the trees immediately: the timber shall be cut down the moment the season shall become favourable, and conveyed, without delay, to the ports of Boulogne and Dunkirk.

This timber shall be taken within the distance of six leagues, at the most, from the navigable rivers and canals.

The minister of the marine, and the minister of finance, are charged with the execution of the present arrêt.

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

By the First Consul,

H. B. MARET.

Antwerp, July 15.

The government of the republic decrees as follows:—

From the date of the publication of the present arrêt, there shall not be received in the ports of France any vessel which has cleared out from an English port, nor any vessel which has touched at an English port. The minister of the interior, the minister of finance, and the minister of marine, are charged with the execution of this decree.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE.

H. B. MARET, Secretary.

The government of the republic, on the report of the minister of the interior, decrees:—

That, from the date of the publication of the present arrêt, no English flag of truce, whether it be a packet or any other, shall be received in any French port between Brest and the mouth of the Scheldt, inclusive. The flags of truce shall be received only in the bay of Audierne, near Brest. The ministers of the interior and the marine are charged with the execution of this arrêt.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE.

H. B. MARET, Secretary.

The government of the republic, on the report of the minister of marine and of the colonies, decrees:—

That an embargo be laid on all fishing boats, above the burthen of seven tons; the boats under seven tons alone shall continue to fish. The crews of the boats that are permitted to fish shall consist only of seamen who have reached the age which is exempted from the maritime conscription, or of young persons under the age of fifteen. The boats that are permitted to fish shall not go more than a league from the coast. All the seamen who devote themselves to fishing, shall receive passes, describing the route by which they are to travel, to take them to the military posts of the republic, where they shall be employed, and paid according to their rank in the service. The minister of the marine is charged with the execution of this arrêt.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE.

H. B. MARET, Secretary.

PROCLAMATION.

Dated from the Head-quarters at Boulogne, July 30.

E. Bruix, Counsellor of State, and Admiral to the National Flotilla destined to carry War to England.

The first consul, when he signified to me your destination, honoured me with the title of your admiral. He sends me to you to conduct your exertions in the career of glory which his genius has prepared for you. What man, at this distinguished proof of the confidence of a hero, would not be raised above himself? Who could doubt of his own powers? Brave seamen, the choice of Bonaparte renders me worthy to march at your head. Your zeal and your bravery are pledges to me that we shall fulfil his expectations.—Already you hear the cry of vengeance—our towns and districts bring in their voluntary gifts in multitudes; all Frenchmen are ready to march to punish a government which is an enemy of the peace of the world, and especially an enemy to the glory and welfare of our country. You are first called to this great enterprise; to you your country

try first commits the care of satisfying her just vengeance. Be certain that you will fulfil your noble destination.

Recollect that the victory begins in your docks and in your marine and military exercises. Those ships which insolently cruise along our shores, at sight of your labours may return and say to their government, "a fearful day is preparing: the winds and sea, again favourable to the conqueror of Egypt, may, in a few hours, bring him to our coasts, and with him the innumerable companions of his glory." To hasten this result, it is my first duty to establish a severe discipline in the national flotilla. Subordination will regulate your efforts; that can alone add to the activity of your labours. Sailors, we are on the field of battle: to lose a moment would be criminal cowardice. Redouble, therefore, your zeal, multiply your services; and the nation which oppresses the seas, will be conquered by terror, before it experiences the fate of arms, and sinks beneath the blows of our heroes.

(Signed) BRUIX.

SWITZERLAND.

Act of Mediation made by the First Consul of the French Republic, between the Parties which divide Switzerland.

Bonaparte, First Consul of the Republic of Italy, to the Swiss Cantons.

Helvetia, a prey to dissensions, was menaced with dissolution; it contained not within itself the means of re-constituting itself. The ancient affection of the French nation for this worthy people, which it has recently defended by its arms, and caused to be acknowledged by its treaties; the interest of France, and of the Italian republic, the frontiers of which are covered by Switzerland; the demand of the senate; that of the democratic cantons; the entire wish of the people of Helvetia; have imposed a duty upon us of interposing our mediation between the parties which divide it. The senators Barthelemy, Rœderer, Fouche, and Demeunier, have been commissioned by us to confer with fifty-six deputies of the Helvetic senate, and the towns and cantons re-united to Paris, in order to determine if Switzerland, united by Nature, could be retained under a central government, otherwise than by force; to ascertain the sort of constitution which was most conformable to the wish of each canton; to distinguish what will best suit the ideas of the new cantons, respecting liberty and happiness; to conciliate, in the old cantons, the institutions consecrated by time, with the rights restored to the mass of citizens. Such were the objects which it was necessary to submit to examination and discussion. Their importance and difficulty have determined us to hear, ourselves, ten deputies named by the two parties, to wit; citizens D'Affry, Glutz, Jauch, Monnot, Reinhart, Sprecher, Stapfer, Ustery, Watteville, and Vonflue; and we have weighed the result of their discussions, as well with the different *projets* presented by the cantonal deputations, as with the results of the discussions which have taken place between these deputations, and those senatorial commissaries. Having thus employed every means of ascertaining the interests and wish of the Swiss, WE,

in quality of mediator, without any other view than that of the happiness of the people on whose interests we have to pronounce, and without prejudice to the independence of Switzerland, decree as follows:

[Here follow the particular constitutions of the nineteen cantons, which occupy nineteen chapters. Then comes chapter XX., entitled Federal Act.]

TITLE I.—GENERAL DISPOSITIONS.

Art. I. The nineteen cantons of Switzerland, to wit: Appenzell, Argovia, Basle, Berne, Fribourg, Glaris, Grisons, Lucerne, Saint Gall, Schaffouse, Schwitz, Soleure, Tessin, Turgovia, Underwald, Uri, Vaud, Zug, and Zurich, are confederated with each other conformably to the principles established in their respective constitutions. They mutually guarantee their constitution, territory, liberty, and independence, whether against foreign powers, or the usurpation of a canton, or a private faction.

II. The quotas of troops, or money, which may be necessary for the execution of this guarantee, shall be furnished by each canton, in the following proportion.

[Here follows the quota for each canton, in men and money.]

III. There no longer exist in Switzerland any feuds, privileges of places, birth, persons, or families.

IV. Every citizen may pursue his inclination in removing his household to another canton, and exercising his trade without restraint: he acquires political rights conformably to the law of the canton in which he is established; but he cannot enjoy at once the political rights of two cantons.

V. The ancient rights of interior and exterior impost are abolished. The free circulation of victuals, cattle, and merchandise, is guaranteed. No right of grant, entry, passage, or custom-house duty, may be established in the interior of Switzerland. The custom-house duties on the frontiers are for the benefit of the cantons next to the frontiers, but the tariffs must be submitted to the approbation of the diet.

VI. Each canton preserves the tolls destined for the reparation of roads, drains, and canals. The tariffs must be also submitted to the approbation of the diet.

VII. Moneys coined in Switzerland shall bear a uniform stamp, which shall be determined by the diet.

VIII. No canton can afford an asylum to a criminal legally condemned, nor to an outlaw legally pursued.

IX. The number of hired troops which a canton may entertain, is restricted to 200 men.

X. Every alliance of one canton with another, or with a foreign power, is forbidden.

XI. The government, or the legislative body of any canton, which violates a decree of the diet, may be denounced, as in rebellion, before a tribunal, composed of the presidents of all the criminal tribunals of all the other cantons.

XII. The cantons enjoy all the powers which have not been expressly delegated to the federal authority.

TITLE II.—OF THE DIRECTORIAL CANTON.

XIII. The diet assembles by turns, and from one year to another, at Fribourg, Berne, Soleure, Basle, Zurich, and Lucerne.

XIV. The cantons of which those places are the capitals, are to be

be successively directorial cantons: the year of the directorship commences from the 1st January.

XV. The directorial canton furnishes the deputies to the diet with lodging, and a guard of honour; it provides the expenses of the sittings.

XVI. The intendant or burgomaster of the directorial canton, adds to his title that of landamman of Switzerland; he is keeper of the seal of the Helvetic republic; he must not quit the city. The grand council of his canton grants him extraordinary honours, and defrays the extraordinary expenses attached to this magistracy.

XVII. Foreign ministers give in to the landamman of Switzerland their letters of credence, or recal, and address to him for negotiations. He is the intermediate person betwixt the other diplomatic relations.

XVIII. At the opening of the diets he produces the documents which are in his hand, respecting the interior and exterior affairs which concern the federation.

XIX. No canton, within itself, can enrol more than 500 militia, without previous notice to the landamman.

XX. In case of revolt in the interior of a canton, or any other pressing occasion, troops are to march from one canton to another; but only on demand of the first or second council of the canton which demands aid, and after having taken the advice of the second council of the directorial canton; saving a convocation of the diet after the repression of hostilities, or if danger continues.

XXI. If, during the vacancies of the diet, disputes arise between two or more cantons, they are to be addressed to the landamman; who, according to the pressure of circumstances, names conciliatory arbiters, or adjourns the discussion to the next diet.

XXII. He warns the cantons that, if their interior conduct disturbs the tranquillity of Switzerland, or if any irregularity or difference takes place among them, whether as to the federal act or their particular constitution, he may then assemble the grand council, or *lands gemeindes*, in places where the supreme authority is immediately exercised by the people.

XXIII. The landamman sends, occasionally, inspectors to examine roads and rivers. On those occasions he expedites labour; and, in case of necessity, he puts in immediate execution, and at the expense of those who ought to finish them, those which are not begun or finished at the time prescribed.

XXIV. His signature gives credit, and a national stamp, to the acts to which it is subscribed.

TITLE III.—OF THE DIET.

XXV. Every canton shall send a deputy to the diet, to which may be added one or two counsellors to replace him in case of absence or sickness.

XXVI. The deputies to the diet have instructions and limited powers, and they are not to vote contrary to their instructions.

XXVII. The landamman of Switzerland is of right deputy of the director of the canton.

XXVIII. The nineteen deputies who compose the diet, form twenty-five votes in the deliberations.

The deputies of the cantons whose population is more than 100,000 inhabitants; namely, those of Berne, Zurich, Vaud, St. Gall, Argovia, and Grisons, have each two votes.

The deputies of the cantons

whose population is under 100,000 souls; namely, Tessin, De Lucerne, Thurgovia, Fribourg, Appenzell, Soleure, Basle, Schwitz, Glaris, Schaffouse, Underwald, Zug, and Uri; have each but one vote.

XXIX. The diet, over which the landamman of Switzerland presides, shall assemble the first Monday in June, and its session shall not exceed the term of one month.

XXX. There shall be extraordinary diets:

1. On the demand of a neighbouring power, or of one of the cantons, conveyed by the grand council of the director of the canton, which is convoked to that effect, should it be during a period of vacation.

2. Upon the recommendation of the grand council, or of the *lands gemeindes* of five cantons, who may deem as well founded a demand which the director of the canton has refused to admit.

3. When they shall be convoked by the landamman of Switzerland.

XXXI. The declarations of war, and the treaties of peace or alliance, shall proceed from the diet, but the consent of three-fourths of the cantons is necessary.

XXXII. It shall alone conclude treaties of commerce and capitulations for foreign service. It may authorise the cantons, if necessary, to treat particularly on other subjects with a foreign power.

XXXIII. There shall be no recruiting in any canton, for a foreign power, without consent.

XXXIV. The diet shall order the contingent of troops, determined for each canton, for the IInd article. It shall nominate the general who is to command them; and it shall also take the necessary measures for the safety of Switzerland, and the execution of the other dispositions of the Ist article. It has the same right if disturbances arise in one canton, and menace the repose of the others.

XXXV. It shall nominate, and send, extraordinary ambassadors.

XXXVI. It decides on the disputes which happen between the cantons, if they have not been determined by arbitration. For this purpose it is formed into a syndicate, at the end of its ordinary labours: but then each deputy hath a voice, and no instructions can be given to him in this respect.

XXXVII. The *proces verbaux* of the diet are entered into two registries, one of which remains with the directorial canton; and the other, with the state seal, is, at the end of December, transported to the capital of the directorial canton.

XXXVIII. A chancellor, and a secretary, named by the diet for two years, and paid by the directorial canton, conformably to the regulations of the diet, follow always the seal and the register.

XXXIX. The constitution of each canton, written on parchment, and sealed with the seal of the canton, shall be deposited among the archives of the diet.

XL. The present federal act, as well as the particular constitutions of the nineteen cantons, annul all former dispositions which are contrary to them; and any law, as to what concerns the interior regulation of the cantons, and their connexion with each other, cannot be founded on the old political state of Switzerland.

The repose of Switzerland, the success of the new institutions which are about to be formed, demand that the necessary operations

to

to give them success eventually, and transmit to new magistracies the care of the public weal, be guaranteed from the influence of passions, exempt from every thing which might put them at variance, and executed with moderation, impartiality, and wisdom. A suitable beginning cannot be expected, but from commissaries named by the very act of mediation, and animated by the same spirit which has dictated it.

For these considerations,

We, in our aforesaid quality, and with the before-mentioned reserve, decree as follows;

Art. I. For the year 1803, the directorial canton is Fribourg.

II. Citizen Louis d'Affry is landamman of Switzerland for this year, and clothed with extraordinary powers till the re-union of the diet.

III. The original act of mediation shall be sent to the landamman, to be by him deposited in the archives of the directorial canton.

IV. In each canton, a commission of seven members, (one of whom to be named by us, and six designated by the ten deputies named to confer with us) is charged to carry the constitution into effect, and administer accordingly.

V. These committees are composed as follows:

[Here follow the names of the persons composing these committees in the several cantons.]

VI. The 10th of March next, the central government shall dissolve itself, after having remitted its papers and archives to the landamman.

VII. Each commission shall assemble on the 10th of March, at the capital of the canton, and shall notify its assembly to the prefect.

VIII. Twenty-four hours after the assembly, the prefect shall send to the commission the papers of the administration.

IX. In cases which may require instructions, or special authorities, commissions shall be addressed to the landamman.

X. The 15th of April the constitution shall be in activity; by the 1st of June every canton shall have named its deputies to the diet, and digested its instructions; and the first Monday in July, of the present year, the diet shall assemble.

XI. The business depending on the supreme tribunal, shall be turned over to the tribunal of appeal of the canton to which the parties belong. The supreme tribunals shall cease all functions on the 10th of March.

XII. The Helvetic troops now in Swiss pay, which shall not be employed to the 1st of May by the cantons, shall be taken into the service of France.

XIII. No prosecutions can take place for crimes relating to the revolution, committed, or pretended to be committed, whether by private persons, or those exercising a public function.

The dissolution of the central government, and the reintegration of sovereignty in the cantons, requiring a provision for discharging the debts of Helvetia, and the disposal of the property declared national,

We, in our aforesaid quality, and with the reserve before mentioned, decree as follows:

[Here follow nine articles of a decree for that purpose; after which it declares, that:] the present act, the result of long conferences between wise and well-disposed minds, appears to us to contain the properest dispositions to assure the pacification and the happiness of the Swiss.

As soon as they shall have been executed, the French troops shall be withdrawn.

We acknowledge Helvetia, constituted according to the present act, as an independent power.

We guarantee the federal constitution, and that of each canton, against the enemies of the tranquillity of Helvetia, whoever they be; and we promise to continue the relations of amity which, during several ages, have united the two nations.

Done and executed at Paris, the 30th Pluviose, an. 11. (Feb. 19, 1803.)

(Signed) BONAPARTE.

The Secretary of State,

(Signed) H. B. MARET.

The Minister of Foreign Relations,

(Signed) C. M. TALLEYRAND.

The Minister of Exterior Relations of the Helvetic Republic,

(Signed) J. MARESCALCHI.

The present act has been remitted by the senatorial commissaries undersigned, to the ten undersigned Swiss deputies, at Paris, this 30th Pluviose, an. 11. (19 Feb. 1803.)

(Signed)	(Signed)
BARTHELEMY,	LOUIS D'AFFRY,
RŒDERER,	PIERRE GLUTZ,
FOUCHE,	EMMANUEL JAUCH,
DEMEUNIER.	H. MONNOT,
	REINHART,
	SPRECHER BERNEGG,
	P. A. STAPFER,
	PAUL USTERY,
	R. DE WATTEVILLE DE MONTBENAY,
	IG. VON FLUE.

GERMANY.

Convention concluded at Paris respecting the Amount of the Indemnities to be granted to the House of Austria, in the Empire. The following is the Substance of the Articles:

Art. I. Towards the increase of the indemnity stipulated in favour of the duke of Modena, and his heirs, his imperial majesty cedes the bailliwick of Ortenau, in Suabia, with all its appurtenances, in order that it may be united to the Brisgau; and that these two provinces may be possessed, without any limitation whatsoever, by his said highness the duke of Modena, and his heirs, conformably to the fourth article of the treaty of Luneville.

II. In order to indemnify his imperial majesty for the loss of Ortenau, the bishoprics of Trente and Brixen are to be secularised; and his imperial majesty shall enter into the possession thereof without any exception whatever, and with the condition only of providing an annuity for the present bishops.

III. The grand duke is to have the bishopric of Eichstadt, in addition to what has already been adjudged to him by the general conclusum of the 23d of November, and all the rights and prerogatives attached to it, with the exception only of the bailliwicks of Sendsee, Wernfels, Spelt, Oberberg, Hernberg, and Warbourg, and of the dependencies of the above bishopric which are connected with the territory of Anspach and Bayreuth; in lieu of which the grand duke is to receive an equivalent in money, to be taken from the domains of his electoral highness Bavaro-Palatine in Bohemia.

IV. With the reserve of the above-mentioned stipulations, his imperial majesty binds himself to exert his influence to get the general plan of the indemnities, as settled

tled by the deputation of the empire, with the exception of the modifications contained in the present, ratified by the empire, and sanctioned by his imperial majesty himself, as soon as may be.

V. His imperial majesty expressly understands, that, after the exchange of the present, the countries mentioned in the preceding article may be occupied by the civil and military administrations belonging to the princes to whom they have been adjudged; on condition, however, that the city of Passau and environs are not to be fortified, nor any new fortifications be erected in the territory of the bishopric of Eichstadt.

VI. The first consul of the French republic will co-operate with his imperial majesty of the Russias in procuring for his royal highness the archduke Ferdinand, and for his heirs, the electoral dignity.

VII. The high contracting parties mutually guarantee the execution of every thing contained in the above articles; and the minister plenipotentiary of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, as a principal contracting party, will be invited to accede to the present convention.

VIII. The present convention shall be ratified in twenty days, reckoning from this day, and sooner if possible.

Done at Paris, 26th of December, 1802.

(Signed) PHIL. COBENTZEL,
JOSEPH BONAPARTE,
Count MARKOFF, in the name of his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias.

Francis the Second, Emperor of the Romans, &c., &c., to the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, met in the General Diet.

The extraordinary deputation of the empire, nominated for the execution of the fifth and sixth articles of the treaty of peace of Luneville, having terminated the work confided to it; and the electors, princes, and states of the German empire, having, by their conclusum of the 24th of March, demanded its confirmation; his majesty the emperor, in his paternal solicitude for the maintenance of the peace and tranquillity of Germany, will not delay to give, according to the measure of his duties, the legal sanction to that act, so important by its nature and in its consequences.

The object to which his attention is, at this moment of decision, directed, is, to conciliate, as much as is possible, the accomplishment of the obligations which the emperor and the empire have imposed upon themselves, on the one hand, with the preservation of the Germanic constitution; and, on the other hand, with the regard which his majesty has had for the propositions of the two high mediating powers, and for the wishes and satisfaction of the states of the empire.

This object is the very same to which all the steps and efforts of his majesty the emperor were directed at the convocation of the deputation of the empire, and in all its acts and negotiations. In pursuance of that view, his imperial majesty has, during the course of those negotiations, supported the plan of indemnity proposed by the mediating powers, and adopted by the majority of voices in the deputation,

tation, so far as was allowed by the precise tenor of the articles of the treaty of peace, and by the limits of the plenary powers of the deputation; which had for their object to carry into effect those articles, and to maintain the constitution in all points in which it was compatible with them.

The convention concluded at Paris on the 26th of December, last year, proves with what moderation and what regard for the mediating powers, and for the states of the empire having an interest in the affair, his imperial majesty laboured to facilitate the removal of the difficulties which had arisen, even when those difficulties arose from the legitimate interests of his own family. In that convention his imperial majesty voluntarily extended the obligations of the treaty of Luneville, and reduced, as much as possible, the full indemnity due to one of the princes of his own house. His imperial majesty has shown the same dispositions, and has given the same facilities in regard to other propositions, which have latterly been added to the plan of indemnities, though they did not emanate out of the grounds of the indemnification, nor accord with the interior constitution of the Germanic body.

Upon the same considerations and respects, his imperial majesty also determined to give his adherence in the above-mentioned convention, to the conclusum of the deputation on the 23d of November last; still formally reserving all the rights compatible with the plan of indemnities which belong to him, whether as supreme head of the empire, or as sovereign of his own hereditary dominions. Not having had, in this latter quality, any share in the indemnities for the losses which he suffered in the war, his majesty cannot be subjected to the restrictions attached to that plan, farther than is required by the necessity for the execution of the general basis of indemnification.

Finally, as since the conclusion of the convention of December 26, there have been made various additions and changes on the principal conclusum of the 23d of November; and as the deputation came to a new conclusum, on the 25th of February, of which the diet, by its decision, demands the approbation under certain reservations formally expressed; his imperial majesty having maturely weighed all the circumstances stated, and being guided by a sense of his dearest duties, has resolved to give his sanction, as supreme head, to the above-mentioned conclusum of the empire, upon the conditions following:

The convention concluded at Paris on the 26th of December last, and communicated to the deputation, shall be maintained in full validity and obligatory force, agreeably to the literal tenor of its articles, and particularly in what regards the reservations contained in article 4th.

The rights of his majesty, as emperor and supreme head of the empire, to which those reservations refer, shall be maintained inviolate both during the execution of the present decision, and in all future cases.

The confirmation of the fundamental laws of the empire, mentioned in the conclusum of the diet of the 24th March, and particularly of the treaty of peace of Westphalia, and of the subsequent treaties,

treaties, so far as they have not been formally changed by the treaty of Luneville, and the present decision of the diet; as also the reservation proposed in this decision, for the maintenance of the Germanic constitution, in all points in which it has not been formally changed, and such as that constitution has hitherto existed in respect to the electors, princes, and states of the empire, comprehending the Teutonic and Equestrian orders;—all these confirmations and reservations shall be maintained and carried into effect.

The difficulty which his imperial majesty showed on the occasion of the votes (*viriles*) in the college of princes, produced by the first propositions of the deputation, not having been in any manner removed by the propositions subsequent; his majesty sees himself obliged by the duties which he has sworn to fulfil for the maintenance of the Germanic constitution, and the protection of the catholic religion, to suspend, for the present, his ratification upon that point; and to reserve himself to demand, by a decree of commission, which will forthwith be passed, that there shall be a further conclusum of the empire upon this subject, in order that, by suitable propositions, it may be provided that (the protestant party having already obtained a majority so decisive, in the college of the electors, and in that of the free towns) the ancient relations between the two religions shall not be so changed in the college of the princes, as to occasion a disproportion that may entirely derange the parity of votes.

Relative, also, to the points in the last conclusum of the deputation, which ought to be submitted to further examination and deliberation, such as those mentioned at the end of sections II. and XXXIX. his majesty and the empire reserve to themselves to interfere at a proper time.

His imperial majesty, giving, under these reservations and conditions, his formal sanction, as supreme head of the empire, to the conclusum of the diet of the 21st of March, seizes this opportunity to express his thanks, and the thanks of the empire, to the high mediating powers, for their solicitude, and for the pains they have taken in this important affair. His majesty further indulges the sure hope that those powers will recognise the proofs given by the emperor and the empire, of regard to their amicable wishes and propositions; and that the act of peace thus terminated, will be secured and confirmed in the most lasting manner.

Ordinance of Neutrality on the Part of Austria.

"We, Francis II. &c. &c.

"Whereas it is our determination to observe the strictest neutrality in the present war between France and Great Britain, and to maintain the pacific and friendly relations which exist between us and the belligerent powers; and as, to avoid any interruption of these, it is necessary, that on the one side this neutrality should be carefully observed by all our subjects, especially those concerned in trade and navigation on the coasts; and on the other, that the rights of our neutral harbours and coasts should be acknowledged by those powers, according to the rules of neutral trade admitted by each of those powers; we, in order to prevent

vent all misunderstanding or difficulties which may arise from ignorance or inattention, hereby publish the following ordinance, founded partly on the conventions existing between the European powers, and partly on the general laws of nations; and according to which our civil and military authorities, and in general all our subjects, are to regulate their conduct:—

Art. I. We hereby command all our subjects, and the inhabitants of our hereditary states, not to suffer themselves to be enlisted, or to enter as volunteers into the service of either of the belligerent powers, under pain of those punishments which the law has established for leaving our countries without permission.

II. Our subjects shall not, in any other respect, take part in the war, or any military preparations; and in particular shall not fit out any privateer on behalf of either of the belligerent powers; nor even, when not in our territories, interest themselves in the war in any manner whatever.

III. In like manner we forbid all our subjects, or inhabitants of our harbours, roads, or coasts, to build, fit out, or sell any ships of war, or other ships, for the use of the belligerent powers, under pain of a fine of 5000 ducats, half to go to the informer, and half to the exchequer; or, in case of inability to pay, imprisonment, or corporal punishment.

IV. All Austrian masters of ships are hereby forbidden to convey either soldiers or sailors to either of the belligerent powers, under the name of passengers; or to lend their names to the ships or property of the belligerent nations; or to carry goods into places blockaded by those powers; as in such case they cannot enjoy the rights of neutrality, nor expect from us any protection or application in their favour.

V. None of the officers, and not more than one-third of the sailors on board an Austrian ship, are to be subjects of the belligerent nations, otherwise such ship cannot be considered as neutral.

VI. In the just expectation that the neutral Austrian trade will be respected by the belligerent powers according to the general laws of nations, or particular modifications, we hereby enjoin all commanders of Austrian ships on the high seas in no wise to refuse to submit to be visited, and not to make any difficulty to produce the papers and documents, which may prove the property of the ship and cargo, or to throw overboard or destroy such papers, much less to produce such as are doubtful or false.

VII. With respect to the articles deemed contraband in war, we will abide by the regulations of other neutral powers, and especially those agreed to by Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, in the convention of the 17th June, 1801; and we expect those powers will abide by the same with respect to our trade: we, in consequence, declare to be contraband, all cannons, mortars, muskets, pistols, bombs, grenades, bullets, flints, matches, gunpowder, saltpetre, sulphur, pikes, swords, sword-belts, cartridge-boxes, saddles and bridles. All ships which shall have more of these than may be necessary for their own defence, will not only be liable to the penalties we shall inflict, but must submit to the confiscation of the ship and cargo by the belligerent powers.

VIII. Except with respect to the warlike stores enumerated in the above

above article, no further limitation shall be laid on the trade of the hereditary states, with regard to such commodities, or products, as are not forbidden to be exported by laws already enacted, or which may be enacted. It is, however, forbidden to all our subjects, to purchase any magazines or transports, or materials for fitting out ships; at least no more of them than may be necessary for their own immediate use.

IX. It is understood that all commanders of neutral ships who shall sail for harbours or ports, either of neutral powers, or those engaged in war, will take care to apply to the proper authorities to supply them with the necessary passes, charter-parties, attestations, &c. which shall express the name of the proprietor, the quality and quantity of the cargo, and the person to whom it is consigned, that the same may be produced to prove the neutrality of the ship and cargo.

X. In the same manner as the Austrian ships are not prevented from entering the ports of the powers at war, the ships of the belligerent powers shall be permitted to enter the Austrian ports to repair, &c. provided they conduct themselves according to the rules of neutrality; but in order to observe a perfect neutrality with respect to ships of war, and avoid every occasion of offence, we order that no more than six ships of war of either of the belligerent powers shall be admitted at one time into any one of our ports.

XI. As in all the ports, roads, and coasts of our territory, every ship shall enjoy the protection of neutrality and perfect security, it will not be permitted that in the same, or within the distance of a cannon shot from the shore, any act of hostility shall be committed by one or more of the belligerent ships; nor shall any ship be pursued, attacked, visited, or taken; of which all the magistrates and military authorities in our ports are to take notice.

XII. Agreeably to the same rights of neutrality, no ship of war of either of the belligerent powers will be permitted to cruise within the above-mentioned distance of our harbours or coasts; much less to lie in our ports to attack the ships which may arrive, or pursue such as may go out.

XIII. When privateers or armed merchant-ships of the two powers at war are lying together in any of our ports, and one of them sails out, the other shall not leave the port till twenty-four hours afterwards; in which case the ship which entered the harbour first shall be at liberty to sail either twenty-four hours before or after the other. Ships of war or squadrons will not, however, be required to wait twenty-four hours, provided their commander will give his word of honour to the governor of the port not to commit any act of hostility during that time. This assurance from the commander of a fleet or squadron need not be repeated; but must be renewed every time by the commander of a single ship of war; privateers or letters of marque must remain the time, or give satisfactory security that they will refrain from hostilities till that time is elapsed.

XIV. In like manner no ship of war shall be permitted to leave any port at the moment the signal is made of the arrival of another foreign ship, except under the conditions expressed in the former article.

XV. From

XV. From this regulation, however, are excepted all small vessels, such as tartanelles, trabaccolis, feluccas, row-boats, &c. the force of which is too inconsiderable to exercise hostilities; they may therefore depart at any time.

XVI. The enlisting of sailors in our ports for the service of either of the belligerent powers is forbidden; but if a few men are necessary to enable them to work their ships, they may provide themselves with them; under condition, however, that they enter voluntarily, and that none of our subjects, of the crews of foreign ships, are taken by force.

XVII. The prizes which one belligerent power may take from another may be brought into any of our ports where there is a government *(gubernium)*, namely, Venice, Trieste, Fiume, Zeugg, and Zara, and the cargoes unladen and deposited, provided they do not consist of commodities the importation of which into our states is prohibited; and they be again taken away, if they are condemned by the judicial authorities of the countries of the captors. Should any of the commodities be liable to be damaged by time, they may be sold; but security must be given for their value, should the prize not be condemned.

XVIII. But in case complaint should be made that a ship has been taken contrary to the regulations in articles 10, 11, 12, and 13, of this ordinance, our governors or presidents of government shall institute a summary inquiry into the fact; and if they find that the ship has been captured in violation of the laws of neutrality, such prize shall be declared illegal, and forthwith restored to the owners.

XIX. It shall not be permitted the belligerent powers to land any individuals, their prisoners, in any of our ports or roads, or on our coasts; if they be so landed, they shall immediately be considered as free, and all our civil and military authorities shall be bound to afford them protection and assistance.

XX. In consequence of these regulations, we doubt not that the belligerent powers will acknowledge and observe, with respect to us, all the rights of neutral powers; and that the commanders of their fleets and ships of war will suffer our ships to proceed on their voyage, when provided with the necessary and proper passes, and render us in every particular impartial justice.

XXI. The present ordinance shall be published in all our hereditary states, and especially in our ports and maritime towns, both in German and Italian; that all our subjects, and especially the civil and military authorities, may know in what manner to regulate their conduct.

Given at Vienna, the 7th of August, 1809.

PUBLIC ACTS *passed in the First and Second Sessions of the Second Imperial Parliament.*

April 7, 1808.

An act for enrolment of the Irish militia.

An act in aid of Roman-catholic subjects.

May 17.

An act for the better collection of his majesty's revenue in Ireland.

For securing the freedom of election at Nottingham.

For the better payment of innkeepers quartering soldiers.

27.

To provide relief for the families of militia-men.

To amend the acts relating to the exportation of bullion.

To prevent frivolous and vexatious suits of arrest and execution.

June 24.

An act for raising twelve millions by way of annuities.

For the payment of duties by customs.

To remedy defects arising from the issuing exchequer bills.

For protecting the trade during the war with France.

For regulating the carriage expenses from this kingdom to his majesty's plantations abroad.

For the relief of soldiers, sailors, marines, and their wives.

July 4.

An act for granting to his majesty additional duties on certain goods, and on the tonnage of ships and vessels.

For granting 20,000*l.* towards making roads and building bridges in the Highlands of Scotland.

To grant fresh duties on excise.

For amending the stamp duties.

To grant allowances to certain subaltern officers whilst disembodied.

To augment the field and other officers of militia.

For the regulation of the bribery oath at elections.

To punish accessaries in felonies in Ireland.

To regulate the sale or mortgage of the estates of lunatics.

To extend the provisions in the use of horse hides for making boots and shoes, and to prevent the cutting of raw hides.

July 5.

For granting additional duties on excise.

27.

For raising 1,000,000*l.* Irish currency by treasury bills.

For granting 20,000*l.* to make a canal by Inverness and Fort William from the eastern to the western sea.

To provide for the security of the realm in case of invasion.

For the better security of his majesty's customs and excise in Ireland.

For regulating the trade of a distiller in Ireland.

To permit the landing and warehousing Portugal wines free of duty, in certain cases.

For completing more effectually the militia of Great Britain.

For effecting the augmentation of the maintenance of the poor clergy.

To entitle spiritual persons to hold farms.

To promote the building parsonage houses, &c.

For the relief and employment of the poor.

To prevent thefts on the river Thames.

Relating

Relating to the docks, &c. at Blackwall.

To establish a freer coal market in London and Westminster.

August 11.

Income act.

An act for raising the sum of 2,000,000*l.*

For raising 1,500,000*l.* by way of loan or exchequer bills.

For granting his majesty certain duties on receipts.

For settling 16,000*l.* per annum on the family of the prince of Orange.

For charging an additional duty on saussia.

To enable the commissioners of the treasury to issue exchequer bills for the service of the year.

To consolidate the duties on stamped vellum and parchment.

For further regulation of the duties by customs.

For regulating the excise on teas and coffee sent to Ireland.

For augmenting the duties on malt and beer in Scotland.

To enable his majesty better to exercise his prerogative of calling for the military aid of his subjects.

For preventing the forgery of foreign notes and bills of exchange, and to prevent the counterfeiting foreign copper money.

For rendering justices of the peace more safe in the administration of their duty.

December 15.

An act for granting certain duties on malt in Great Britain.

For granting a duty on pensions, &c.

For raising 5,000,000*l.* by loan or exchequer bills.

For granting 8,000*l.* for the present relief of certain curates.

For the suppression of rebellion, and protection of his majesty's subjects in Ireland.

To continue the restrictions on the payment of cash by the bank of England.

To regulate the drawback on sugar exported from this kingdom.

To prevent the distillation from oats in Ireland.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES

AND

CHARACTERS.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

The Earlier STUDIES, PURSUITS, and PROPENSITIES, of Mr. COWPER.

[From Mr. HAYLEY's Account of his Life.]

"SPEAKING of his own early life, in a letter to Mr. Park (dated March 1792) Cowper says, with that extreme modesty which was one of his most remarkable characteristics, 'From the age of twenty to thirty-three, I was occupied, or ought to have been, in the study of the law; from thirty-three to sixty, I have spent my time in the country, where my reading has been only an apology for idleness, and where, when I had not either a magazine or a review, I was sometimes a carpenter, at others a bird-cage maker, or a gardener, or a drawer of landscapes. At fifty years of age I commenced an author:—it is a whim that has served me longest, and best, and will probably be my last.'

"Though extreme diffidence, and a tendency to despond, seemed early to preclude Cowper from the expectation of climbing to the splendid summit of the profession he had chosen; yet, by the interest of his family, he had prospects of emolument, in a line of public life, that appeared better suited to the modesty of his nature, and to his moderate ambition.

"In his thirty-first year, he was nominated to the offices of reading clerk, and clerk of the private committees, in the house of lords: a situation the more desirable, as such an establishment might enable him to marry early in life; a measure to which he was doubly disposed by judgement and inclination. But the peculiarities of his wonderful mind rendered him unable to support the ordinary duties of his new office; for the idea of reading in public proved a source of torture to his tender and apprehensive spirit. An expedient was devised to promote his interest, without wounding his feelings. Resigning his situation as reading clerk, he was appointed clerk of the journals in the same house of parliament, with a hope that his personal appearance in that assem-

bly might not be required; but a parliamentary dispute made it necessary for him to appear at the bar of the house of lords, to entitle himself publicly to the office.

"Speaking of this important incident in a sketch, which he once formed himself, of passages in his early life, he expresses what he endured at the time in these remarkable words: 'They whose spirits are formed like mine, to whom a public exhibition of themselves is mortal poison, may have some idea of the horrors of my situation—others can have none.'

"His terrors on this occasion arose to such an astonishing height, that they utterly overwhelmed his reason:—for, although he had endeavoured to prepare himself for his public duty, by attending closely at the office, for several months, to examine the parliamentary journals, his application was rendered useless by that excess of diffidence, which made him conceive, that, whatever knowledge he might previously acquire, it would all forsake him at the bar of the house. This distressing apprehension increased to such a degree, as the time for his appearance approached, that when the day so anxiously dreaded arrived, he was unable to make the experiment. The very friends who called on him for the purpose of attending him to the house of lords, acquiesced in the cruel necessity of his relinquishing the prospect of a station so severely formidable to a frame of such singular sensibility.

"The conflict between the wishes of just affectionate ambition, and the terrors of diffidence, so entirely overwhelmed his health and faculties, that, after two learned and benevolent divines (Mr. John Cowper his brother, and the celebrated Mr. Martin Madan, his first cousin) had vainly endeavoured to establish a lasting tranquillity in his mind, by friendly and religious conversation, it was found necessary to remove him to St. Alban's, where he resided a considerable time, under the care of that eminent physician Dr. Cotton, a scholar and a poet, who added to many accomplishments a peculiar sweetness of manners, in very advanced life, when I had the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him.

"From December 1763 to the following July, the pure mind of Cowper appears to have laboured under the severest sufferings of morbid depression: but the medical skill of Dr. Cotton, and the cheerful benignant manners of that accomplished physician, gradually succeeded, with the blessing of Heaven, in removing the undescribable load of religious despondency, which had clouded the admirable faculties of this innocent and upright man. His ideas of religion were changed, from the gloom of terror and despair, to the lustre of comfort and delight.

"This juster and happier view of evangelical truth is said to have arisen in his mind while he was reading the third chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Devout contemplation became more and more dear to his reviving spirit: resolving to relinquish all thoughts of a laborious profession, and all intercourse with the busy world, he acquiesced in a plan of settling at Huntingdon, by the advice of his brother, who, as a minister of the gospel, and a fellow of Bennet college, in Cambridge, resided in that university—a situation so near to the place chosen for Cowper's retirement, that it afforded to these affectionate brothers

thers opportunities of easy and frequent intercourse. I regret that all the letters which passed between them have perished, and the more so as they sometimes corresponded in verse. John Cowper was also a poet. He had engaged to execute a translation of Voltaire's Henriade, and in the course of the work requested and obtained the assistance of William, who translated, as he informed me himself, two entire cantoes of the poem. A specimen of this fraternal production, which appeared in a magazine of the year 1739, will be found in the Appendix to these volumes.

"In June 1765, the reviving invalide removed to a private lodging in the town of Huntingdon; but Providence soon introduced him into a family, which afforded him one of the most singular and valuable friends that ever watched an afflicted mortal in seasons of overwhelming adversity; that friend to whom the poet exclaims, in the commencement of the Task,

'And witness, dear companion of my walks,
Whose arm, this twentieth winter, I perceive
Fast lock'd in mine; with pleasure, such as love,
Confirm'd by long experience of thy worth,
And well-tried virtues, could alone inspire;
Witness a joy that thou hast doubled long!
Thou know'st my praise of Nature most sincere;
And that my raptures are not conjur'd up
To serve occasions of poetic pomp,
But genuine, and art partner of them all.'

"These verses would be alone sufficient to make every poetical reader take a lively interest in the lady they describe; but these are far from being the only tribute which the gratitude of Cowper has paid to the endearing virtues of his female companion. More poetical memorials of her merit will be found in these volumes, and in verse so exquisite, that it may be questioned if the most passionate love ever gave rise to poetry more tender or more sublime.

"Yet, in this place, it appears proper to apprise the reader, that it was not love, in the common acceptation of the word, which inspired these admirable eulogies. The attachment of Cowper to Mrs. Unwin, the Mary of the poet, was an attachment perhaps unparallelled. Their domestic union, though not sanctioned by the common forms of life, was supported with perfect innocence; and endeared to them both, by their having struggled together through a series of sorrow. A spectator of sensibility, who had contemplated the uncommon tenderness of their attention to the wants and infirmities of each other in the decline of life, might have said, of their singular attachment,

'L'amour n'a rien de si tendre,
Ni l'amitié de si doux.'

"As a connexion so extraordinary forms a striking feature in the history of the poet, the reader will probably be anxious to investigate its origin and progress.—It arose from the following little incident.

"The countenance and deportment of Cowper, though they indicated his native shyness, had yet very singular powers of attraction. On his first appearance in one of the churches at Huntingdon, he engaged the notice and respect of an amiable young man, William Cawthorne Unwin, then a student at Cambridge; who, having observed, after divine service, that

the interesting stranger was taking a solitary turn under a row of trees, was irresistibly led to share his walk, and to solicit his acquaintance.

"They were soon pleased with each other; and the intelligent youth, charmed with the acquisition of such a friend, was eager to communicate the treasure to his parents, who had long resided in Huntingdon.

"Mr. Unwin, the father, had for some years been master of a free-school in the town; but, as he advanced in life, he quitted that laborious situation, and, settling in a large convenient house in the High-street, contented himself with a few domestic pupils, whom he instructed in classical literature.

"This worthy divine, who was now far advanced in years, had been lecturer to the two churches in Huntingdon before he obtained, from his college at Cambridge, the living of Grimston. While he lived in expectation of this preferment, he had attached himself to a young lady of lively talents, and remarkably fond of reading. This lady, who, in the process of time, and by a series of singular events, became the friend and guardian of Cowper, was the daughter of Mr. Cawthorne, a draper in Ely. She was married to Mr. Unwin on his succeeding to the preferment that he expected from his college, and settled with him on his living of Grimston; but not liking the situation and society of that sequestered scene, she prevailed on her husband to establish himself in the town of Huntingdon, where he was known and respected.

"They had resided there many years, and with their two only children, a son and a daughter (whom I remember to have noticed at Cambridge, in the year 1763, as a youth and a damsel of countenances uncommonly pleasing); they formed a cheerful and social family, when the younger Unwin, described by Cowper as

'a friend,
Whose worth deserves the warmest lay
That ever friendship penn'd,'

presented to his parents the solitary stranger, on whose retirement he had benevolently intruded, and whose welfare he became more and more anxious to promote. An event highly pleasing and comfortable to Cowper soon followed this introduction; he was affectionately solicited by all the Unwins to relinquish his lonely lodging, and become a part of their family."

Mr. Cowper's Later Connexions, Infirmities, and Death.

[From the same Work.]

"FROM the time when I left my unhappy friend at Weston, in the spring of the year 1794, he remained there, under the tender vigilance of his affectionate relation, lady Hesketh, till the latter end of July 1795; a long season of the darkest depression! in which the best medical advice, and the influence of time, appeared equally unable to lighten that afflictive burthen which pressed incessantly on his spirits.

"At this period it became absolutely

lutely necessary to make a great and painful exertion, for the mental relief of the various sufferers at Weston. Mrs. Unwin was sinking very fast into second childhood; the health of lady Hesketh was much impaired; and the dejection of Cowper was so severe, that a change of scene was considered as essential to the preservation of his life.

"Under circumstances so deplorable, his kinsman of Norfolk most tenderly and generously undertook to conduct the two venerable invalides from Buckinghamshire into Norfolk; and so to regulate their future lives, that every possible expedient might be tried for the recovery of his revered relation.

"It is hardly possible for friendship to undertake a charge more delicate and arduous, or to sustain all the pains that must necessarily attend it, with a more constant exertion of gentle fortitude and affectionate fidelity.

"On Tuesday, the 28th of July, 1795, Cowper and Mrs. Unwin removed, under the care and guidance of Mr. Johnson, from Weston to North-Tuddenham, in Norfolk, by a journey of three days, passing through Cambridge without stopping there. In the evening of the first day they rested at the village of Eaton, near St. Neot's. Cowper walked with his young kinsman in the church-yard by moonlight, and spoke of the poet Thomson with more composure of mind than he had discovered for many months.

"This conversation was almost his last glimmering of cheerfulness.

"At North-Tuddenham the travellers were accommodated with a commodious untenanted parsonage-house, by the kindness of the reverend Leonard Shelford. Here they resided till the 19th of August. It was the considerate intention of Mr. Johnson not to remove the two invalides immediately to his own house in the town of East-Dereham, lest the situation in a market-place should be distressing to the tender spirits of Cowper.

"In their new temporary residence they were received by miss Johnson, and miss Perowne; and here I am irresistibly led to remark the kindness of Providence towards Cowper, in his darkest seasons of calamity, by supplying him with attendants peculiarly suited to the exigencies of mental dejection.

"Miss Perowne is one of those excellent beings, whom nature seems to have formed expressly for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings of the afflicted; tenderly vigilant in providing for the wants of sickness, and resolutely firm in administering such relief as the most intelligent compassion can supply. Cowper speedily observed and felt the invaluable virtues of his new attendant, and during the last years of his life he honoured her so far, as to prefer her personal assistance, to that of every individual around him.

"Severe as his depressive malady appeared at this period, he was still able to bear considerable exercise; and before he left Tuddenham, he walked with Mr. Johnson to the neighbouring village of Mattishall, on a visit to his cousin, Mrs. Bodham. On surveying his own portrait by Abbot, in the house of that lady, he clasped his hands in a paroxysm of pain, and uttered a vehement wish, that his present sensations might be such as they were when that picture was painted. In August

1795, Mr. Johnson conducted his two invalides to Mundsley, a village on the Norfolk coast, in the hope that a situation by the seaside might prove salutary and amusing to Cowper. They continued to reside there till October, but without any apparent benefit to the health of the interesting sufferer.

"He had long relinquished epistolary intercourse with his most intimate friends; but his tender solicitude to hear some tidings of his favorite Weston induced him, in September, to write a letter to Mr. Buchanan. It shows the severity of his depression, but shows also that faint gleams of pleasure could occasionally break through the settled darkness of melancholy.

"He begins with a poetical quotation:

"'To interpose a little ease,
'Let my frail thoughts dally with false surmise!'

"'I will forget, for a moment, 'that to whomsoever I may address myself, a letter from me 'can no otherwise be welcome than 'as a curiosity. To you, sir, I 'address this, urged to it by extreme penury of employment, 'and the desire I feel to learn 'something of what is doing, and 'has been done, at Weston (my 'beloved Weston!) since I left it.

"'The coldness of these blasts, 'even in the hottest days, has been 'such, that, added to the irritation 'of the salt-spray, with which they 'are always charged, they have occasioned me an inflammation in the 'eye-lids, which threatened a few 'days since to confine me entirely; 'but, by absenting myself as much 'as possible from the beach, and 'guarding my face with an umbrella, that inconvenience is in 'some degree abated. My chamber commands a very near view of 'the ocean, and the ships at high 'water approach the coast so closely, that a man furnished with better 'eyes than mine, might, I doubt 'not, discern the sailors from the 'window. No situation, at least 'when the weather is clear and 'bright, can be pleasanter; which 'you will easily credit, when I add 'that it imparts something a little 'resembling pleasure even to me.— 'Gratify me with news of Weston! 'If Mr. Gregson, and your neighbours the Courteneys, are there, 'mention me to them in such 'terms as you see good. Tell me 'if my poor birds are living! I 'never see the herbs I used to give 'them without a recollection of 'them, and sometimes am ready 'to gather them, forgetting that I 'am not at home. Pardon this intrusion!

"'Mrs. Unwin continues much 'as usual.

"'*Mundsley, Sept.* 5, 1795.'

"The compassionate and accomplished clergyman, to whom this letter is addressed, endeavoured, with great tenderness and ingenuity, to allure his dejected friend to prolong a correspondence that seemed to promise some little alleviation to his melancholy; but that cruel distemper baffled all the various expedients that could be devised to counteract its overwhelming influence.

"Much hope was entertained from air and exercise, with a frequent change of scene. In September Mr. Johnson conducted his kinsman (to the promotion of whose recovery he devoted all the faculties of his affectionate spirit) to take a survey of Dunham-Lodge, a seat that happened to be vacant; it is seated on a high ground

ground in a park, about four miles from Swaffham. Cowper spoke of it as a house rather too spacious for him, yet such as he was not unwilling to inhabit: a remark that induced Mr. Johnson, at a subsequent period, to become the tenant of this mansion, as a scene more eligible for Cowper than the town of Dereham. This town they also surveyed in their excursion; and after passing a night there, returned to Mundsley, which they quitted for the season on the 7th of October.

"They removed immediately to Dereham; but left it in the course of the month for Dunham-Lodge, which now became their settled residence.

"The spirits of Cowper were not sufficiently revived to allow him to resume either his pen or his books; but the kindness of his young kinsman continued to furnish him with inexhaustible amusement, by reading to him almost incessantly a series of novels, which, although they did not lead him to converse on what he heard, yet failed not to rivet his attention; and so to prevent his afflicted mind from preying on itself.

"In April 1796, the good, infirm, old lady, whose infirmities continued to engage the tender attention of Cowper, even in his darkest periods of depression, received a visit from her daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Powley. On their departure Mr. Johnson assumed the office which Mrs. Powley had tenderly performed for her venerable parent, and regularly read a chapter in the Bible every morning to Mrs. Unwin before she rose. It was the invariable custom of Cowper to visit his poor old friend the moment he had finished his breakfast, and to remain in her apartment while the chapter was read.

"In June the pressure of his melancholy appeared to be in some little degree alleviated; for on Mr. Johnson's receiving the edition of Pope's Homer, published by Mr. Wakefield, Cowper eagerly seized the book, and began to read the notes to himself with visible interest. They awakened his attention to his own version of Homer. In August he deliberately engaged in a revisal of the whole, and for some time produced almost sixty new lines a day.

"This mental occupation animated all his intimate friends with a most lively hope of his speedy and perfect recovery. But autumn repressed the hope that summer had excited.

"In September the family removed from Dunham-Lodge to try again the influence of the sea-side, in their favourite village of Mundsley.

"Cowper walked frequently by the sea; but no apparent benefit arose, no mild relief from the incessant pressure of his melancholy. He had relinquished his Homer again, and could not yet be induced to resume it.

"Towards the end of October this interesting family of disabled invalides and their affectionate attendants, retired from the coast to the house of Mr. Johnson in Dereham:—a house now chosen for their winter residence, as Dunham-Lodge appeared to them too dreary.

"The long and exemplary life of Mrs. Unwin was drawing towards a close: the powers of nature were gradually exhausted, and on the 17th of December she ended a troubled existence, distinguished by a sublime spirit of piety and

and friendship, that shone through long periods of calamity, and continued to glimmer through the distressful twilight of her declining faculties. Her death was uncommonly tranquil. Cowper saw her about half an hour before the moment of expiration, which passed without a struggle or a groan as the clock was striking one in the afternoon.

"On the morning of that day he said to the servant who opened the window of his chamber, 'Sally, is there life above stairs?' A striking proof of his bestowing incessant attention on the sufferings of his aged friend, although he had long appeared almost totally absorbed in his own.

"In the dusk of the evening he attended Mr. Johnson to survey the corpse; and, after looking at it a few moments, he started suddenly away, with a vehement but unfinished sentence of passionate sorrow.

"He spoke of her no more.

"She was buried by torch-light, on the 23d of December, in the north aisle of Dereham church; and two of her friends, impressed with a just and deep sense of her extraordinary merit, have raised a marble tablet to her memory, with the following inscription:

'In Memory of *Mary* (Widow of the rev. *Morley Unwin*, and Mother of the Rev. *William Cawthorne Unwin*), born at Ely 1724, buried in this Church 1796.

'Trusting in God with all her heart and mind,
This woman prov'd magnanimously kind;
Endur'd affliction's desolating hail,
And watch'd a poet thro' misfortune's vale.
Her spotless dust, angelic guards, defend!
It is the dust of Unwin, Cowper's friend!
That single title in itself is fame,
For all, who read his verse, revere her name.'

"The infinitely tender and deep sense of gratitude that Cowper, in his seasons of health, invariably manifested towards this zealous and faithful guardian of his troubled existence; the agonies he suffered on our finding her under the oppression of a paralytic disease, during my first visit to Weston; and all his expressions to me concerning the comfort and support that his spirits had derived from her friendship; all made me peculiarly anxious to know how he sustained the event of her death. It may be regarded as an instance of providential mercy to this afflicted poet, whose sensibility of heart was so wonderfully acute, that his aged friend, whose life he had so long considered as essential to his own, was taken from him at a time when the pressure of his malady, a perpetual low fever both of body and mind, had in a great degree diminished the native energy of his faculties and affections.

"Severe as the sufferings of melancholy were to his disordered frame, I am strongly inclined to believe that the anguish of heart which he would otherwise have endured, must have been infinitely more severe. From this anguish he was so far preserved by the marvellous state of his own disturbed health that instead of mourning the loss of a person in whose life he had seemed to live, all perception of that loss was mercifully taken from him; and, from the moment when he hurried away from the inanimate object of his filial attachment, he appeared to have no memory of her having existed, for he never asked a question

stion concerning her funeral, nor ever mentioned her name.

"Towards the summer of 1797 his bodily health appeared to improve, but not to such a degree as to restore any comfortable activity to his mind. In June he wrote to me a brief letter, but such as too forcibly expressed the cruelty of his distemper.

"The process of digestion never passed regularly in his frame during the years that he resided in Norfolk. Medicine appeared to have little or no influence on his complaint, and his aversion at the sight of it was extreme.

"From asses' milk, of which he began a course on the 21st of June in this year, he gained a considerable acquisition of bodily strength, and was enabled to bear an airing in an open carriage before breakfast with Mr. Johnson.

"A depression of spirits, which suspended the studies of a writer so eminently endeared to the public, was considered, by men of piety and learning, as a national misfortune; and several individuals of this description, though personally unknown to Cowper, wrote to him in the benevolent hope that expressions of friendly praise, from persons who could be influenced only by the most laudable motives in bestowing it, might re-animate the dejected spirit of a poet not sufficiently conscious of the public service that his writings had rendered to his country, and of that universal esteem which they had so deservedly secured to their author.

"I cannot think myself authorised to mention the names of all who did honour to Cowper, and to themselves, on this occasion; but I trust the bishop of Llandaff will forgive me, if my sentiments of personal regard towards him induce me to take an affectionate liberty with his name, and to gratify myself by recording in these pages a very pleasing example of his liberal attention to the interests of humanity.

"He endeavoured evangelically to cheer and invigorate the mind of Cowper; but the depression of that disordered mind was the effect of bodily disorder so obstinate, that it received not the slightest relief from what, in a season of corporeal health, would have afforded the most animated gratification to this interesting invalide.

"The pressure of his malady had now made him utterly deaf to the most honourable praise.

"He had long discontinued the revisal of his Homer; but, by the entreaty of his young kinsman, he was persuaded to resume it in September 1797, and he persevered in it, oppressed as he was by indisposition, till March 1799. On Friday evening, the 8th of that month, he completed his revisal of the Odyssey, and the next morning wrote part of a new preface.

"To watch over the disordered health of afflicted genius, and to lead a powerful but oppressed spirit, by gentle encouragement, to exert itself in salutary occupation, is an office that requires a very rare union of tenderness, intelligence, and fortitude. To contemplate and minister to a great mind in a state that borders on mental desolation, is like surveying, in the midst of a desert, the tottering ruins of palaces and temples, where the faculties of the spectator are almost absorbed in wonder and regret, and where every step is taken with awful apprehension.

"It seemed as if Providence had expressly formed the young kinsman of Cowper to prove exactly such

such a guardian to his declining years, as the peculiar exigences of his situation required. I never saw the human being that could, I think, have sustained the delicate and arduous office in which the inexhaustible virtues of Mr. Johnson persevered to the last, through a period so long, with an equal portion of unvaried tenderness and unshaken fidelity. A man who wanted sensibility would have renounced the duty; and a man endowed with a particle too much of that valuable, though perilous, quality, must have felt his own health utterly undermined by an excess of sympathy with the sufferings perpetually in his sight. Mr. Johnson has completely discharged perhaps the most trying of human duties; and I trust he will forgive me for this public declaration, that, in his mode of discharging it, he has merited the most cordial esteem from all who love the memory of Cowper. Even a stranger may consider it as a striking proof of his tender dexterity in soothing and guiding the afflicted poet, that he was able to engage him steadily to pursue and finish the revisal and correction of his Homer, during a long period of bodily and mental sufferings, when his troubled mind recoiled from all intercourse with his most intimate friends, and laboured under a morbid abhorrence of all cheerful exertion.

"But, in deploring the calamity of my friend, and describing the merit of his affectionate attendant, I must not forget that it is still incumbent on me, as a faithful biographer, to notice a few circumstances in the dark and distressful years that Cowper had yet to linger upon earth. In the summer of 1798, Mr. Johnson was induced to vary his plan of remaining for some months in the marine village of Mundsley, and thought it more eligible for the invalide to make frequent visits from Dereham to the coast, passing a week at a time by the sea-side.

"Cowper, in his poem on Retirement, seems to inform us what his own sentiments were in a season of health, concerning the regimen most proper for the disease of melancholy:

" 'Virtuous and faithful Heberden, whose skill
'Attempts no task it cannot well fulfil,
'Gives melancholy up to nature's care,
'And sends the patient into purer air.'

"The frequent change of place, and the magnificence of marine scenery, produced at times a little relief to his depressive sensations. On the 7th of June 1798, he surveyed the light-house at Happisburg; and expressed some pleasure on beholding, through a telescope, several ships at a distance. Yet in his usual walk with Mr. Johnson by the sea-side, he exemplified but too forcibly his own affecting description of melancholy silence:

" 'That silent tongue
'Could give advice, could censure, or commend,
'Or charm the sorrows of a drooping friend:
'Renounc'd alike its office and its sport,
'Its brisker and its graver strains fall short;
'Both fail beneath a fever's secret sway,
'And like a summer-brook are past away.'

But this description is applicable only in the more oppressive preceding years, for of the summer of 1798 Mr. Johnson says, 'We had no longer air and exercise alone, but exercise and Homer hand in hand.'

"On the 24th of July Cowper had the honour of a visit from a lady,

lady, for whom he had long entertained affectionate respect, the dowager lady Spencer—and it was rather remarkable, that, on the very morning she called upon him, he happened to have begun his revisal of the Odyssey, which he had originally inscribed to her. Such an incident in a happier season would have produced a very enlivening effect on his spirits; but, in his present state, it had not even the power to lead him into any free conversation with his amiable visitor.

"The only amusement that he appeared to admit without reluctance, was the reading of Mr. Johnson; who, indefatigable in the supply of such amusement, had exhausted an immense collection of novels, and at this period began reading to the poet his own works. To these he listened also in silence, and heard all his poems recited in order, till the reader arrived at the History of John Gilpin, which he begged not to hear. Mr. Johnson proceeded to his manuscript poems: to these he willingly listened, but made not a single remark on any. In October 1798 the pressure of his melancholy seemed to be mitigated in some little degree, for he exerted himself so far as to write, without solicitation, to lady Hesketh; and I insert passages of this letter, because, gloomy as it is, it describes in a most interesting manner, the sudden attack of his malady, and tends to confirm an opinion that his mental disorder arose from a scorbutic habit, which, when his perspiration was obstructed, occasioned an unsearchable obstruction in the finer parts of his frame. Such a cause would produce, I apprehend, an effect exactly like what my suffering friend describes in this affecting letter.

"'Dear Cousin,

"'You describe delightful 'scenes; but you describe them to 'one who, if he even saw them, 'could receive no delight from 'them: who has a faint recollection, and so faint as to be like 'an almost forgotten dream, that 'once he was susceptible of pleasure from such causes. The 'country that you have had in 'prospect has been always famed 'for its beauties; but the wretch 'who can derive no gratification 'from a view of nature, even under 'the disadvantage of her most ordinary dress, will have no eyes to 'admire her in any.

"'In one day, in one minute I 'should rather have said, she became an universal blank to me; 'and though from a different 'cause, yet with an effect as difficult to remove as blindness itself.'

"'*Mundsley, October* 13, 1798.'

"On his return from Mundsley to Dereham in an evening, towards the end of October, Cowper, with miss Perowne and Mr. Johnson, was overturned in a post-chaise. He discovered no terror on the occasion, and escaped without injury from the accident.

"In December he received a visit from his highly esteemed friend, sir John Throckmorton; but his malady was at that time so oppressive, that it rendered him almost insensible to the kind solicitude of friendship.

"He still continued to exercise the powers of his astonishing mind: upon his finishing the revisal of his Homer in March 1799, Mr. Johnson endeavoured in the gentlest manner to lead him into new literary occupation.

"For this purpose, on the 11th of March, he laid before him the paper

paper containing the commencement of his poem on The Four Ages. Cowper altered a few lines; he also added a few, but soon observed to his kind attendant, that it was too great a work for him to attempt in his present situation.

"At supper Mr. Johnson suggested to him several literary projects, that he might execute more easily. He replied, that he had just thought of six Latin verses, and if he could compose any thing, it must be in pursuing that composition.

"The next morning he wrote the six verses he had mentioned, and added a few more, entitling the poem *Montes glaciales*.

"It proved a versification of a circumstance recorded in a newspaper, which had been read to him a few weeks before, without his appearing to notice it. This poem he translated into English verse, on the nineteenth of March, to oblige miss Perowne. Both the original and the translation shall appear in the Appendix.

"On the twentieth of March he wrote the stanzas entitled 'The Cast-away;' founded on an anecdote in Anson's voyage, which his memory suggested to him, although he had not looked into the book for many years.

"As this poem is the last original production from the pen of Cowper, I shall introduce it here; persuaded that it will be read with an interest proportioned to the extraordinary pathos of the subject, and the still more extraordinary powers of the poet, whose lyre could sound so forcibly, unsilenced by the gloom of the darkest distemper, that was conducting him, by slow gradations, to the shadow of death.

"'THE CAST-AWAY.

'Obscurest night, involv'd the sky—
Th' Atlantic billows roar'd;
When such a destin'd wretch as I,
Wash'd headlong from on board,
Of friends, of hope, of all bereft,
His floating home for ever left.

'No braver chief could Albion boast
Than he with whom he went,
Nor ever ship left Albion's coast
With warmer wishes sent.
He lov'd them both—but both in vain,
Nor him beheld, nor her again.

'Not long beneath the whelming brine,
Expert to swim, he lay;
Nor soon he felt his strength decline,
Or courage die away;
But wag'd with death a lasting strife,
Supported by despair of life.

'He shouted: nor his friends had fail'd
To check the vessel's course,
But so the furious blast prevail'd,
That, pitiless perforce,
They left their out-cast mate behind,
And scudded still before the wind.

'Some succour yet they could afford,
And, such as storms allow,
The cask, the oop, the floated cord,
Delay'd not to bestow.
But he (they knew) nor ship, nor shore,
Whate'er they gave, should visit more.

'Nor, cruel as it seem'd, could he
Their haste himself condemn,
Aware that flight, in such a sea,
Alone could rescue them:
Yet bitter felt it still to die
Deserted, and his friends so nigh.

'He long survives who lives an hour
In ocean, self-upheld;
And so long he, with unspent pow'r,
His destiny repell'd:
And ever, as the minutes flew,
Entreated help, or cry'd—Adieu!

'At length, his transient respite past,
His comrades, who before
Had heard his voice in ev'ry blast,
Could catch the sound no more.
For then, by toil subdued, he drank
The stifling wave, and then he sank.

'No poet wept him: but the page
Of narrative sincere,
That tells his name, his worth, his age,
Is wet with Anson's tear.
And tears by bards or heroes shed,
Alike immortalize the dead.

'I therefore

'I therefore purpose not, or dream,
Descanting on his fate,
To give the melancholy theme
A more enduring date.
But misery still delights to trace
Its semblance in another's case.

'No voice divine the storm allay'd,
No light propitious shone;
When, snatch'd from all effectual aid,
We perish'd, each alone:
But I beneath a rougher sea,
And whelm'd in deeper gulphs, than he.'

"In August he translated this poem into Latin verse. In October he went with miss Perowne, and Mr. Johnson, to survey a larger house in Dereham, which he preferred to their present residence, and in which the family were settled in the following December.

"Though his corporeal strength was now evidently declining, the tender persuasion of Mr. Johnson induced him to amuse his mind with frequent composition. Between August and December he wrote all the translations from various Latin and Greek epigrams.

"In his new residence he amused himself with translating a few fables of Gay into Latin verse. The fable which he used to recite as a child, 'The Hare with many Friends,' was one of his latest amusements.

"The perfect ease and spirit with which his translations from Gay are written, induce me to print, not only those which he left entire, but even the two verses (for they are excellent) with which he was beginning to translate another, when encreasing maladies obliged him to relinquish for ever this elegant occupation.

"These Latin fables were all written in January, 1800. Towards the end of that month I had requested him to new-model a passage in his Homer, relating to some figures of Dædalus: on the thirty-first of January I received from him his improved version of the lines in question, written in a firm and delicate hand.

"The sight of such writing from my long-silent friend, inspired me with a lively, but too sanguine hope, that I might see him once more restored.

"Alas! at this period a complication of new maladies began to threaten his inestimable life; and the neat transcript of his improved verses on the curious monument of ancient sculpture, so gracefully described by Homer, verses which I surveyed as a delightful omen of future letters from a correspondent so inexpressibly dear to me, proved the last effort of his pen.

"On the very day that this endearing mark of his kindness reached me, a dropsical appearance in his legs induced Mr. Johnson to have recourse to fresh medical assistance. The beloved invalide was with great difficulty persuaded to take the remedies prescribed, and to try the exercise of a post-chaise, an exercise which he could not bear beyond the 22d of February.

"In March, when his decline became more and more striking, he was visited by Mr. Rose. He hardly expressed any pleasure on the arrival of a friend whom he had so long and so tenderly regarded; yet he showed evident signs of regret on his departure, the sixth of April.

"The long calamitous illness, and impending death, of a darling child, precluded me from sharing with Mr. Rose the painful gratification of seeing, once more, the man whose genius and virtues we had once contemplated together with mutual veneration and delight; whose approaching dissolution we felt, not only as an irreparable loss to ourselves,

selves, but as a national misfortune. On the 19th of April, the close of a life so wonderfully chequered, and so universally interesting, appeared to be very near.

"On Sunday the 20th, he seemed a little revived.

"On Monday he appeared dying, but recovered so much as to eat a slight dinner.

"Tuesday and Wednesday he grew apparently weaker every hour.

"On Thursday he sat up as usual in the evening.

"Friday the 25th, at five in the morning, a deadly change appeared in his features.

"He spoke no more.

"His last words were uttered in the night:—in rejecting a cordial, he said to miss Perowne, who had presented it to him, "What can it signify?" Yet, even at this time, he did not seem impressed with any idea of dying, although he conceived that nothing would contribute to his health.

"The deplorable inquietude and darkness of his latter years, were mercifully terminated by a most gentle and tranquil dissolution. He passed through the awful moments of death so mildly, that although five persons were present, and observing him, in his chamber, not one of them perceived him to expire: but he had ceased to breathe about five minutes before five in the afternoon.

"On Saturday, the third of May, he was buried in a part of Dereham church, called St. Edmund's chapel, and the funeral was attended by several of his relations.

"He died intestate: his affectionate relation, lady Hesketh, has fulfilled the office of his administratrix; and given orders for a monument to his memory, where his ashes repose. In the metropolis, I trust, the public affection for an author so eminently deserving, will enable me to make his manuscripts relating to Milton, which are now before me, the means of erecting a cenotaph in his honour, suitable to the dignity of his poetical character, and to the liberality of the nation, that may be justly proud of expressing a parental sense of his merit.

"I have regarded my own intimacy with him as a blessing to myself; and the remembrance of it is now endeared to me by the hope that it may enable me to delineate the man and the poet, with such fidelity and truth, as may render his remote, and even his future admirers, minutely acquainted with an exemplary being, most worthy to be intimately known, and universally beloved."

PARTICULARS of the Earlier LIFE of Dr. GEDDES.

[From Mr. GOOD's MEMOIRS of his LIFE and WRITINGS.]

"ALEXANDER Geddes, who was born in the year 1737, descended, like most other men of letters, from parents who had no pretensions to worldly opulence or honours: but, though not rich, they were, in every sense of the word, respectable; and, though not ennobled, they had a spirit sufficiently exalted to devote the little of

of which they were possessed to the best purposes of human life. His father, named also Alexander, the second of four brothers, derived his livelihood from a small farm situated in Arradowl, in the parish of Ruthven and county of Banff in Scotland; in which occupation he endured, in common perhaps with the greater body of smaller tenants in that part of the united kingdom, many severe oppressions from a tyrannic landlord. The maiden name of his mother was Janet Mitchel; she was a native of Nether Dalachy, in the parish of Bellay, and was equally exemplary as a wife and a parent.

"It is curious to observe from what apparently trifling incidents we sometimes derive the whole bent of the dispositions and studies of our future lives. In their religious profession the parents of Mr. Geddes were Roman-catholics: their library consisted of but a very few volumes; and of these, the principal book was an English Bible. Having been taught to read in the humble mansion of a schoolmistress whose name was Sellar,—a village matron, whose goodness of heart, with a recollection that did honour to his feelings, he was accustomed occasionally to make mention of to the latest years of his life; and who, if she were not initiated in all the modern metaphysics of juvenile education, knew at least, according to the testimony of her pupil,

* Right well each temper to descry;
To thwart the proud, and the submiss to raise:
Some with vile copper prize exalt on high,
And some entice with pittance small of praise:'

—the book that chiefly struck his attention, in the meagre catalogue to which his infant choice was confined, was this family-Bible; which, whatever might have been at that time his thirst after knowledge, could not afford him more pleasure to peruse, than it did his parents that it should be perused by him. 'They taught me,' says he, 'to read it with reverence and attention *.' His taste was thus fixed from his childhood. From the moment he began to read, he became a biblical critic in embryo: it was a passion to which, the more he reflected, the more he surrendered himself; and which, consequently, as may naturally be expected,

'Grew with his growth, and strengthen'd with his strength.'

"Endowed with a mind comprehensive as the whole circle of the sciences, and animated with an ardent genius that must have ensured him pre-eminence in whatever field he might have contended, it is a question that will admit of much doubt, whether, if he had been born under any other circumstances, and particularly if his father's library had allowed him a greater latitude and variety of study, ecclesiastical history and a critical investigation of the sacred records would have formed his chief pursuit. The die however was thrown: and such was the entertainment the Bible afforded him, and such the corresponding vigour with which he persevered in its perusal, that it is a well-known fact, and a fact in several instances publicly adverted to by himself, that

* General Answer to Queries, Counsels, and Criticisms, &c. p. 2.

before he had reached his eleventh year he knew all its history by heart*. A laudable example of application directed to the best of objects, and which may well challenge the attention of young persons, whether catholic or protestant.

"Having exhausted all the store of knowledge which the meritorious matron of the village (whose distinction of him, he has often declared, was a source of one of his earliest mental pleasures) could afford, our young pupil was next entrusted to the care of a student of Aberdeen, whose name was Shearer, and whom the laird of the district had engaged to educate his two sons. In the family of this gentleman the instruction of Mr. Geddes was gratuitous. The worthy laird had witnessed the anxiety of his parents to gratify his growing thirst after learning: and, with an example well worthy of imitation by men of opulence in every village throughout the kingdom, he admitted him to a participation of his own family tuition; and, together with himself, two other boys of similar circumstances and age, of whom one was his cousin. Of Shearer I have received no information beyond his present connexion with the laird of Arradowl; but, from the future eminence of the two Geddeses, he must have been either peculiarly fortunate, or peculiarly skilful; for, while Alexander was exhibiting proofs of profound scientific research, and rising into the first ranks of literary distinction, his cousin was progressively advancing through many of the chief dignities of the catholic church, and was at length installed into the titular bishopric of Dunkeld. He was also well known as an able theologian, and his writings are occasionally referred to by Dr. Geddes with much deference and respect†.

"From the hospitable mansion of the laird of Arradowl, and by the immediate interference of his patron, our pupil, at the age of fourteen, was removed to Scalan; a free Roman-catholic seminary in the Highlands, of obscure fame, and limited to boys who are destined for the church, and whose studies are designed to be completed in some foreign university.

"The vale in which this seminary was situated was so deeply excavated and overhung by surrounding hills, as to require almost as perpetual a use of the lamp as the subterranean cell of Demosthenes. Of its sombre and melancholy aspect the reader may form some idea from the following reply of Mr. Geddes to one of his fellow-students, who had obtained leave to pay a visit to his friends at a distance, and who asked him if he had any commands he could execute. 'Pray be so kind,' replied Geddes, 'as to make particular inquiries after the health of the SUN: fail not to present my compliments to him, and tell him I still hope I shall one day be able to renew the honour of a personal acquaintance with him.'

"To a knowledge of the Bible in the vulgar English, he added in this academy a knowledge of it in the vulgar Latin; but it does not appear that he made much further proficiency in classical erudition:

* General Answer, p. 2, compared with his Prospectus, p. 1, and his Address to the Public, *passim*.

† See particularly his Prospectus, p. 145.

for

for he himself assures us that in the year 1760, long after he had left Scalan, and when he must have acquired the age of twenty-three, the vulgar Latin and the vulgar English were the only two versions of the Bible with which he was acquainted; and that it was not till the year 1762 that he began to read it in its original languages*. Had he been initiated into the Greek tongue in his present situation, there can be no doubt, from his uninterrupted attachment to the Bible history, that one of the first books he would have perused in this language would have been a Greek Testament; but as he did not begin to read either a Greek Testament or a Septuagint till four years after he had quitted the Highlands, we have every reason to suppose that his attention was solely directed in this seminary to a general knowledge of Latin, and principally to the Latin Bible of the vulgar or St. Jerom's edition; a version which affords a noble instance of the powers of the human mind, which was deservedly sanctioned by the council of Trent, and which, in its different impressions, constituted, for eleven hundred years, the general text-book of all the western churches.

"Having attained the age of twenty-one, he was removed from Scalan, in October 1758, to the Scotch college at Paris; where, however, he did not arrive till the ensuing December, in consequence of a very dangerous passage from Aberdeen to Camphire; in the course of which he narrowly escaped shipwreck, and suffered so severely from the roughness of his voyage, that it was judged necessary for him to recruit his strength by some degree of relaxation and quietude, before he prosecuted his journey any further. On his arrival at Paris, a field of literature was presented to him to which he had hitherto been a stranger. He determined to avail himself of every possible advantage with every power of his mind; and the progress he soon attained was a source of equal pleasure and astonishment to the professors under whom he studied. Of the Scotch college into which he officially entered, Mr. Gordon was at that time principal; and to him he was recommended by introductory letters, as well as by his own comprehensive talents and ingenuousness of heart: a double foundation of esteem, and which, as may easily be imagined, did not fail of success. He had heard much of the college of Navarre, and of the lectures delivered in this celebrated seminary; and with an inextinguishable thirst after knowledge, he commenced his attendance upon several of the latter a few days after he reached Paris. He opened his course with rhetoric, of which science M. Vicaire was at that time professor; and notwithstanding the general emulation he excited, and the prior existence in the class of two veteran pupils, his unwearied assiduity soon placed him at its head; and, which was at least equally honourable and far more advantageous to him, secured him the friendship of the professor, which continued without interruption till M. Vicaire's decease.

"According to the routine of study in the university to which he was now transferred, he should in

* General Answer, p. 3.

the ensuing year, 1759, have entered upon a course of natural and experimental philosophy; but his predilection for divinity still prevailed, and he was easily persuaded by several friends, who justly estimated his talents as a theologian, to relinquish the common order, and apply to divinity in the first instance. To this branch of science he now therefore began to direct almost the whole of his public studies; and to the theological lectures of MM. Buré and de Saurent, at the college of Navarre, he added a scrupulous attention to those on the study of Hebrew delivered at the Sorbonne by M. l'Avocat, professor of the Orleans chair; an institution so denominated from its having been founded in 1751, for the purpose of reviving oriental learning in the university of Paris, and of explaining the Hebrew scriptures, by the duke of Orleans, son of the celebrated regent, and who was one of the most pious and learned princes of his age. Here he was at least as fortunate as in the college of Navarre; for no professor was ever perhaps better qualified for fulfilling this double object than M. l'Avocat. 'He had a penetrating genius, an astonishing memory, a correct judgement, and an exquisite taste. He was the most universal scholar, the most pleasant teacher, the most benevolent man, and the most moderate theologian, I ever knew. Had he lived a little longer, and enjoyed more leisure to accomplish the work he meditated on the Scripture, we should now possess a treasure of great value; but a weakly constitution, and too constant an application to his professional duties, hurried him away in his 56th year, to the great regret of all who knew him; but of none,' says his grateful and affectionate pupil, who thus describes him, 'more than of him who dedicates these lines to his memory.' M. l'Avocat left nothing behind him, however, but a few theses, and some valuable but unprinted critical essays. We cannot wonder at the regret of Mr. Geddes upon the death of the professor, which occurred about the year 1780, since the latter conceived for him, at an early period after his introduction into the university, a very high esteem and affection, and even strenuously pressed him at length to a settlement at Paris. This, however, was altogether inconsistent with the plan he had conceived at an early age of life, of forming a new English version of the Bible, for the use of his fellow-countrymen of the catholic church, and which plan was in his own mind daily advancing towards maturity. He had at this time an opportunity, and he improved it to its utmost extent, of adding to his knowledge of the Latin Vulgate a close acquaintance with the originals, with which he, moreover, perpetually compared the established version of England. He was soon therefore able to speak with more critical accuracy upon the comparative merits of the Latin of St. Jerom, and the English of king James's translators: 'I had both versions,' says he, 'constantly before me, and I now discovered the cause of the great difference between them. The study of the English translators, I found had been to give a strictly literal version at the expense of almost every other consideration; while the author of the Vulgate had endeavoured to render his originals equivalently,

equivalently, into such Latin as was current in his age. If ever I translate the Bible,' said I then, 'it must be after this manner*.'

"School divinity and biblical criticism by no means, however, occupied the whole of his attention. He entered deeply into an analysis of the Greek and Latin languages; pursued with insatiable avidity those exquisite mines of precision and judgement, of taste and fancy, which are no where else to be met with in an equal degree; and laid the foundation for that elegance and facility, that fecundity and correctness of style, with which he afterwards engaged in Latin and Greek compositions, and which have not often been exceeded by any of his countrymen since the age of George Buchanan. To these important acquisitions he also added a study of several of the modern languages of Europe. The French was indeed become almost vernacular to him, and required no further study whatever: his first serious engagement was therefore in the Italian; and having shortly mastered the few difficulties which were here presented to him, he carried his pursuits successively to the Spanish, the German, and the Low Dutch. To the mathematics he never discovered much attachment; at which I have often been considerably surprised; for no man was ever a shrewder logician, or followed with keener penetration, in a controversy, the bearings of an adversary's argument through all the lights and shades, not merely of every syllogistic proposition, but of almost every phrase and every individual word†. The mathematics, however, which have seldom been in any high degree of favour with our neighbours of France as a branch of general education, did not, I believe, constitute any prominent part of the course of instruction delivered at the Scotch Parisian university; and hence perhaps his distaste for a science for which he was so well qualified by nature. To many of the branches of natural and experimental philosophy he paid, nevertheless, a considerable portion of attention; devoting to them almost the whole of his intervals at home, and pursuing them rather as a relaxation from the severer duties of stated instruction, than as comprehending a necessary part of such instruction itself.

"Having, although with some reluctance, refused the friendly proposal of professor l'Avocat to settle at Paris, and take a share in the public labours of the college, he returned to Scotland in 1764, after an absence of six years; and, shortly posterior to his arrival at Edinburgh, was ordered to Dundee, to officiate as priest among the catholics in the county of Angus. Here he was scarcely settled when he received an offer, far more agreeable to himself, as it allowed a larger portion of time for study, of being a resident in the family of the earl of Traquaire ‡, whose paternal domain was

* General Answer to Queries, Counsels, and Criticisms, &c. p. 8.

† In this respect he displayed no small resemblance to bishop Berkeley, who, like himself, was an admirable logician, but had the utmost aversion for mathematics, and regarded the doctrine of fluxions as puerile and uncertain.

‡ In what capacity, otherwise than that of a friend, he at this time lived with his lordship, I have not been able to learn. It is generally said that he officiated as domestic

was situated in the delightful scenery of Tweeddale. This offer he readily accepted, and in May 1765 became an inmate in his lordship's family. He was now at full liberty to prosecute the whole scope of his literary inclinations; and the esteem and friendship with which the noble earl began to honour him, and which from this period never ceased between them, still further facilitated the uniform object of his heart.

"Vicissitude is the lot of man in every situation; and obscurity of rank and deep retirement from the world, which generally afford an impenetrable shield against the attacks of misfortune, forego, at times, their accustomed office, and cruelly assist its triumph. Such, unhappily, was the fate of the subject of these memoirs. The very circumstances which seemed to assure to him a long continuance of happiness, constituted the very rock upon which his peace of mind was first wrecked, and cast him for years, like Ulysses in pursuit of Ithaca, upon the tempestuous ocean of an unfriendly world; with little assistance, save that of the protecting providence of Heaven, to defend his feeble skiff against the perils to which he was incessantly exposed:

Ανδρα ..... πολυτροπον, ὁς μαλα πολλα
Πλαγχθη .....
Πολλων δ' ανθρωπων ιδεν αστεα, και νοον εγνω.
Πολλα δ' ογ' εν ποντῳ παθεν αλγεα ον κατα θυμον*.

He had at this time reached his twenty-eighth year, and had resided in the hospitable mansion of lord Traquaire for considerably more than a twelvemonth. From every branch of this worthy as well as illustrious family he had received the most unequivocal proofs of friendship and esteem, and never was there a heart created upon which such generous qualities were more calculated to operate. Unfortunately for his personal quiet, they had in one instance taken a different direction from what he himself had intended, and certainly from what was ever expected in the quarter from which they had proceeded. Why should I conceal that which was productive of honour to all parties? A female relation of the noble earl was at this time a co-resident in the house, and constituted a part of the family. The merit of Mr. Geddes was prominent; her own charms and the regard she openly professed for him were not less so: too soon he felt himself the prey of an impression which he well knew it was not possible for him to indulge, and Buxtorff was in danger of being supplanted by Ovid. He turned philosopher: but it was in vain; self-expostulation was useless; and the well-meditated resolutions of a day were often put to flight in a moment. But one step remained to be taken: he embraced it; and, with more hardihood than is often necessary to obtain a victory, sounded a retreat. He had made, perhaps too hastily, his vow of religious celibacy,

mestic chaplain; but I have the authority of lord Buchan for denying this report, who has obligingly informed me, through the medium of miss Hamilton, that the abbé Grant and Mr. Cruikshank successively filled this office at the time of which I am now speaking.

* A man deep-vers'd in wisdom's various lore,
In many a trouble tried o'er many a shore,
Long by the world's wild tempest toss'd amain
Ere yet he gain'd the port he strove to gain.

and

and its sanctity was not to be trifled with. Of two evils he had still the consolation to think that he had chosen the least; and with much reluctance of heart, but an approving and sustaining conscience, he abruptly broke away from the delightful shades and the more delightful conversations of Tweeddale, in less than two years after his arrival there; and leaving behind him a beautiful but confidential little poem, and as such not to be communicated in the present narrative, entitled *The Confessional*, addressed to the fair yet innocent author of his misfortunes, he once more took leave of his native country, and tried to forget himself amidst the greater varieties and volatilities of Paris *.

"In this alternating region of wit and folly, of dissipation and letters, he continued for about eight or nine months, beloved with an equal degree of warmth by his former friends, but incapable for some time of making any serious improvement in literature or criticism of any kind. Paris, however, which had never pleased him much, now pleased him far less than before; and having gradually obtained the self-possession he had been in pursuit of, an effect produced rather perhaps by time and distance, than by the operation of any other cause, he directed his course homeward, and once more arrived in North Britain in the spring of 1769; after having, notwithstanding his general listlessness for study, made a variety of very valuable extracts on biblical criticism, from the public libraries of the city.

"In returning a second time to his native country, Mr. Geddes dared not entrust himself to the fascinating spot, or re-engage in the domestic situation, from which, in the preceding year, he had found it so necessary to fly. He accepted therefore of the charge of a catholic congregation at Auchinhalrig, in the county of Banff, not far distant from the place of his nativity. This congregation, though numerous, laboured under a variety of disadvantages, and at the time in which the subject of this biography was elected to the pastoral office, was equally diminishing in zeal and number. The members of whom it consisted were for the most part poor, their chapel was in a state of irreparable dilapidation, the condition of the parsonage house was but little better, and the most unchristian rancour had long subsisted between themselves and their more wealthy as well as more numerous brethren of the protestant community.

"Never was there a man better qualified for correcting the whole of these evils than Alexander Geddes, and never did man apply himself with more ardour to their removal. Activity and liberality were indeed the characteristic principles of his soul: much worldly prudence he never pos-

* If I had not received explicit information upon this subject, I should have regarded it with at least some degree of scepticism; for the earl of Buchan, who was at this time intimately acquainted both with lord Traquaire and Dr. Geddes, and who reveres the memory of the latter with as fond an affection as any friend who has survived him, does not remember the existence of any such *penchant*. I am informed, however, that it was at this time locked up in the bosom of Mr. Geddes himself, and was only communicated to the fair object of it on the moment of his quitting her.

sessed; but his heart overflowed with the milk of human kindness, and his nerves, when in their utmost state of diseased irritability, still vibrated with benevolence. He proposed that the old chapel should be pulled down; he projected a new one; he rebuilt it on the spot which the former had occupied. He repaired the dilapidations of the parsonage-house; he ornamented it with fresh improvements, and rendered it one of the pleasantest and most convenient in his country. He not only, indeed, superintended these buildings, but laboured at them himself; being as ready a carpenter, and as expert in the use of the saw and the plane, as if he had been professedly brought up to the trade. Gardening and carpentering were in reality at all times favourite amusements with him; they constituted his chief relaxations from the severity of study to the last moment of his life; and I have frequently rallied him, when at work, upon the multiplicity of his tools, which, in the article of planes of different mouldings, were more numerous than those of many professed artists, and on the dexterity with which he handled them.

"To his humble but neat and hospitable cottage, it is to be expected therefore that he added the luxury of a good garden. Mr. Geddes had drawn his knowledge of botany rather from practice than theory, which nevertheless he had not altogether neglected. Satisfied with the indigenous bounties as well as beauties of nature, he did not largely seek for exotic ornaments; nor would the paucity of his means have admitted of any considerable indulgence in this respect, had he even possessed the inclination. But his flower, his fruit, and his kitchen-garden, though little boastful of foreign productions, were each of them perfect in its kind; and the admiration of his flock, who were generously supplied, according to their respective wants, from the abundance it afforded,

'. . . . dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.'
VIRG. Georg. iv. 133.
'He pil'd their tables with unpurchas'd stores.'

Never indeed was there a man more liberal in diffusing to others the little of which he was possessed than himself; never was a priest better beloved by the members of his congregation. I did not know him myself till many years afterwards; but I have been credibly informed by a variety of persons who did know him at the time we are now speaking of, and were intimately acquainted with his situation, that he seemed to live in the hearts of every one of his hearers; that his kindness and affability excited their affection, his punctilious attention to the duties of his office their veneration, and his extensive reputation for learning their implicit confidence in his opinions.

"I have said that at the time of his fixing at Auchinhalrig he found a high degree of rancour and illiberality subsisting, and mutually fomented, between his own congregation and the surrounding community of protestants. To correct this evil, than which a greater cannot exist, nor one more hostile to the spirit of the sacred pages to which both parties reciprocally appeal, he laboured with all his might. By an extensive study and a deep knowledge of ecclesiastical history, he had freed himself completely from

from the bigotry which still attaches in no inconsiderable degree to the more ignorant of his own persuasion. He knew as well, and was ready to admit as largely, as any protestant whatever, the alternate systems of force and fraud by which the see of Rome has endeavoured to obtain an unjust temporal supremacy over the great body of the catholic church itself, to enslave the consciences of the laity to its own views of peculation and power, and to exercise, in a variety of highly important concerns, an authority which had never been officially conceded to it, and concerning which the reader will meet with a more detailed account when we advance to an analysis of the controversial writings into which he was shortly afterwards compelled. Free and independent in his own mind, he took the sacred Scriptures alone as his standard of faith; and exhorted every member of his congregation to do the same, to study for himself, to interpret for himself, and to submit to no foreign control, excepting in matters fairly decided by the catholic church at large assembled in general councils. He could ridicule the infallibility of the pope, and laugh at images and relics, at rosaries, scapulars, agnus Deis, blessed medals, indulgences, obiits and dirges, as much as the most inveterate protestant in his neighbourhood; and could as abundantly abhor the old-fashioned and iniquitous doctrine, that faith ought not to be held with heretics. Claiming the fullest liberty of conscience for himself, he was ever ready to extend it in an equal degree to others; and could therefore, with the utmost cordiality, embrace the protestant as well as the catholic. Honesty of heart was the only passport necessary to ensure his esteem, and where this was conspicuous, he never hesitated to offer the right-hand of fellowship.

"By such a conduct he could not fail of softening that rigid disinclination to associate, which operated as a wall of partition between the protestants and catholics of Scotland; while it enabled him to establish many of his closest literary connexions, as well as most intimate alliances, amongst several of the most distinguished characters of the former persuasion. Of these may be enumerated the duke and duchess of Gordon, who spent a great part of every summer at Gordon Castle, in his immediate vicinity, and who became closely attached to him, and contributed very largely to the happiness of his situation; the venerable earl of Buchan, count Murray of Melgum, lord Findlater, principal Robertson, doctors Reid and Findlay of Edinburgh, Dr. Beattie of Aberdeen, and indeed almost all the professors of this celebrated university; and particularly the reverend Mr. Crawford, a very worthy presbyterian clergyman of an adjoining parish, and a brother or cousin of that justly celebrated philosopher and physician the late Dr. Crawford, of Lincoln's Inn Fields, who has contributed so largely to a knowledge of the animal economy by his valuable treatise on animal heat.

"But though he had the pleasure of dispersing many of the prejudices, and of melting into Christian charity many of the hearts, of his own congregation, he was so far from influencing the great body of surrounding papists, and especially those of the priesthood, to imbibe his opinions, and deviate

deviate with an equal degree of boldness from the vulgar creed, that a violent hue and cry was raised against him for his liberality; an epistolary, and, I believe, a printed correspondence, was entered into between bishop Hay, his diocesan, and himself; from which, however, as it was never published, I am not at liberty to make any quotation; and he was menaced with the pains of suspension from his ecclesiastical duties, unless he became more circumspect as to his conduct and conversation, and especially as to his occasional attendance upon the ministrations of his friend Mr. Crawford. Little did such bigots know the spirit of the man they were opposing, and how impossible it would have been for all the tortures of a Portuguese inquisition to have made him retract his opinions, or deviate in any respect from a conduct sanctioned alike by his religion and his reason. He despised the menaces of the haughty prelate, and they were not at this time carried into execution.

"Still, however, he was not happy; his heart was afflicted by the injurious treatment he thus met with, and he grieved for the illiberality of his clerical brethren. But this was not his sole, nor even his chief cause of anxiety of mind. The scanty income to which he was limited, destroyed every hope he had for years indulged of offering to the public a new and more correct translation of the Bible: he was still without a patron, and without a library, which were equally indispensable for the undertaking; and, mortifying as it must have been to him, he appears, in consequence hereof, to have relinquished every prospect of accomplishing it, and to have banished the very idea from his mind. There was also another evil he was doomed to sustain, and which proceeded, in like manner, from the narrowness of his finances. In projecting the rebuilding of his chapel, and the improvements of his own house, he relied, with too sanguine a confidence, upon the pecuniary assistance of persons of his own persuasion. He was disappointed in his expectations; and having become personally responsible for the different debts contracted, he found himself in no small degree embarrassed and distressed. To assume the character of a public beggar, did not accord with the independence of his soul; but without some considerable contribution it was impossible to resist the demands that were perpetually urged against him. Here, however, he became more fortunate, and in a way that could not fail of gratifying him to the utmost. The late duke of Norfolk, who occasionally visited and resided upon a large family estate in Cumberland, and who was himself a catholic, had heard of the zeal, liberality, and learning of the priest of Auchinhalrig, and expressed a wish for his acquaintance. An interview shortly ensued, through the medium of lord Traquaire; and upon the first intimation of the difficulties in which he was involved, his grace took the deficit upon himself, and extricated our unfortunate speculator from the troubles that beset him.

"Being now completely relieved from every pecuniary distress, he was resolved to guard against a similar evil by getting beforehand with the world; and for

for this purpose, to the spiritual charge of his church he added the temporal care of a small farm at Enzie in Fouchabers, in the immediate vicinity of Auchinhalrig; and having been accommodated with a sufficient loan of money to stock it, he set to work with his usual ardour and confidence, and expected in a few years, as his personal wants were inconsiderable, and easily satisfied, to realise what would to him be an independent fortune. And so far had the golden dream of success taken possession of his mind, that, in the desire of making the benefits of his religion commensurate with his worldly prosperity, he actually planned, and with but little foreign assistance erected, a second chapel at Fouchabers, on the very borders of his farm-house; which, though small in its dimensions, was equally neat and commodious, and where he proposed to officiate as well as at Auchinhalrig.

"Men of letters are but seldom men of figures, and the possessor of genius is perhaps never more out of his element than when he plunges into the calculations of the counting-house. Mr. Geddes's treasures were not of the counting-house description, and he was never destined to be rich. Money he could borrow, and his farm he could stock: but he could not command the seasons; nor could he, which is an affair of much greater facility, command that time and attention which are indispensably necessary in the commencement of every new undertaking, and especially of an undertaking in which the projector has but little personal skill. He had been long in the habit of devoting the greater part of his time and talents to concerns of a very different description; and whatever might be the prospect of gain with which he fondly flattered himself, he could not break off a habit he had so long indulged and so pertinaciously adhered to. It was in or about the year 1775 that he ventured to commence agriculturist; and in the year 1778, from a perpetual succession of unpropitious harvests, he found himself not only incapacitated from paying the arrears still due upon the chapel at Fouchabers, but from an accumulation of undischarged interest upon the money borrowed to complete his farming stock, in a state of embarrassment nearly equal to that from which his grace of Norfolk had relieved him but a few years before.

"His native good-humour and amenity of disposition still however adhered to him. His daily motto seems to have been that of the French poet,

> 'Si fortune me tormente,
> L'espérance me contente;'

and being completely foiled in the labours of his hands, he was determined to try whether those of his head might not be more productive. It cannot be supposed, that although a recluse, and closely shut up in a nook of the island but little known to fame, Alexander Geddes should be as ignorant of what was transpiring in the world as Alexander Selkirk in the island of Juan Fernandes. He had been an attentive and even a critical observer of men and manners; and viewing them from a distance, and free from the infectious fever of the multitude, he was perhaps more competent to draw a correct sketch of them than if he had been in the centre of the scene, and

and partaken of the general tumult:

'Tis pleasant through the loop-holes of retreat
To peep at such a world; to see the stir
Of the great Babel, and not feel the crowd;
To hear the roar she sends through all her gates
At a safe distance, where the dying sound
Falls a soft murmur on th' uninjur'd ear.'

Mr. Geddes had for a long time not only thus noticed the transactions of his contemporaries, but had frequently endeavoured to describe them; and, taking Pope for his example, to describe them by an adaptation of the satires of Horace to his own time. We have now therefore to trace him in a new character, that of a poet; a character which he had occasionally indeed assumed before, though he has left us few specimens of his earlier productions."

Dr. Geddes's General Disposition and Pursuits.

[From the same Work.]

"IT was about this period, the year 1793, I first became acquainted with Dr. Geddes. I met him accidentally at the house of miss Hamilton, who has lately acquired a just reputation for her excellent Letters on Education; and I freely confess that at the first interview I was by no means pleased with him. I beheld a man of about five feet five inches high, in a black dress put on with uncommon negligence, and apparently never fitted to his form: his figure was lank, his face meagre, his hair black, long and loose, without having been sufficiently submitted to the operations of the toilet—and his eyes, though quick and vivid, sparkling at that time rather with irritability than benevolence. He was disputing with one of the company when I entered; and the rapidity with which at this moment he left his chair, and rushed, with an elevated tone of voice and uncourtly dogmatism of manner, towards his opponent, instantaneously persuaded me that the subject upon which the debate turned was of the utmost moment. I listened with all the attention I could command; and in a few minutes learned, to my astonishment, that it related to nothing more than the distance of his own house in the New Road, Paddington, from the place of our meeting, which was in Guildford Street. The debate being at length concluded, or rather worn out, the doctor took possession of the next chair to that in which I was seated, and united with myself and a friend who sat on my other side in discoursing upon the politics of the day. On this topic we proceeded smoothly and accordantly for some time; till at length disagreeing with us upon some point as trivial as the former, he again rose abruptly from his seat, traversed the room in every direction, with as indeterminate a parallax as that of a comet, loudly, and with increase of voice, maintaining his position at every step he took. Not wishing

to

to prolong the dispute, we yielded to him without further interruption; and in the course of a few minutes after he had closed his harangue, he again approached us, retook possession of his chair, and was all playfulness, good-humour, and genuine wit.

"Upon his retirement, I inquired of our amiable hostess whether this were a specimen of his common disposition, or whether any thing had particularly occurred to excite his irascibility. From her I learned, that, with one of the best and most benevolent hearts in the world, he was naturally very irritable; but that his irritability was at the present period exacerbated by a slight degree of fever, which had for some time affected his spirits, and which had probably been produced by a considerable degree of very unmerited ill-usage and disappointment. I instantly regarded him in a different light: I sought his friendship, and I obtained it; and it was not long before I myself witnessed in his actions a series of benevolence and charitable exertions, often beyond what prudence and a regard to his own limited income would have dictated, that stamped a higher esteem for him upon my heart than all the general information and profound learning he was universally known to possess, and which gave him more promptitude upon every subject that happened to be started than I ever beheld in any other person. I saw him irritable, but it was the harmless coruscation of a summer evening's Aurora—it no sooner appeared than it was spent, and no mischief ensued. And when I reflected that it was this very irritability of nerve that excited him to a thousand acts of kindness, and prompted him to debar himself of a thousand little gratifications that he might relieve the distressed and comfort the sorrowful, I could scarcely lament that he possessed it; or, at least, I could not avoid contending that it carried a very ample apology along with it. Dr. Geddes himself was by no means insensible to this peculiar characteristic of his nature: he has frequently lamented it to me in private, and I have often beheld him endeavouring to stifle it in public, either by abruptly quitting the room, or introducing another subject. On one occasion I remember particularly his doing both. He was dining with me in company with the late Dr. Henry Hunter, of physiognomonic memory, the celebrated abbé Delille, and several other literary friends: unfortunately one of the subjects advanced was physiognomy itself. Geddes had read Lavater with much attention, and expressed himself extremely dissatisfied with the confusion and want of system that seemed to prevail in his writings: and which, in his opinion, precluded all possibility of applying his doctrines with precision. Hunter, the friend and translator of Lavater, immediately accepted the gauntlet, and became his champion: the combat grew warm on both sides; the good-humour of Dr. Geddes was soon lost; and, in proportion as he became violent, the company at large gave evident tokens of espousing the cause of his antagonist. He perceived his error; and, at the moment when I most trembled for the consequences, he rose suddenly from table, joined my two children who were playing in the same room before the fire, and abruptly entered into their amuse-

ments.

ments. A debate of some other kind however shortly afterwards occurred, when, once more sensible of an undue degree of warmth in his language, he suddenly retired without daring to trust himself any longer in the contest. No man, I fully believe, was more sensible of his prevailing defect; and no man ever took more pains to remedy it: but it was inherent in his constitution, and he often laboured to no purpose.—'I am not ill-natured,' says he of himself, and with strict justice, in his Letter to the Bishop of Centuria—'those who know me, know the contrary. Animated and irascible I am, but I am neither malevolent nor resentful. I may safely say that the sun has never set upon my wrath.'

"Having introduced the subject of physiognomy, I shall take the opportunity it affords me of observing, that it was a science to which about this period he was much attached, and had devoted a great portion of his time. I have already remarked that he was dissatisfied with the bulky and sentimental work of M. Lavater; but he nevertheless approved of many of his general principles, and had endeavoured to form from one or two of them, a new, or rather, in his own opinion, a more accurate theory of application. Lavater has observed, and perhaps justly, that there is no muscle or even bone of the human body that does not, in some degree or other, sympathise in the prevailing passion of the mind, and bear evident marks of having been operated upon by its influence; while, as the bones and muscles of the face are nearest the scene of action, and most obvious to the view of the spectator, the predominant disposition may be more easily studied and calculated from these than from any other, and especially from the eye, which is regarded by all physiognomists as the most perfect index of the soul. Admitting the general foundation of this position, Dr. Geddes denied the assertion which relates to the indicatory powers of the eye as an organ superior to the rest. There is scarcely any organ, he contended, that is more subject to the controul of the will than the eye itself, when that controul is strongly exercised; and when it is not, no organ that is so fluctuating and incessantly operated upon, not by the prevailing and habitual passion of life, but by all the fleeting passions of the day, whether of joy, anger, timidity, or grief; and consequently, however minutely it may indicate the mental feelings of the moment, it is too vacillating and uncertain an instrument by which to ascertain the master-passion of the man. His object therefore was to search out some feature of the face that was less subject to transitions, and for this purpose he selected the nose; and, voluntarily neglecting every other component part of the countenance, devoted a long and laborious attention to this organ alone. He endeavoured to investigate and arrange its multitudinous variations, and for this purpose frequented, with considerable constancy, for many years, our principal places of public resort, and especially Kensington Gardens; and he has repeatedly told me that he has been occasionally so pleased with the structure of a particular nose, that he has crossed and recrossed the person to whom it belonged so incessantly, before he finally quitted him, as to give the idea

idea of impertinence, and excite no very pleasant degree of remark in the party with whom he was walking. Of all these he took rude sketches at the moment; from which a lady of his acquaintance, whose name I have forgotten, but who was possessed of much skill in drawing, made more finished designs at her leisure: they were then duly systematised and arranged into classes, genera, and species. He had perfected his theory, and completed his observations upon it, about the year 1796, and nothing but the expense of the engravings prevented him from presenting it to the public.

"It may appear to many readers that this new system of risiognomy, or nosology, as we used sportively to denominate it, was founded less on fact than on fancy. I will not oppose such an assertion, having never profoundly engaged in the science; but it is well known that the author of it has been able, by the application of its principles, to make some very shrewd guesses at the tempers of persons who were total strangers to him. One instance indeed deserves to be recorded: a young lady, who was a particular friend of the doctor's, was addressed on the subject of matrimony by a gentleman of ample fortune and good person, and she was on the point of accepting his offers. She first of all introduced her lover to Dr. Geddes, and solicited in private his risiognomonic opinion of his predominant character and disposition. The doctor replied, that such an opinion was not to be expected from him; that he studied the science of the nose (as we would advise every other person to study it) for individual use alone; and that if he were to communicate his ideas to the public, whether just or unjust, he should soon make more than half the world his enemies. The lady was however importunate, and our physiognomist, really believing he might render her an essential service, at length told her in confidence, that the man was a confirmed miser, and that if she married him she would find he would soon grudge her the very clothes on her back. The lady departed with much dissatisfaction, and, for the first time in her life, discredited the infallibility of her oracle. She, who had had better opportunities of knowing her lover, was convinced that he was possessed of generosity, frankness of heart, and every amiable qualification. She gave him her hand, and in three months afterwards found the prediction she had extorted verified in its utmost extent, and only regretted her infidelity at the time of its having been delivered.

"Dr. Geddes himself, however, does not seem to have been so sanguine in his own system towards the last three or four years of his life, as at an earlier period: he spoke less of its powers as a general standard of equitable decision; and, upon his death, not a single scrap of paper relative to the subject could be detected among his writings. He had either despaired of offering it to the public in the manner he designed, or had been chagrined at repeated miscalculations, and in a fit of irritability had committed the whole of it to the flames. The cynic may perhaps observe that the public has sustained no great loss by such a conflagration. As a curiosity, the work must nevertheless have been entertaining; and, as exhibiting a deep and accurate

study

study of an important feature of the human countenance, it must have been something more—it must have been highly scientific and useful.

"To this system of risiognomy he has appealed in several parts of his writings. Thus in L'Avocat du Diable, of which I have given an account in the last chapter, speaking of the painters and the devil, he says, in the character of his orator—

'Then, tertio, my lords! they have given him *a nose*
That bespeaks a miser, which every one knows
My client is not—'

But more particularly in his 'Norfolk Tale,' a poem which yet remains to be noticed; but from which I shall extract, in the present place, the following description of one of the young ladies of the hospitable mansion in which he was visiting:

'——The NOSE of our Ann
Gets nigh to *perfection's original plan*:
For know, Catharina! when woman was born,
I mean, from the side of her yokefellow torn,
The NOSE was by far the most beautiful feature
That adorn'd the sweet face of the new-fashion'd creature.
But when, hearkning, alas! to the voice of a snake,
That *apple* forbidden she ventur'd to take,
Her form was disfigur'd (the rabbis suppose),
And a part of the punishment fell on her *nose*.
Hence, rarely we find in the face of a fair
A nose that completely comes up to the square.
Have you ever yet seen *one*—that was not or *crooked*,
Or *flatten'd*, or *hottled*, or *turn'd-up*, or *hooked*;
Too *large*, or too *little*, too *short*, or too *long*;
In a word—that had nothing about it was *wrong*?
Not ten, I believe, since the world first began,
Had less imperfection than that of our Ann:
From which I conclude, that on NER but a small
Share of sin was entail'd by her grandmother's fall.
And yet, that she's faultless, I cannot well think;
This moment she chode me for spilling her ink!
And when *Hennesey* disturbs or her pencil, or paint,
She shows that she's no *unanimable* saint.
Nay once, if not oft'ner, I plight you my troth,
I heard her pronounce the *one half* of an oath.—
But I will not the foibles of fair-ones expose:
If Anna have any—pray look at her NOSE.'

"Our author, who had hitherto contented himself with lodgings in different parts of the town, finding his library begin to swell to a magnitude that required more space than lodgings could easily afford, engaged, about this time, a house in Alsop's Buildings, New Road, Mary-le-bone, which promised him every convenience his heart could desire: it possessed a garden before and behind; and, while pleasant in front, commanded for its back view the whole compass of the sister hills of Highgate and Hampstead, affording one of the most lovely and luxuriant sceneries in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. Dr. Geddes, who was too independent a man, to be indebted to any one, even a mechanic, for any thing he could perform himself, now found as much labour carved out for him as Alexander Selkirk, when thrown without a companion upon the island of Juan Fernandez. His first object was to arrange his library; and having no one to please but himself, he extended it to every room in the house, excepting the kitchen

kitchen and a chamber for his housekeeper. He purchased a large box of carpenters' tools, laid in a considerable stock of deals and mahogany, and began to renew the building system pursued at Auchinhalrig. He planed, sawed, and completed his shelves, which he equally hung round parlours, drawing-rooms, and chambers; and which, though not finished with all the skill of the professional cabinet-maker, were neat and commodious, and, being edged with mahogany, by no means deficient in elegance. One contrivance introduced into the room in which he commonly wrote was peculiarly advantageous to the purposes of study. Our bookcases in general, after allowing space for two tiers of folios from the floor, recede, and become narrower, for books of smaller dimensions; leaving at the point of recess a kind of shelf of too little width to be of any real utility. This shelf or covering for the folios below, which he formed of mahogany slab, our self-taught artist projected a few inches over the folios themselves, and carried the projection regularly all round the room; by which means he more effectually secured them from dust, and obtained a kind of circular desk (for, by such contrivance, it was rendered wide enough for this purpose), on which to open the various books he might have occasion to consult, while he himself sat in the centre at his table. By this ingenious scheme, he avoided a considerable portion of labour; since, instead of examining a few volumes at once, and making manuscript references to particular passages as he closed them, to admit others to his table in their stead, he opened at one time all the books for which he had occasion, and consulting each in rotation as he passed round the room, reverted instantaneously to that he was determined to follow, copied it without trouble, and with the same facility gave references in his text to several others, without the necessity of a single previous memorandum, or having repeatedly to open and close the same volume before he had done with it.

"Having completed his library and arranged his books, he next devoted his leisure hours to his garden; and in this he toiled, with all the industry of a labourer and all the zeal of a botanist, till he could boast of productions both for ornament and use intrinsically of prime excellence, but still sweeter to himself, as being the fruits of his own culture.

'Primus vere rosam, atque autumno carpere poma;
Et cum tristis hyems etiam nunc frigore saxa
Rumperet, et glacie cursus frænaret aquarum,
Ille comam mollis jam tum tondebat hyacynthi,
Æstatem increpitans seram, Zephyrosque morantes'.'

Georg. iv. 134.

"To the pure pleasure resulting

"'At spring-tide first he plucked the full-blown rose,
From autumn first the ripened apple chose;
And e'en when winter split the rocks with cold,
And chained the 'restless' torrent as it rolled,
His blooming hyacinths, ne'er known to fail,
Shed sweets unborrowed of the vernal gale,
As, mid their rifled beds, he wound his way,
Chid the slow sun, and Zephyr's long delay.'" Sotheby.

from the cultivation of indigenous plants, our indefatigable labourer now began to think of adding the luxury of a little green-house, and a few exotics. He thought, resolved, and executed. The expense of such an additional indulgence under his management was but trifling, for he was once more his own mason and carpenter, and the green-houses or gardens of his friends supplied him with a parent stock. This conservatory he erected in the front of his house, and so completely adjoining the house itself, that one of the parlour windows served him for an entrance into it. Here, by a variety of little plans which the fertility of his fancy perpetually suggested and as perpetually induced him to exchange for others, he considerably amused himself during the months of winter. At one time his flue was heated by a stove opening into the front area; at another time, in a fit of economy, he annulled the stove altogether, and by carrying the flue to the parlour chimney, endeavoured to heat it from the fire of his own room. At one period he chose to moisten his plants with a common water-pot; at a second, by a pipe communicating with the cistern; and at a third, attempting boldly to imitate the reviving dews of the atmosphere, he contrived, by a large copper vessel, and a long copper pipe, to supply them with water in the form of tepid vapour. In this manner invention succeeded invention; and though no one satisfied him long, it at least bestowed its share of amusement, and afforded him that interchange of nugatory recreation which the mind occasionally requires in the midst of severe and habitual study; and has frequently recalled to my memory an observation of the amiable but unfortunate Cowper, who, with a fancy still idler, was often accustomed, at the close of day, to watch in solitude the bright-red cinders of his fire, assuming to his imagination the fantastic forms of trees, towers, churches, and uncouth visages; or from the sooty films that played pendulously upon the bars, to calculate by the laws of old English tradition the arrival of letters or the approach of strangers:

"'Tis thus the understanding takes repose
In indolent vacuity of thought,
And sleeps, and is refreshed.

"Yet Dr. Geddes was by no means a recluse. No man was fonder of society than himself, and, excepting when under the influence of high-wrought irritability, no man was possessed of more companionable qualities. His anecdote was always ready, his wit always brilliant: there was an originality of thought, a shrewdness of remark, an epigrammatic turn of expression in almost every thing which escaped him, that was sure to captivate his companions, and to induce those who had once met him, notwithstanding his habitual infirmity, to wish earnestly to meet him again."

Dr.

Dr. Geddes's Death and Character.

[From the same Work.]

"CRITICISM is, however, most ungraciously employed in hunting after defects either in this or in any other piece which he occasionally composed at the present period; for the doctor was now labouring not merely under incidental depressions of spirit, but violent paroxysms of corporeal pain, arising from a cancerous affection of the rectum; a pain indeed which was at times so excessive as to be almost insupportable. 'I am idling away my time,' said he to me, while he was composing this very ode; 'I can do nothing else—I shall never be fit for study any more, and my only object at present is amusement.'

"It was about the month of June 1801, the year at which we have now arrived, that he first became sensible of this dreadful disease. As is too customary in incipient cases, he paid but little attention to it; it increased, therefore, without opposition, and in a few weeks afterwards he was compelled, by excess of torture, to think of applying seriously for surgical assistance. On informing me confidentially of his situation, I was considerably alarmed for the consequence, and strenuously advised him to consult our common friend Mr. Ring, who had long preceded me in familiarity with him, whom he had been in the regular habit of consulting from the commencement of their acquaintance, and of whose professional talents and veneration for himself, I was well convinced. Medical or chirurgical advice was by this time, however, equally become useless; and although, through the anxiety of his friends that he should obtain relief, he was compelled to receive progressively the opinion, and submit to the skill of almost every physician as well as surgeon of eminence in the metropolis, it was all to no purpose—and he often lamented to me in private the additional trouble which such a multiplicity of advisers imposed upon him. The pro-egumenal or immediate cause of this complaint I know not, but it is at least indubitable, that the augmented irritability of his nervous system, which he had uniformly and progressively evinced ever since the decease of his friend lord Petre, considerably tended to exacerbate it, and consequently to diminish every hope of cure.

"The alternations from excruciating torture to tolerable ease were, nevertheless, for a long time abrupt and frequent; and often, upon visiting him the ensuing day after that on which I had heard it was impossible he could ever more rise from his bed, I have been surprised to find him not only below stairs, but reassuming his habits of agility, and in the very act of carpentering, or cultivating his garden. It was in an interval of this kind that he composed his Elegy on the Death of our friend Mr. Wakefield; the last piece, I believe, either in Latin or English, that ever proceeded from his pen, and the only piece in which he has

uniformly adopted the mythology of ancient Greece in preference to the figurative language of the Bible. The reason, however, is obvious; for, notwithstanding Mr. Wakefield's very valuable theological labours, he is chiefly known to the world as a classical critic—as an ardent admirer and most excellent commentator upon the best poets of Greece and Rome. As adventuring upon a new undertaking, Dr. Geddes may therefore be considered as highly successful—though the task does not seem to sit quite so easy upon him, nor is conducted with quite so much discrimination as when engaged in subjects that allow him to exchange the fictitious scenery of the Greeks for the solid sublimities of the Hebrews. It is an admirable elegy, nevertheless, considering the circumstances under which it was produced; and although, perhaps, not equal either in pathos or diction to that composed on the death of lord Petre, ranks, if I err not, immediately next to it, and consequently second in the whole class of his Latin exercises.

"Our learned but unfortunate friend, Gilbert Wakefield, died Sept. 9, in the present year (1801); and the above elegy was written October 12, about a month after his decease. The last two couplets contain all the truth of prophecy or actual presentiment.

'Nec ventura dies distat qua, stamine vitæ
Truncato, celeri te pede, Amice, sequar.
Morbificus languor jam fessos occupat artus.
Paulatim emorior.....

'Soon shall I join thee as these tremors tell;
Faint are my limbs—already Death's in sight.

"In effect, it was not more than a day or two afterwards that the bed on which he died was removed from his own chamber on the second floor into the front room, or chief library, on the first, in consequence of his being now incapable of moving either up or down stairs without extreme pain; and from this bed he scarcely ever rose afterwards. To this assertion I nevertheless remember one exception, and it affords a strong proof of the occasional triumph of the mind, when roused to a high degre of excitement, over all the pains and infirmities of the body. I called at his house one morning, doubtful whether I should find him alive or dead: he had not actually expired, but had refused admittance to all except his professional friends. He was alone, and requested to see me. He was lying on his bed agonised with torture, ghastly in countenance, and extremely depressed in his spirits. He seized my hand with avidity; 'Forgive me, my dear friend!' said he abruptly, while the tears started from his eyes—'Forgive me this weakness! I did think I should have been able to have endured suffering with more fortitude and resignation; but I cannot support it, and am impatiently wishing for death.' I endeavoured to console him—and added, that instead of accusing him of weakness, all his friends were astonished at the general tranquillity and strength of mind with which he submitted to his affliction. By degrees I drew him into a conversation upon one or two subjects which I knew lay nearest his heart. I introduced his version of the Bible; I requested information upon a passage in the Song of Solomon, which I was then in

in the act of translating: our ideas upon this passage did not altogether coincide; he became animated in the defence of his own opinion—he forgot the disease he was labouring under—suddenly rose from his bed—and to my utter astonishment ran rapidly up stairs in pursuit of some annotations of his own, which he had formerly written upon the controverted question. I remained with him for about half an hour afterwards, and he still continued to enjoy himself: he suffered me to depart with great reluctance, and thanked me most cordially for the good I had done him. He soon, however, relapsed, and died a few days afterwards, February 26, 1802, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; the rites of his own communion having been regularly administered to him, and received with great consolation on his own part, by M. St. Martin, a catholic clergyman and confidential friend.

"It has been insinuated in a journal of extensive circulation, and insinuated moreover in terms equally uncandid and untrue, that on his death-bed he recanted many of his opinions, and that such recantation has been *studiously concealed*. What the opinions may be which are here referred to, or to what incident such a rumour owes its birth, I have not been able to learn, although I have spared no pains in the investigation. On the day anterior to his decease he was, as usual, visited by his friend M. St. Martin, professor of theology and a doctor of the Sorbonne, who had officially attended him as his priest during the whole of his illness. I have been minute in my inquiries of this gentleman as to the conversation that occurred in the course of this and former interviews, that I might have the fuller opportunity of proving the gross falsehoods of the charge thus advanced. On entering the room, M. St Martin found the doctor extremely comatose, and believed him to be in the utmost danger: he endeavoured to rouse him from his lethargy, and proposed to him to receive absolution. Dr. Geddes observed that, in such case, it was necessary he should first make his confession. M. St. Martin was sensible that he had neither strength nor wakefulness enough for such an exertion, and replied that *in extremis* this was not necessary: that he had only to examine the state of his own mind, and to make a sign when he was prepared. M. St. Martin is a gentleman of much liberality of sentiment, but strenuously attached to what are denominated the *orthodox* tenets of the catholic church: he had long beheld, with great grief of heart, what he conceived the aberrations of his learned friend; and had flattered himself, that in the course of this last illness he should be the happy instrument of recalling him to a full belief of every doctrine he had rejected; and with this view he was actually prepared upon the present occasion with a written list of questions, in the hope of obtaining from the doctor an accurate and satisfactory reply. He found, however, from the lethargic state of Dr. Geddes, that this regular process was impracticable. He could not avoid, nevertheless, examining the state of his mind as to several of the more important points upon which they differed. 'You fully,' said he, 'believe in the scriptures?' He roused himself from his sleep, and said, 'Certainly.'—'In the doctrine of the trinity?'—'Certainly, but not in the manner you

mean.'—'In the mediation of Jesus Christ?'—'No, no, no—not as you mean: in Jesus Christ as our saviour—but not in the atonement.' I inquired of M. St. Martin if, in the course of what had occurred, he had any reason to suppose that his religious creed either now, or in any other period of his illness, had sustained any shade of difference from what he had formerly professed. He replied, that he could not positively flatter himself with believing it had: that the most comfortable words he heard him utter, were immediately after a short pause, and before the administration of absolution, 'I consent to all;' but that to these he could affix no definite meaning. I showed him the passage to which I now refer, in the Gentleman's Magazine:—he carefully perused it, and immediately added, that it was *false in every respect*. 'It would have given me great pleasure,' said he, 'to have heard him recant, but I cannot with certainty say that I perceived the least disposition in him to do so; and even the expression, "I consent to all," was rather, perhaps, uttered from a wish to oblige me as his friend, or a desire to shorten the conversation, than from any change in his opinions. After having thus examined himself, however, for some minutes, he gave a sign of being ready, and received absolution as I had proposed to him. I then left him: he shook my hand heartily upon quitting him, and said that he was happy he had seen me.'

"It was the intention of this excellent priest to have visited him again in the evening, and to have passed the whole of the night in his room. On returning to the house, however, he was informed that the doctor's physicians had strictly prohibited his being seen by any of his friends that evening, in consequence of which M. St. Martin returned home with much reluctance; and on renewing his visit the next morning, found he was just dead. A domestic of the catholic persuasion who lived in an adjoining house, and had been frequent in her inquiries concerning the doctor, knocked at his door as he was in the very act of dying; and his confidential servant, terrified at the appearance of her master, readily opened the door and requested her to walk up stairs. She beheld him almost at his last gasp, and immediately repeated, according to the rites of her church, the Creed, Paternoster, and Ave Maria: Dr. Geddes just opened his eyes as she had concluded, gave her his benediction, and expired.

"I am sorry I am compelled to add, that the conduct of the liberal-minded, the truly catholic, and truly christian M. St. Martin was not followed by his clerical superiors; and that the ceremony of saying public mass for the deceased was prohibited by an express interdict of Mr. Douglas, his vicar apostolic. Let not the reader, however, condemn the whole body of English catholics for this act of malevolent bigotry; a bigotry which would follow with its persecution an honest and conscientious man into the next world, after having contributed all that was in its power to curtail his days in the present. I know, and am authorised to say, that this malignant prohibition was lamented and objected to by many of the most respectable laymen of the catholic church: and whatever be its blame therefore, it only attaches to that intolerant and contracted spirit which

which has been uniformly more obvious in the catholic priesthood than in the people at large, from the fanaticism imbibed in the course of a foreign education, and which strenuously opposed and had nearly frustrated the two last very important statutes in favour of its own community. Such an interdict might, perhaps, have been justified had Dr. Geddes been formally excommunicated from the catholic pale—but its vindication requires arguments not readily to be advanced by the keenest casuist in the case of a member, who, like the deceased, had neither voluntarily withdrawn himself, nor been forcibly rejected by his community—who had avowed, through the whole of his life, a zealous attachment to the catholic church, and in death had duteously complied with her most solemn requisitions.

"Such, as far as I have been able to collect it, is the history of the late doctor Geddes; a man of no common character, and whose energy of mind and activity of body seemed engaged in a perpetual contest for the mastery. In his corporeal make he was slender, and in the bold and formidable outlines of his countenance not highly prepossessing on a first interview: but never was there a face or a form through which the soul developed itself more completely than through his own. Every feature, and indeed every limb, was in harmony with the entire system, and displayed the restless and indefatigable operations of the interior of the machine. A play of cheerfulness beamed uniformly from his cheeks, and his animated eyes rather darted than looked benevolence. Yet such was the irritability of his nerves, that a slight degree of opposition to his opinions, and especially when advanced by persons whose mental powers did not warrant such opposition, put to flight in a moment the natural character of his countenance, and cheerfulness and benevolence were exchanged for exacerbation and tumult. Of this physical and irresistible impulse in his constitution, no man was more thoroughly sensible than himself; and if no man ever less succeeded in subduing it, no man ever took more pains to obtain a victory. Let us, however, fairly strike the balance, and we shall find, that if such a peculiar construction of body had its evil, it also had its advantage; and that the very irritability of soul, which occasionally hurried him, against his consent, into a violence of controversy not perfectly consistent with the polished maners of the day, hurried him a thousand times oftener, and with a thousand times more rapidity, because assisted instead of opposed by his judgement, into acts of kindness and benevolence. The moment he beheld the possibility of doing good by his own exertions, the good was instantly done, although it were to a man, who, perhaps, had causelessly quarrelled with him a few hours before. It was not in his nature to pause with our academic and cold-blooded philosophers of the present day, that he might first weigh the precise demand of moral or political justice, and inquire into the advantage that would accrue to himself, or in what manner the world at large might be benefited either by a good action or a good example—it was stimulus enough for him that distress existed, and that he knew it—and it afterwards afforded him satisfaction enough

that he had removed or mitigated it.

"In intellectual talents he had few equals, and fewer still who had improved the possession of equal talents in an equal degree. To an ardent thirst after knowledge in all its multitudinous ramifications, he added an astonishing facility in acquiring and retaining it; and so extensive was his erudition, that it was difficult to start a subject into which he could not enter, and be heard with both attention and profit. But theology was the prime object of his pursuits, the darling science of his heart, which he had indefatigably studied from his infancy, and to which every other acquisition was made to bend. From his verbal knowledge of the Bible he might have been regarded as a living concordance; and this not with respect to any individual language alone, or the various and rival renderings of any individual language, but a concordance that should comprise the best exemplars of the most celebrated tongues into which the Bible has ever been translated. As an interpreter of it, he was strictly faithful and honest to the meaning of what he apprehended to be the meaning of his original; and though in his critical remarks upon the text he allowed himself a latitude and a boldness which injured his popularity, and drew down upon his head a torrent of abusive appellations, how seldom have we seen a man systematically educated in the characteristic tenets of any established community whatsoever, and especially of the church of Rome, who, when he has once begun to feel his independence, and has determined to shake off his fetters, and to think for himself, has not flown much further from the goal at which he started! The general ambition, corruption, and profligacy of the catholic hierarchy—of those very pontiffs who claim to be the direct successors of the apostles—and through whose medium alone he believed himself capable of being acknowledged a member of Christ's visible church—whose persons he was bound to revere, and whose ordinances implicitly to obey—became the first stumbling-block to his faith: and let those who conceive that the situation of a mind thus liberated from the bondage of its former creed, and all afloat in pursuit of a new and a better, is not in the highest degree critical and perilous—who find no difficulty in fixing the precise point between blindly believing too much and philosophically believing too little, once more return to the history of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, and their fellow Encyclopedists, who, instructed in revealed religion from the same source, disgusted with the same criminalities and contradictions, and resolved, upon similar grounds, to act and determine for themselves—fled from catholicism to infidelity, and confounded the truths and simplicity of the Gospel with the frauds, superstitions, and mummeries, with which in their own country they had been too generally interwoven.

"To an universal knowledge of the Bible, Dr. Geddes added a deep and elaborate acquaintance with the history of his own church; and so thoroughly was he versed in its annals, in its jurisprudence, in its polemics, that I have good authority for asserting, that even at the Vatican it was doubted whether the papal dominions themselves could produce his superior.

"His classical attainments, if not of the first rate, were of a very distinguished character; and, when

when in his own language, he wrote with coolness and circumspection, his diction, which was always perspicuous, was peculiarly elegant and correct. His style is nevertheless extremely variable: he often composed precipitately, and occasionally in a state of high mental irritation; and though there be a character which still adheres to what he wrote and fully deciphers the writer, his compositions uniformly partake of the predominant sensation of the moment. In few words, he was a benevolent man, an accomplished scholar, an indefatigable friend, and a sincere Christian.

"At his own particular desire his remains were interred in Paddington church-yard, being the parish in which he died; and his funeral was attended by a long procession of carriages, not indecently empty and sent for the mere purpose of external parade, but filled with friends who were strenuously attached to his person, and will long venerate his memory; and who, though divided by different tenets into almost every class of christian and even political society, here consented to forget every nominal separation, and to unite in taking one common and affectionate farewel of a man who had been an honour to the generation in which he lived.

"A plain marble monument, with a short inscription engraven on it, selected from his own works, has been erected to his memory by his patron lord Petre, and is affixed to the outside of the entrance into the church."

Account of the Life of General De Zieten.

[From his Life, by Madame De Blumenthal, translated from the German by the Reverend B. Beresford.]

"JOHN Joachim de Zieten was born on the 18th of May, 1699, at Wustrau, a village belonging to his family, situated in the county of Ruppin, seven German miles from Berlin. His father, Joachim Matthias de Zieten, was a country gentleman who resided on his own estate, unemployed either in a civil or military capacity. He married Elizabeth Catherine de Jurgas of the house of Ganzer, by whom he had four daughters and two sons; of the latter, one died in his infancy.

"M. de Zieten's fortune did not exceed five hundred rix-dollars a year, which arose from the produce of his Wustrau estate*. On this moderate income did this gentleman and his family, whose wants were few, live, as people lived in good old times, towards the close of the seventeenth century. The tricks and chicaneries of his wealthy neighbours, which often bore hard upon him, alone could make him feel the want of fortune, and under the pressure of these injurious proceedings he commonly displayed a command of temper not a little rare among the old Germans.

"Young de Zieten, in his father's house, was utterly unprovided with the means of instruction or culture. Left to himself at a time of life in

"* The village of Wustrau was at this time possessed by three different proprietors. M. de Zieten's portion amounted to about a sixth part."

which

which, at the present day, young men of condition are engaged in their studies and various exercises, his natural dispositions alone developed themselves, and gave him that character of originality which the hand of art in polishing would have much defaced.

"He employed the leisure of his early days in forming plans for the future. The void that prevailed in the life of his father, the small fortune which one day was to fall to his share, the narrow and gloomy limits of the mansion-house, to which he found himself confined, instead of afflicting and dismaying him, tended only to inflame his courage and foster his ambition. When yet a mere child his imagination was busied in embellishing the inheritance of his ancestors; and, when grown old, he has often acknowledged, that the plans he afterwards executed were in part the dreams of his youth.

"He betrayed from his early childhood a decided partiality for every thing that related to the military life. Whenever a soldier passed through Wustrau on a furlough, a circumstance that rarely happened, young Zieten followed him closely, could never sufficiently admire him, and was eagerly solicitous of the honour of imitating and resembling him. The Prussian soldiers, it is well known, wear their hair tied in a queue. Every Saturday young Zieten requested his father's leave to go to Ruppin, a German mile from Wustrau, where a soldier of the garrison with whom he had formed an acquaintance, dressed his hair *à la Prussienne*, and made him a large queue well stiffened and powdered, which served to ornament him for the ensuing week. He was at this time nine years of age.

"Nature had endowed him with a quick perception of right and wrong, and with the strongest propensity to resist oppression. These dispositions manifested themselves from his very childhood, and rendered him a correct and judicious observer of every thing that passed within the sphere of his notice. The unbecoming procedure of his neighbours irritated his mind, his father's mortifications became his own; and, in the bitterness of his soul, he has been often heard to swear he would one day put an end to them.

"When he was thirteen years old, his parents provided him with a kind of tutor, a man whose irregularity of conduct ill fitted him for the task. Young Zieten soon perceived this and withdrew his esteem and confidence. The preceptor one day preparing to inflict a bodily correction upon his pupil, the youth repulsed him with disdain, impeached him to his father; and having supported his accusations with proper proof, the pedagogue was immediately dismissed.

"At the age of fourteen he left Wustrau to enter into the service of Frederick William I., king of Prussia. His father procured him the post of standard-bearer in the regiment of Schwendy (now Zenge), which, after having been engaged in the siege of Stralsund, was garrisoned at Spandau, Frankfort on the Oder, Cottbus, Treuenbrietzen and Belitz.

"His relations were unable to furnish him either with letters of recommendation or money. He was low of stature and of a puny unhealthy appearance. Without patron, friend, or fortune, he felt himself, in his new career, in a strange city, as if he had just dropped from the clouds. His father, indeed, had

had some slight knowledge of general de Schwendy; they were neighbours, and their estates bordered upon each other; but they had scarce any intercourse together. M. de Zieten strongly recommended to his son to take the first opportunity of paying his court to the general, and of soliciting his patronage. He promised himself great advantage from this step, and we shall see in what manner it ended. The young man appears before his general; executes his father's commission, and finishes with the usual phrase, that he was come to pay his devoirs to him. 'Well, pay them then,' said Schwendy with the most insulting coolness; and, without adding a civil word either for the youth or his parents, he opened the window, and looking out of it, turned his back upon his visitor, whom he left standing near the door. Zieten did not long remain in this awkward situation; deeply hurt at the rude reception he had met with, he flung out of the chamber without taking the least pains to dissemble his resentment. He was never able to forget this scene; and even in his old age could never speak of it without the keenest indignation.

"Although unpatronised in his new career, and having entered it under the most unpromising auspices, his zeal for his profession remained uncooled, and his genius lost nothing of its original energy. On the contrary, it seemed as if oppression fortified his breast; and that the neglect in which he was vegetating, nourished his ambition, and imparted new elasticity and vigour to his mind. Thus situated, he was not, however, the less alive to insult, nor less prone to avenge his wrongs. The first person he chastised, was a veteran serjeant who had behaved improperly to him. He wounded him desperately in the face, and escaped unhurt himself. Soon after this, he crippled one of his comrades. This early courage, though it bordered upon ferocity, acquired young Zieten that esteem for which his diminutive stature and undignified appearance seemed at first to have disqualified him, and procured him a kind of relief.

"After having passed some years in learning the detail of the military service, frequently mounting guard in the capacity of a common sentinel, and in acquitting himself of every duty his station imposed upon him, he was appointed ensign on the 7th of July, 1720. In a short time the regiment to which he belonged was given to count de Schwerin, afterwards field-marshal-general of Prussia. The count, who was a native of the duchy of Mecklenburg, had entered early into the army in the service of his own country; and, after having retired for a while to his paternal estate, he again launched into the military life under the banners of the king of Prussia. He had many imitators among the young and wealthy part of his own countrymen, who were eager to serve in his regiment, into which he admitted them to the prejudice of the senior officers, and of Zieten in particular, whom he disliked on account of his low stature and the shrillness of his voice, which he said was not formed to give the word of command. Zieten, after finding himself, in four successive instances, superseded to make way for others, demanded his dismission with reluctance, and immediately obtained it."

"Some

"Some months after this, being obliged to attend the progress of a law-suit at Berlin, he learnt with great satisfaction, that De Wuthenow's dragoons, who were quartered in Prussia, were shortly to be augmented from five squadrons to ten. This information revived all his hopes. He anticipated the long-wished-for moment of changing the sedentary and inanimate life he now led, for scenes of greater activity and pursuits more adapted to his genius. He was determined, however, not to avail himself of the recommendation or interposition of any one: his fortune, he was resolved, should be his own work;—such was his unconquerable aversion to every thing that looked like patronage and dependency.

"Thus determined, he frequently appeared on the parade; and though he was aware that his diminutive size would be far from recommending him in the eyes of Frederick William, he was not the less eager to appear before that prince and to attract his notice. To further his design, he had again taken care to dress in regimentals, and the king soon remarked him. His majesty not only asked his name; but having received the same answer as was formerly given, he made him an offer of a new commission. It may be easily imagined with what readiness Zieten accepted the gracious proposal; he ventured, however, to stipulate conditions which might indemnify him in point of rank for the time he had lost in his retreat, and the partiality shown to the Mecklenburg officers, who, as it has been already observed, had been put over his head. Having received his majesty's assurances that he should rank agreeably to his wishes, he entered into Wuthenow's dragoons as fourth lieutenant.

"It was in the year 1726, that Zieten, now twenty-seven years of age, thus launched for the second time into that element for which nature seemed to have formed him. Full of hope and ardour, and painting in the most vivid colours the picture of his future life, he was far from dreaming that vexations of a more disagreeable nature awaited him in the cavalry, than those he had experienced in the infantry. He repaired to his new quarters; but before he arrived there, he had a disaster to encounter which nearly cost him his life.

"When he was on the point of setting out for his garrison * in the month of February, a staff-officer of his own regiment, who had come to Berlin to procure a supply of horses, having been informed that Zieten was appointed lieutenant, consigned a quantity of them to his care. The officer set out a day before him and passed the Vistula with no small difficulty, as the ice was beginning to break up. When Zieten arrived the next day on the bank of the river, the ice was already afloat, and he was obliged to take a circuitous way of more than twenty German miles to cross the river over the bridge of Naugarten. This tottering structure had been often impaired by the inundation of the Vistula; and at this moment seemed on the point of giving way. What could he do? It was necessary to avail himself of the present instant; and Zieten ac-

* "Tilsit, a town in the Prussian Lithuania."

cordingly

cordingly began to march the horses over the bridge, and remained behind himself to preserve order. During these proceedings, the Polish toll-man shut the gate on the opposite side, and refused to suffer the horses, which were now crowded on the bridge, to pass till the toll was duly paid. This incident rendered the personal interference of Zieten absolutely necessary; and he was obliged to make his way over the narrow and crazy bridge, justling along by the horses, which now began to grow unruly and much startled at the dashing of the waters. Scarcely had he, by dint of threats and promises, prevailed on the man to throw open the gate, scarcely had the horses in the rear lightened the bridge, which their weight had hitherto tended not a little to keep entire, when one arch after another began to yield to the violence of the current; and the last horse having touched the bank, the last arch gave way, and the whole bridge disappeared in a few minutes.

"Thus did Zieten owe his safety to the merest accident. Had he remained in the rear, and had not the well-timed perverseness of the toll-man forced him to quit that dangerous post, he would most probably have been swallowed up with the bridge, and found a grave in the Vistula. But having escaped this danger, he seemed to derive new intrepidity from it, and become the better fitted to encounter the perils that still awaited him."

"The king died in the year 1740. In him Zieten lost a prince whom he loved as the author of his fortune, and whom he respected as the founder of the Prussian army, who from a vigorous judge had become a zealous patron, and whose severities had been transformed into benefactions and favours. Whenever he spoke of this monarch, it was always with impressions of admiration and gratitude, and with the flattering consciousness of having overcome his prejudices by mere dint of merit.

"On the accession of Frederick II. all the splendid prospects of Zieten seemed on the point of vanishing away, or at least of becoming extremely precarious. On ascending the throne, this prince set about realising the plans which his genius had conceived in the silence of retreat. His system of government was already arranged, and the instruments which were to assist him in carrying it on were already chosen. Zieten, who had always kept aloof and considered every kind of eagerness which bore any resemblance to flattery as beneath himself and incompatible with real desert, had not attracted the notice of that monarch. He was lost in the crowd; but while Frederick on his part was far from foreseeing that their names should one day be blended together in the annals of history, and their glory reflect mutual splendor on each other, Zieten waited patiently for the moment in which his sovereign should mark him out and place him in his true sphere of action. The event has fulfilled his expectations, and justified the confidence he had both in his own worth and the penetration of the monarch.

"The beginning of the reign of Frederick II. was the epoch of the German war. On the decease of Charles VI., the last of the male line of the house of Austria, several powers made pretensions to a great part of his dominions. The commotion soon became universal, and a general war appeared to be inevitable

evitable. The king of Prussia took advantage of the present juncture of affairs to make good the former rights his family had to a considerable portion of Silesia. The way of negotiation he considered as too tedious a measure; and, while he published his manifestoes, his troops took possession of the duchy towards the end of the year 1740. The three squadrons of body-hussars under the command of colonel de Wurm accompanied the army, and the Prussian hussars still remained in their quarters.

"Such was the first appearance of Zieten on this theatre of war, in which the Prussian army was destined to signalise itself both offensively and defensively, and under the banners of Frederick to merit the admiration of the universe, to raise its chief to the rank of the most powerful monarchs, and sustain his throne in the midst of the assaults of the combined force of Europe."

"We are now come to the period in which Zieten was enabled to make a full display of his talents and love of glory. The corps into which, eleven years before, he had obtained admission in quality of lieutenant as by favour, now saw him at their head, and were themselves rapidly advancing to the æra of their most brilliant career. The name of Zieten and that of the hussars now began to be mentioned with respect throughout the whole army. The enemy, though long familiarised to this kind of soldiery, observed its formation in the Prussian service with alarm, and foreboded how fatal it would one day prove to them. Zieten had the merit of being the father of all the heroes who succeeded him in this line of duty, as his regiment had that of being the model of all that were formed after him. And if Frederick the Great in his posthumous works has not nominally done justice to his general, he speaks with eulogium of the services the hussars had rendered him in the various desultory wars in which they were employed, and makes particular mention of the affair of Rothschloss.

"A short time after that affair the regiment of Zieten had the first occasion of displaying the bravery of their new commander. The king, who was become still more sensible of the necessity of increasing the number of light troops, had commissioned colonel De Nazmer to form a corps of uhlans in Prussia, and to march them into Silesia. Being arrived at the camp of Strehlen, the whole army was struck with the fine appearance of the men and the goodness of the horses. The king in particular was highly pleased on the occasion, and declared that he expected more from them than from the hussars themselves; at the same time adding, that he should soon furnish them with an opportunity of making trial of their prowess. These were, however, for the greater part, young men newly-raised, ill-exercised, and withal much encumbered by their long pikes. The king, nevertheless, sent them upon an expedition near Grotkaw, taking at the same time the precaution to direct Zieten to lie in ambuscade near them, and to remain a mere spectator of the battle as long as it should go on in their favour in order to secure them the glory of their success; but, in case of a repulse, to support and rescue them. The event showed the propriety of this measure.

"The uhlans began the attack with

with impetuosity. The enemy, who soon discovered with whom they had to cope, received them with such vigour, that their ranks were immediately broken, and themselves put to flight; and being hemmed in on all sides they began to give themselves up for lost. These raw troops, who, even had they preserved their ranks, would have been but little formidable to the Austrians, as they were unpractised in the use of their arms, ceased entirely to be so the moment their ranks were broken. Their pikes, which were of no use in action, now tended to impede their flight. They wounded one another in the disorder into which they were thrown; or, in bearing their arms too low, the point stuck into the ground, the rider was unhorsed, and his steed stumbled and fell with him.

"Zieten, leaving his ambuscade, hastened to the relief of the uhlans. The enemy, struck with surprise, halted, and forming themselves into order of battle, made vigorous resistance against this unexpected attack. The brave hussars, however, soon changed the face of the battle, and delivered their comrades; and, after having recovered a great part of the prisoners, they forced the enemy to retreat. The uhlans, who had now regained their former courage, rallied themselves, and joining the victorious squadrons, completely routed the Austrians. Zieten, who returned with them to the camp, had to regret the loss of one of their officers who had been killed at the beginning of the action *. He presented to the king the regiment he had just saved; and which, without his assistance, would have been annihilated almost at its very birth. The loss, however, which the uhlans sustained, and the bad success of their first enterprise, induced the king to transform them into hussars. They were then in their own element; and, with the aid of their sabres, they were soon able to efface the memory of the unfortunate day of the pikes.

"The Austrian hussars observed with an evil eye their young rivals disputing the palm with them, and in almost every instance bearing it away. They were impatient to take revenge, and were particularly irritated against the regiment of Zieten. Yet, though this regiment consisted at that time but of six squadrons, they nevertheless resisted the superior force of the enemy, and always came off with honour. The bravery of each individual, the able dispositions made by their officers, rendered this little corps as formidable in their attack as they were invincible on the defensive. Of this we shall only state a single instance. Sixty hussars being posted at Ulmendorf were surprised by a numerous detachment of the enemy, and were in the greatest danger of being made prisoners, when their principal officer † disposing them in a masterly manner, formed such a front as enabled him to keep the enemy aloof till a reinforcement arrived under the command of one of his comrades ‡. Scarce were these two squadrons united, when falling upon the Austrians, in their turn, they repulsed them with great loss. Zieten, moreover, distinguished himself personally at Freywald, as well as on many other occasions,

" * The brave captain de Kladowsky.
" † Captain de Ritter.
" ‡ Captain de Ledivary, who was killed in the action.

about

about this time, of which no particulars are handed down to the present day

"The royal army, as the reader may see at large in the posthumous works of Frederick *, passed the rest of this campaign in marches and counter-marches without coming to any decisive measures. Breslaw was taken by stratagem, Neisse was besieged for the sake of form, and given up on the twelfth day in consequence of a secret convention which had been negotiated by the English minister. In virtue of this convention the two armies withdrew from each other, and the Prussian troops remained unmolested in the winter-quarters which they had taken in Silesia and Bohemia. The hussars, under the command of Zieten, were stationed at Hermstadt, Guraw, and in several other small towns in Silesia."

"In this war Zieten acquired new claims to admiration and esteem. He had shewn himself able to cope with the greatest commanders of the age. Uniting wisdom with courage, contempt of danger with perseverance, dexterity with presence of mind, and activity with the most perfect command of temper; he conceived his plans with the progressiveness of the rising storm, and executed them with the rapidity of the thunderbolt. Unruffled in the heat of battle; singularly accurate and concise in giving his orders; foreseeing every thing, prepared for every thing; he was invariably able to turn the circumstances of the moment to advantage. His military glance was correct and infallible; he was equally admirable in attack and defence; capable of the most daring enterprises, and losing every idea of personal safety when his duty called him to engage in them, he never failed to acquit himself with success. In his principles he was firm, and his probity was invincible; he was a zealous patriot, was attached to his sovereign by the indissoluble ties of affection and fidelity; and he evinced his loyalty and devotedness to him by the readiest sacrifices—the sacrifice of every thing except his honour, his principles, his religion, and his country. He abhorred all illicit means of enriching himself; he was disinterested and unassuming; ever careless of acquiring the approbation of the great or the admiration of the multitude, he was more desirous to be really good than to appear so. Ready to do justice to the merit of another, he esteemed every one who was recommendable for his conduct and virtues, and openly contemned such as were degraded by their vices. He was prompt to obey the orders of his prince, yet without giving up the right of consulting and availing himself of his own knowledge in the incidental execution of those orders. Incapable of bending under the yoke of fear, or servilely cringing to authority, he invariably supported his dignity and character on every occasion. Such had been the general tenor of his conduct during the two Silesian wars, that he was considered as the tutelary genius of the army, whose safety in effect was committed to his care in every march that was undertaken. Were the enemy to be attacked?—his station was in the van. Was it expedient to withdraw from action?—it was he who covered the retreat. He had often repaired the faults of other generals, and never erred himself but

* "The History of my own Times."

in

in one single instance; and which, as the reader has seen, was owing to the negligence of his patrols. Hence he possessed the esteem of the king and his brother-officers, and acquired an unbounded ascendancy over the troops he commanded; who, fully sensible of his talents and his patriotism, were persuaded he would never lead them to face destruction, but when honour and necessity required it, and when victory would crown the enterprise. His name acquired universal celebrity; he was justly ranked among the most distinguished generals of the Prussian army, and considered as the model of a virtuous hero. The good admired him as the ornament of human nature; and his country, in reward of his merit, decorated him with the title of a true patriot.

"To general admiration and esteem were joined sentiments of a more tender kind, and more congenial to his nature;—the affection and confidence of his brother-officers and hussars. In the midst of the tumults of war he had ever preserved those social virtues which had marked the early period of his life. Guided and sustained by rational piety, his moral character still shone with undiminished lustre, while his talents, his faculties, his religious principles, still acquired new force as he advanced in his brilliant career. The pernicious maxim, the maxim of his day, that the duty of a soldier superseded that of a man, was never adopted by him. The horrors of war to which he had been inured, never steeled his heart to the softer calls of humanity; and such feelings he considered not only as far from degrading his profession, but even as one of its most noble appendages. Severe in the field and inexorable in whatever regarded the duties of the military life (because he himself was the first to set the example, and had no errors nor neglect on his own part to call for indulgence in favour of such as were guilty of either), he was in all other respects remarkable for the gentleness and even the complaisantness of his manners. He was ever ready to accommodate those whom he commanded, to the utmost of his power; or to lighten with a kind word, a look, a smile, the burdens they had indispensably to sustain. His officers, his private soldiers whom he loved with paternal affection, never solicited his counsel, his interposition, his succour, in vain. Just and impartial in the extreme, he tolerated no oppression, no persecution; and though exact in the infliction of punishments, he was still more so in recompensing every noble, every liberal action.

"He had always acted with feeling and equity towards the hostile nations during the various incursions he had made among them. The laws of war never induced him to overlook the sacred rights of man. Far from countenancing any kind of exactions, he was the friend, the protector, the father of the unfortunate inhabitants of the places which became the immediate seat of war. Whenever he received orders to pillage an hostile country on leaving it, his custom was to observe the mere form only; he would cause a few windows to be broken, throw down a few stoves, displace or overturn the furniture of a house or two; but was never known to deprive the inhabitant of what was absolutely necessary to him, or to commit a single act of barbarity. The soldier loved him still more than he feared him. In every place his preserva-

tion was the object of universal concern. Not only his own country, but the nations who had known him as their enemy only, did ample justice to his disinterestedness and greatness of mind.

"The candid reader will pardon the foregoing effusion of tenderness and esteem, and will not consider it either as exaggeration or flattery, but allow the panegyric of virtue to be uttered by the voice of truth. Of all that has been said he will find the testimonies in the breasts of the admirers of Zieten, and he will find them in the pages that precede this portrait. Whoever admits the facts, cannot disapprove of the elogium, which is but the natural consequence of the other.

"It may not be amiss to insert here an anecdote or two relative to the life of Zieten, which cannot be introduced in their exact order for want of due information as to the times and places that gave them birth; and which, as they serve to characterise the man and the hero, are worth preserving.

"A Prussian general had a dangerous defile to pass. On the right rose a steep hill; on the left lay a marsh; and at the end a bridge, the sole outlet. From the hill, which the enemy had occupied, they harassed the troops, whom the general, with a view of saving the baggage (part of which belonged to himself), had left in a defenceless condition. Their ranks were soon broken, and they were hurried in great disorder towards the bridge.

"Zieten, who followed with the rear-guard, perceiving the confusion they were in, flew to the spot, where he found the cannon abandoned, the horses killed, the artillerymen without ammunition, and on the point of surrendering. The distressed soldiers complained loudly to him of the conduct of their general; and Zieten, without making any reply, betook himself to repair his fault. Supported by the gallant Barlow*, who had just collected a small party of infantry, he attacked the enemy, dislodged them from the heights, took possession of the bridge at the moment in which they were going to occupy it; and having taken from the baggage-waggons which had been driven into the marsh as many horses as were necessary to draw the artillery, he was enabled to rescue the whole corps.

"The general who had so ill performed his task, obtained nevertheless all the honours of the expedition. The king publicly congratulated him on his having extricated himself in so able a manner, while Zieten and Barlow remained tacitly satisfied with the service they had rendered him without making the least display of the parts they had acted. From Zieten his friends have never been able to learn either the place in which this event had happened, or the name of the general who had commanded the retreat in so unskilful a manner. It was only in the latter years of his life that this respectable old man made mention of the affair merely to do justice to the memory of his brother-officer.

"The foregoing anecdote exhibits in the most amiable point of view the unassuming character of Zieten, and with what delicacy he acted with respect to the reputation of others. The following one will

* Afterwards general of infantry, and one of the greatest ornaments of the Prussian army.

furnish

furnish an example of the good order and love of justice that directed all his actions.

"In his colonel-squadron was an hussar whose bravery and intelligence had so far gained his esteem that he was desirous to advance him and to make his fortune. Before he named him to the rank of a subaltern, he wished to be convinced of his probity; and one day when the hussar had returned from a foraging party, Zieten making up to him, ordered him to alight; and after having examined his load, discovered two geese concealed in a bundle of straw. The general thereupon not only testified his disapprobation of such conduct in the most severe terms, but could not refrain from making him sensible of what he had lost on the occasion. 'You were on the point of being 'made a subaltern,' said he, 'and 'you shall now remain a common 'soldier.' The hussar, in effect, was not advanced till a year after.

"Peace being concluded, the army returned to their respective garrisons. The king, who had been no stranger to the little negligences and abuses which, during the war, had crept in among the troops, was extremely solicitous to remedy them and to re-establish due discipline and order. The letter which his majesty wrote to Zieten is the more worthy of the reader's notice, as it shows what obligation he considered himself under to his troops, and the justice which he was pleased to do them.

'My dear major-general de 'Zieten,

'The war is now at an end; and 'I take this opportunity of declaring to my brave officers, that, during its continuance, I had reason 'to be perfectly satisfied with their 'conduct. They have done their 'duty on every occasion, and 'crowned the Prussian name with 'immortal glory. On my own part 'I shall neglect no opportunity of 'giving them proofs of my satisfaction. I am moreover fully persuaded, that the staff-officers and 'all the officers in general will do 'their utmost to preserve that 'good order and military discipline 'which have hitherto contributed 'to render the army invincible, and 'that they will restore them wherever they might have been relaxed. For this purpose I recommend to you, as well as to 'your staff and other officers, to 'peruse with attention, and diligently to observe, all my military 'ordinances and regulations.

'FREDERICK.'

'*Potsdam, Jan. 1st*, 1746.'

"Attentive to the commands of his sovereign, Zieten strove to restore that order in his regiment which a camp-life had interrupted; and to establish that uniformity of action, that salutary restraint, that scrupulous exactness, which, during their residence in garrison, prepares the troops for the more important duties of the campaign.

"The last letter from the king to Zieten, is an answer to one which the general had written him on the return of the new year.

'My dear General de Zieten,

'I feel the value of your good 'wishes, and am truly grateful for 'them. I wish, in return, that your 'strength may be renewed, and firmly established, and that your health 'may equal your contentment. The 'accomplishment of these wishes, 'would afford me the highest degree 'of satisfaction; and I remain your 'very affectionate king,

'FREDERICK.'

'*Berlin, Jan. 1st*, 1785.'

"Several circumstances have given rise to a belief that the king had a presentiment of the approaching dissolution of his general—a man, indeed, on the verge of eighty-six, must naturally have been expected to die soon; and that the public, ever fond of the marvellous, should choose to make a miracle of his majesty's apprehensions, is likewise far from having any thing extraordinary in it.

"A peculiar incident soon enabled the great Frederick to give his general a last proof of the high esteem he bore him, and of the manner in which he was pleased to recompense true merit.

"It happened in the course of the winter of 1785, the king had returned to Berlin in a bad state of health. On the 22d of December, Zieten, in spite of the burden of eighty-six years, went to the palace at the end of the parade, to pay his sovereign this last tribute of respect, and to have the pleasure of seeing him after six months' absence. The parole was given out, the orders imparted to the generals, and the king had turned towards the princes of the blood, when he perceived Zieten on the other side of the hall, between his son and his two aide-de-camps. Surprised in a very agreeable manner at this unexpected sight, he broke out into an exclamation of joy, and directly making up to him—'What, my good old Zieten! are you there?' said his majesty: 'how sorry am I, that you have had the trouble of walking up the stair-case! I should have called upon you myself. How have you been of late?'—'Sire,' answered Zieten, 'my health is not amiss—my appetite is good; but my strength—my strength!'—'This account,' replied the king, 'makes me happy by halves only—but you must be tired; I shall have a chair for you.' A chair was quickly brought. Zieten, however, declared that he was not at all fatigued—the king maintained that he was. 'Sit down, good father,' continued his majesty, 'I will have it so, otherwise I must instantly leave the room; for I cannot allow you to be incommoded under my own roof.' The old general obeyed, and Frederick the Great remained standing before him, in the midst of a brilliant circle that had thronged around them. After asking him many questions respecting his hearing, his memory, and the general state of his health, he at length took leave of him in these words—'Adieu, my dear Zieten! (it was his last adieu) take care not to catch cold—nurse yourself well, and live as long as you can, that I may often have the pleasure of seeing you.' After having said this, the king, instead of speaking to the other generals, and walking through the saloons as usual, retired abruptly, and shut himself up in his closet.

"This interesting scene, equally worthy of Frederick and of Zieten, brought tears into the eyes of the hardiest of the spectators. Zieten was himself too much affected to be able to shed any; nor can language describe what he felt on the occasion. The graver of Chodowiecki has preserved this interview in a plate, which, among its other excellences is remarkable for the likenesses of the group, and which is well known throughout all Europe.

"The sun of Zieten hastened apace to its decline, and the edifice of his bodily frame fell fast into decay. He had now scarcely any desires to animate him; he had drunk out the cup

cup of life, and had fully tasted of its glory and its enjoyments. His favourite wish, of living to an advanced age, had been granted him; he had run his long career with a conscience void of reproach, and he began to feel the want of repose; he cherished the hope of immortality, and prepared for death as an event he neither desired nor feared.

"He was now in his eighty-sixth year; and on the 25th of January, after having taken a ride in his carriage with madame de Zieten, he felt himself in such spirits, that he planned an excursion to Wustrau with her, and from thence to his brother-in-law, who had invited him to stand godfather to his child. He spent the evening at home, and was remarkably good-humoured; conversed gaily with his children, and observed to his youngest daughter that he hoped soon to see her dressed in a new gown he had just bought her. They all sat down to supper, when, on a sudden, and for the first time in his life, Zieten complained of being unwell. The consternation was general: every possible assistance was administered to him; and in a little time he grew better. He then went to bed, and the family had no apprehensions of a relapse.

"The night, which was the last of his life, afforded him but little rest. He was heard to pray aloud, and at several different times. At four in the morning, he called his valet; who, on entering the room, saw the image of death upon his master's countenance. He immediately rung for assistance. The dying man had not, however, lost his senses: he coughed, and spat; asked if it was blood; and, before any assistance came, or his valet could answer his question, Zieten was no more."

MEMOIRS of RICHARD OWEN CAMBRIDGE, Esq.

[From the ACCOUNT prefixed to his WORKS, by his Son, Mr. G. O. CAMBRIDGE.]

"RICHARD CAMBRIDGE was born in London, the 14th of February, in the year 1717. He was descended from a family, that had been for several generations established in Gloucestershire: his father, being a younger brother, was bred to business as a Turkey merchant, and resided chiefly in London until the time of his death, which happened not long after the birth of his son, who, upon this event, was left to the care of his mother, and of her brother, Thomas Owen, esq.

"This gentleman had followed the profession of the law, but was, at that time, retired to Britwell Place in Buckinghamshire; and, as he had no children, he adopted his nephew as his future representative, undertaking the superintendence of his education, and receiving him at his house during the vacations from school and the university.

"My father was sent early to Eton, where, amongst his principal friends and associates, were Mr. Bryant, Mr. Gray, Mr. West, Mr. Aldworth Neville, lord Sandwich, the honourable Horace Wal-

pole, Dr. Barnard (afterwards master and provost of Eton), Dr. Cooke (the late dean of Ely), besides many others who became known in the world as men of taste and learning, with most of whom he formed a friendship, which lasted through their respective lives.

"Here also commenced that friendship with Mr. Henry Berkeley, which, though dissolved at an early period by his death, was, during its continuance, of the most affectionate kind, and left on the mind of his surviving friend a tender remembrance, and poignant regret for his loss, which never were effaced.

"To school exercises my father professed not to have paid laborious attention; and I have often heard him attribute his never having received punishment to the good nature and forbearance of his master, Dr. George. But more, perhaps, was due, than he allowed or imagined, to an unusual quickness of parts, which enabled him to acquire whatever he applied his mind to, without much pains or exertion.

"His time, however, at Eton was far from being idly spent; for whilst he was ever foremost in the active sports suited to his age, he still found leisure to read several of the Greek and Roman historians; but as character was always his favourite study, the ancient dramatic writers, and other poets, by whom the passions of men are most correctly delineated, were preferred by him: with the best of these he was familiar before he went to the university; and, as he possessed a memory uncommonly retentive, what he read at school he could readily refer to at any subsequent part of his life, and name almost the page and line where the passage might be found. He was also conversant with the best writers of the English drama; of our own Shakspeare he was a warm and judicious admirer, and had acted some of the principal parts in his and other of our best plays with singular success. His performance of Falstaff, and of Torrismond in the Spanish Friar, were always mentioned by his schoolfellows as being particularly excellent, as also of Micio in the Adelphi of Terence. His chief associates in these theatrical exercises, were Mr. Neville, Mr. West, Dr. Barnard, Mr. Berkeley; and, in the Latin play, Mr. Bryant.

"In the midst of his application to graver studies, and these more lively exertions of genius, he manifested an early relish for the tranquil beauties of nature. The transparent stream of the Thames, and the picturesque scenes in the neighbourhood of Eton and Windsor, appear to have made the same impression upon his mind, as they did upon that of his schoolfellow Mr. Gray: and whilst in the contemplative fancy of the one, they produced the celebrated Ode on a distant View of Eton College, they formed, in the active mind of the other, a taste for the varied combinations of wood, water, and lawn, which was exercised with great success, first at his seat in Gloucestershire, and afterwards in the meadows at Twickenham: these exhibit a pleasing memorial of his skill in landscape scenery, the relish for which he always professed to have acquired in the playing fields of Eton school.

"From Eton my father was removed to St. John's-college in Oxford, where he entered as a gentleman-commoner in 1734. His studies at the university were carried on much in the same manner as at Eton.

Eton. No day was passed without some acquisition of knowledge either in literature, mechanics, the polite arts, or other useful improvements: yet without any appearance of severe study, or of his wishing to be thought a distinguished scholar.

"For the ordinary diversions of the field, to which country gentlemen usually devote so much of their time and talents, my father had no relish; but instead of the gun, he took up the exercise of shooting with the bow and arrow, in which he acquired such a degree of dexterity, as with a little further practice might have enabled him to enter the lists with William Tell; or the man recorded in the Scribleriad, who deprived Philip of the sight of one of his eyes with an arrow, which was addressed "To Philip's right Eye." The head of a duck, swimming in the river, was a favourite mark, which he seldom missed; he likewise shot many small birds perching on trees, and some of the larger sort he has brought down when upon the wing; until happening to see one of his arrows, that had accidentally dropped into a post, he was struck with the hazard he ran of injuring some fellow creature, and from that time relinquished this amusement. But as shooting fish was not liable to any risk, he continued that diversion, with arrows made for the purpose by the Indians of America, and was almost as expert in the use of them. Whatever pursuit he engaged in, he followed with uncommon ardour, and seldom desisted until he had reached the extent of the subject: this fondness for the bow, therefore, induced him to collect specimens of all the bows and arrows that could be met with in different parts of the world, and to make himself acquainted with the precise methods of using them. He likewise procured whatever books he could find upon the subject of archery, particularly those which related to the laws and practice of the old English bowmen, as well as what remained respecting the use of those weapons among the ancients.

"About the year 1748, the death of Mr. Owen put his nephew in possession of that gentleman's property, which, though not very extensive, was an acceptable addition to the small income upon which he had hitherto lived; and, by his uncle's desire, he added the name of Owen to his own. He was now enabled to cultivate, more at his ease, that very select society to which he had access; he accordingly took a house in London, near his friend Mr. Villiers, where he passed two winters, but found the air disagree with his own and my mother's health; not choosing, however, to forego the pleasure of that more general intercourse, for which he had so much relish, he determined to alter his plan, and, quitting his seat in Gloucestershire, to settle himself in the neighbourhood of London, where he might at once enjoy the advantage of country air, and a constant communication with the world. It happened fortunately, that a villa on the banks of the Thames, immediately opposite to Richmond-hill, was then upon sale; which, from its situation, seemed to be a residence particularly suited to him; accordingly, in the year 1751, he made the purchase, and established himself at Twickenham; an event which contributed essentially to

the happiness of his future life, during a period of more than fifty years.

"The situation of Twickenham meadows, and the pleasing appearance they now assume, are very generally known; but it is a tribute of justice, due to his taste, to observe, that at the time when the place came into his hands, the river, with all the rich scenery on the opposite shore, was so entirely excluded from the house by high walls and terraces, and the grounds so crowded and disfigured by numerous avenues, and unmeaning masses of wood, that the aspect it bore was the very reverse of that gaiety and cheerfulness, which constitute its present character.

"As soon as he was in possession, he lost no time in making the improvements he wished; and, as his good nature and benevolence inclined him always to consider the pleasure he might afford to others, he was very attentive to the effect his alterations would have from the houses and grounds of his neighbours; but chiefly from Richmond-hill, whence he knew they would be seen and enjoyed by greater numbers, than from any other point of sight. On the good taste displayed on this occasion, he received many flattering compliments, particularly from the celebrated Mr. Browne.

"At the time of making this purchase, he gave due consideration to the step he was taking; well aware that a large and beautiful villa in so frequented a neighbourhood, in the possession of one fond of society, and whose acquaintance was already very extensive, might lead to habits of expense beyond the limits of his income, and prove an occasion of future embarrassment: but he felt at the same time, what has since been fully proved, that he knew, and could trust, himself; that he possessed a sufficient degree of self-command to incur only such expenses as were suited to his station, and essential to his comfort, and to avoid those which originate in vanity or ostentation.

"His mode of living at Twickenham was in the hospitable style of a country gentleman: his table was furnished in a plain but ample manner; his house was always open to his friends, and to those whom merit, talents, or knowledge entitled to his notice; and they were received by him with unvaried frankness and cordiality. When a select party was assembled to meet some literary character or ingenious traveller, from whom entertainment or information might be obtained, it was his care to suit the company to each other, and thus to avoid the interruptions which frequently defeat the object of such meetings. If the conversation wandered, or got into unskilful hands, he had a most happy talent of bringing it back to the proper point, and of suppressing the superfluous talker; which was always done with so much dexterity and such perfect good humour, that the person in question was generally the last in the company, who was sensible of any intention to take the conversation out of his hands.

"As he never was the dupe of flattery, and always superior to that meanness which leads men to sacrifice their time to unnecessary civilities or undue compliances from the fear of giving offence, he was freed from those intrusions of impertinence, of which Pope so bitterly

terly complains. His attentions were limited to those who had a just claim to them, and towards such he never was deficient. Though he sought the conversation of all, who could amuse or inform him, and received a great variety of persons of almost every rank and description at his house, he never gave them reason to imagine, they had a greater share of his regard, than they really possessed; by this uniform sincerity, and the constant care he took to avoid personalities, and severe reflexions, he never made an enemy, or lost a friend.

"In the choice of his acquaintance, neither titles or wealth were to him any recommendation; the qualities he looked for and regarded, were worth, talents, or accomplishments. It would not, indeed, be easy to say, whether his independent but respectful behaviour to those of superior station, or his kindness and condescension to inferiors, was most remarkable; by the former he was generally esteemed and admired, and by the latter he was universally respected and beloved. To these, indeed, his manner was peculiarly acceptable and engaging; those little attentions which he delighted to pay, where he thought they would give pleasure, were shown in a way almost peculiar to himself; and towards such as were connected with him he ever manifested a fatherly regard. His domestics were made happy in his service; they were seldom changed; and several, after age and infirmities had rendered them unequal to their duty, were still maintained in his house; which induced a lady, who was conversant with the northern parts of Europe, to observe, that his house resembled a Polish family, where all the dependents continue to live under the same roof.

"From the time when my father settled at Twickenham, his name became known in the literary world as an author, for in the course of that year he published his Scribleriad. This work, which is a mock heroic poem, designed to ridicule and expose false taste and false science, could not be expected to attract the same share of public attention, as if the subject had been of a more popular nature, and the humour suited to readers of every description. This defect, however, if such it can be considered, is compensated by the wit and criticism it contains; which is of that durable kind, and founded on such just principles, that the poem may be read with equal pleasure, by men of judgement and learning, in all times. It was much noticed and admired, on its first appearance, by that class of readers, for whose use and entertainment it was chiefly written, and established the reputation of its author as a critic and a scholar. Several of his smaller pieces were published soon after, which, being of a livelier cast and adapted to the subjects of the day, were more generally read, and brought their author into further notice and estimation; of these the most celebrated were, the 'Elegy written in an Empty Assembly Room,' 'the Fakeer,' and the 'Borough Hunters.' But what most contributed to establish his reputation for humour, and a just insight into character, united with an extensive acquaintance with living manners, were his Essays published in The World; a periodical paper begun in the year 1752, and kept up with great spirit for four years. To an acquaintance with Mr. Moore,

Moore, the conductor of the work, he was introduced by lord Lyttelton, who was diligent to promote the success of this undertaking by interesting men of talents in its favour. Some of my father's intimate friends had already joined in the publication; and, finding Mr. Moore to be an amiable and deserving man, he gave him the promise of assistance whenever he was at a loss for an essay; of this indulgence Moore frequently availed himself, nor did he ever apply in vain. Many of these papers, therefore, were written in great haste, and none of them with laboured attention. They were, however, much relished and admired; and as his conversation was found to partake of the same wit and humour that characterised his writings, his company became more generally sought after. In what light he was regarded by men of superior talents, will be seen by the following character, drawn of him in one of these essays by the late earl of Chesterfield.

"'Cantabrigius drinks nothing 'but water, and rides more miles 'in a year than the keenest sports-'man, the former keeps his head 'clear, the latter his body in health; 'it is not from himself that he 'runs, but to his acquaintance, a 'synonimous term for his friends. 'Internally safe he seeks no sanc-'tuary from himself, no intoxica-'tion for his mind. His penetra-'tion makes him discover and di-'vert himself with the follies of 'mankind, which his wit enables 'him to expose with the truest ri-'dicule, though always without 'personal offence. Cheerful abroad 'because happy at home, and thus 'happy because virtuous.'

"This character stands at the close of a paper written to expose the folly and ill effects of hard drinking; and lord Chesterfield names my father, who was a water drinker, as a living example of one, who did not require the exhilarating aid of wine to enliven his wit or increase his vivacity.

"How far that even and regular flow of spirits, with which he was blessed, was the effect of constitution, the consequence of temperance, or of an habitual activity; or whether it arose from an union of all the three, it may be difficult to determine; but, from whatever cause it proceeded, there is no doubt that he possessed in a superior degree the rare and happy talent not only of regulating his conversation, but even his spirits, by the temper and feelings of the company he was in; who always found him equally disposed to listen or to converse, to be grave or gay, humourous or instructive, as best accorded with their wishes and inclinations: by such behaviour in society it was, 'that his acquaintance soon became a synonimous term for his friends.'

"In what manner 'he diverted himself with the follies of mankind,' the reader will have an opportunity of judging by a perusal of his works. Certain it is, there will be found in them none of that 'personal offence' which almost all humourous and burlesque writers have allowed themselves, and without which the generality of authors seem falsely to imagine, that this species of writing becomes tame and insipid. That he was 'cheerful abroad because happy at home, and thus happy because virtuous,' is established by the universal testimony of his friends, which it must be the pride and pleasure of his family to confirm.

"My father was considerably ad-

advanced in his eighty-third year before he was sensible, to any considerable degree, of the infirmities of age; but a difficulty of hearing, which had for some time gradually increased, now rendered conversation troublesome, and frequently disappointing to him. Against this evil, his books, for which his relish was not abated, had hitherto furnished an easy and acceptable resource; but, unfortunately, his sight also became so imperfect, that there were few books he could read with comfort to himself. His general health, however, remained the same, and his natural good spirits and cheerfulness of temper experienced no alteration. Having still the free use of his limbs, he continued to take his usual exercise, and to follow his customary habits of life; accepting of such amusement, as conversation would afford, from those friends who had the kindness to adapt their voices to his prevailing infirmity; and that he still retained a lively concern in all those great and interesting events, which were then taking place in Europe, may be seen in some of his latest productions. But as his deafness increased, he felt himself grow daily more unfit for the society of any but his own family, into whose care and protection he resigned himself with the most affectionate and endearing confidence; receiving those attentions, which it was the first pleasure of his children to pay him, not as a debt due to a fond and indulgent parent, but as a free and voluntary tribute of their affection. In the contemplation of these tokens of esteem and love, he seemed to experience a constant and unabating pleasure, which supplied, in no small degree, the want of other interesting ideas.

"It is well known, that among the many painful and humiliating effects that attend the decline of life, and follow from a partial decay of the mental powers, we have often to lament the change it produces in the heart and affections; but from every consequence of this sort my father was most happily exempt. This I allow myself to say upon the authority of the medical gentleman, of considerable eminence, by whose skill and friendly attentions he was assisted through the progressive stages of his slow decline; and who has repeatedly assured me, that, in the whole course of his extensive practice, he had never seen a similar instance of equanimity and undeviating sweetness of temper.

"During this gradual increase of feebleness, and with the discouraging prospect of still greater suffering, which he saw before him, his exemplary patience and constant care to spare the feelings of his family were eminently conspicuous; nor did the distressing infirmities, inseparably attendant on extreme debility, ever produce a murmur of complaint, or even a hasty or unguarded expression. It is somewhat singular, and may be regarded as a proof of an unusually strong frame, that no symptom of disease took place; all the organs of life continued to execute their respective functions, until, nature being wholly exhausted, he expired without a sigh, on the 17th of September, 1802, leaving a widow, two sons, and a daughter.

"Of lord Chesterfield, who, like my father, possessed his faculties to the close of life, it is recorded, that the last words he uttered 'were strictly in character;' and the remark made by his physician Dr. Warren, upon that occasion was, that

that 'his good breeding would only quit him with his life.' I shall hope for indulgence in applying the like observation to him, who is the subject of this memoir, and whose latest words were equally characteristic; expressing that fond attachment to his family, which had ever been his ruling passion. Having passed a considerable time in a sort of doze, from which it was thought he had hardly strength to revive, he awoke, and upon seeing me, feebly articulated 'how do the dear people do?' when I answered that they were well; with a smile upon his countenance, and with an increased energy of voice, he replied, 'I thank God!' and then reposed his head upon the pillow, and spoke no more."

CONFIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE of LEWIS XVI. from the TIME of his PROJECTED FLIGHT to MONTMEDI.

[Extracted from Mrss WILLIAMS's PUBLICATION of his LETTERS.]

TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF ARLES.

June 29, 1791.

"TO console the most unfortunate of kings, you recal, my lord archbishop, the example of David, compelled to flee before his son Absalom. Forsaken monarch, unfortunate father! it is not vengeance that David calls to his aid; it is not the thunderbolt of irritated heaven that he invokes; in the king of kings he places all his confidence. He prays for an ungrateful son; he pardons the monster by whom he is pursued, and who seems to thirst for his blood. This act of paternal affection is sublime; and I glory in having a conformity of sentiments and ideas with David. Persecuted by ungrateful children, who calumniate a tender father, I have only thought of their interests and their happiness. At the feet of religion I depose the injuries heaped upon the monarch: may the people be happy! and I am satisfied. I enjoy a soothing satisfaction, while, in my hours of solitude, I can bless providence, and submit myself to its decrees; it is then that all injuries, all injustice, all wrongs, are forgotten. Am I not too happy, my lord archbishop? and can divine justice be satisfied? I have been punished for having preferred that insolent philosophy, which had seduced, and plunged me into an abyss of misery: for that, I neglected the ancient worship of my forefathers, so dear to St. Lewis, from whom I am proud of descending. You, my lord archbishop, whose religious virtues inspire admiration, and who prefer them to those of which philosophers are proud, but which, viewed through the prism of religion, bear so near a resemblance to vices, offer for your unfortunate king the vows of a heart inflamed by divine love—of a holy bishop whom I may compare to Ambrose—with this difference, that Theodosius humbled himself before him for having cruelly chastised a rebellious people, and I solicit the aid of your prayers, to bring back a people who will never have to reproach me with having caused either their blood or tears to flow.

"LEWIS."

TO

TO M. DE BOUILLE'.

July 3, 1791.

"You have done your duty, sir: cease to accuse yourself. And yet I can conceive your affliction: you have risqued every thing for me, and have not succeeded. Destiny opposed my projects and yours; fatal circumstances palsied my will, your courage, and rendered null your preparations. I do not murmur against providence. Success, I know, depended on myself: but he must have an atrocious mind who could have shed the blood of his subjects, and, by making resistance, have caused a civil war in France. Those ideas rent my bosom; and all my resolutions vanished. To succeed, I must have had the heart of Nero, and the soul of Caligula. Receive, sir, my thanks: why have I not the power to testify to you all my gratitude?

"LEWIS."

TO MONSIEUR.

July 23, 1791.

"My misfortunes then must fall upon you; and you are doomed to be a new victim of that fatality by which I am pursued. While I sought an asylum, repose, honour, and Frenchmen, I only found, at every step, treason, a cruel desertion, the boldness of crime, and the fatality of circumstances. All thoughts of regaining the French are over; no justification is to be hoped, no liberty to be obtained, no good to be effected from my own spontaneous will. A few days since, I was a vain phantom of a monarch, the impotent chief of a people the tyrants of their king, and the slaves of their oppressors: I now share with them their chains. A prisoner in my palace, I am deprived even of the right of complaint. Separated from my whole family, my wife, my sister, my children, sigh at a distance from me; while you, my brother, by the most noble disinterestedness, have condemned yourself to exile. You are now in those regions that echo the moans of so many victims, whom honor called to the banks of the Rhine, but whom my affection, my orders, or rather my earnest entreaties, sought to bring back to the bosom of their desolate country. You say they are unhappy! ah! tell them that Lewis, that their king, their father, their friend, is more unhappy still! This flight, which was so necessary for me, which would perhaps have procured my happiness, and that of my people, will furnish motives for a terrible accusation. I am menaced; the cries of hatred strike my ear! They talk of interrogating me: No, never! While I am suffered to believe myself king of France, I will avoid whatever would tend to degrade me. Oh! my brother! let us hope for a milder futurity: the French loved their king; what then have I done to deserve their hatred? I, who have ever borne them in my heart. Were I a Nero, a Tiberius,—— Let us still cherish a soothing hope; and may my next letter inform you that my fortune is changed!

"LEWIS."

TO MONSIEUR.

August 27, 1791.

"The approximation you suggest to me, my dear brother, is founded on an illusion to which I can give no manner of credit. What passes before my eyes, demonstrates to me that principles drawn

drawn from the theory of politics, vanish in the execution. Besides, what weapon can be used against the multiplied sophisms employed to enforce the pretensions of innovators? The queen displays the same courage: her fortitude seems to augment in proportion as our situation becomes desperate. All that surrounds us, appears to me very insufficient to contend successfully with the hordes of our enemies. I cannot engage you too strongly to show an example of circumspection: pretexts are eagerly watched for; and we must endeavour, by our prudence, to neutralise the efforts of crime.

"You know, my dear brother, the immutability of my tenderness for you.

"LEWIS."

TO THE PRINCE OF CONDE'.

"My Cousin,

"In vain I have intimated to my brothers how much those armed assemblies on the banks of the Rhine are contrary to sound policy, the interests of the exiled French, and my own cause. They still persist in their resolutions of attack, threaten us with foreigners, and oppose them to Frenchmen led astray. This conduct fills me with sorrow, and must produce the most disastrous consequences: it will perpetuate hatred, excite vengeance, and deprive me of all means of conciliation. The moment that hostilities begin, you may be assured that all return into France will be impossible; emigration will become a state-crime: those will then be attacked as criminals, who now are only victims; and Frenchmen, whom violence had forced to fly, will be considered as traitors, who sought to lacerate the bosom of their country. This re-union of emigrants, which will never obtain my approbation, multiplies an hundred-fold the forces of my enemies. They persist in considering me as the soul of your preparations; they imagine I have a secret council, under the name of the Austrian committee, directed by the genius of the queen, encouraged by my approbation, and who retain you on the banks of the Rhine. They cry, 'to arms!' their agents, well instructed, spread themselves in the streets, in the public squares, under the windows of my palace; and every day they sound in my ear the funeral cry of 'war! war!' I am affrighted at their tenacious obstinacy, their fury, their cries of rage. What madmen! they wish for war! Ah! if ever the signal were given, it would be a long and cruel contest: having no other object than vengeance and hatred, it would become barbarous. Oh God! preserve France from this fatal scourge! let not those homicide yells be heard! If I must descend from the throne, mount the scaffold where Charles the First was immolated, and abandon all that is dear to me on earth, I am ready—but no war! no war!

"Nevertheless, the noise of your preparations has reached me—— You, my cousin, who are desirous of uniting glory and duty—you, whom the emigrants consider as their father and their chief, and I myself esteem as a loyal and magnanimous prince—oppose, I conjure you, the wild projects of the French assembled around your person; make known to them the danger; oppose my will, my counsels, even my prayers, to this valor, inflamed by injustice, misfortune,

tune, and injuries. Let us yet dare to hope: the storm may pass away; happier times may be in reserve for us. I stand in need of hope, and of learning that you are docile to my voice, in order to enjoy one moment of happiness.

"LEWIS."

TO M. DE ST. PRIEST.

November 27, 1791.

"The measures, sir, that may kindle civil war, are not those which I will adopt to preserve my authority. I would rather abdicate the throne, than deliver up my fortified places to the powers who propose giving me proofs of their high interest. I have accepted, not without much repugnance, the new constitution: but I am resolved to maintain it, because I have sworn to do so. The loyalty of my principles can alone justify the confidence of the French people: my brothers, by obstinately pursuing the plan they seem to have adopted, are preparing many sorrows for me, and depriving themselves, perhaps for ever, of all means of consoling me. Employ, sir, your powers of persuasion, to make them conceive the horrors of my situation. Their return would surely lead to union in that great family, of which the title of father is so dear to me.

"I appreciate your generous offers, sir, and the pure zeal by which they are dictated; but at this moment I can accept nothing, and still less commit myself by promises which would be considered as crimes. Depend, sir, alike on my good wishes, and the desire I feel to realise them.

"LEWIS."

TO M. VERGNIAUD.

August 11, 1792, *Ten in the Morning.*

"Mr. President,

"Amidst the disorder of a sitting so tumultuous, so cruel for my feelings, and such an outrage on the dignity of the national representation, the legislative body will, I suppose, employ means to calm the popular effervescence. I do not demand justice for the magnitude of that crime which has forced me to come with my family, and place myself with confidence under the ægis of the delegates of the people. There would be too many culprits to punish, to have hopes that a striking example might intimidate the wicked. May the evil already perpetrated be buried in oblivion; may peace arise from the ashes of the palace of my fathers! I shall not think the pain of any sacrifice equal to the profound grief I feel at the violation of public order.

"The labours of the assembly require that an asylum should be chosen for me, where I may find security for my family, and enjoy myself a benefit which the universality of Frenchmen expect from your solicitude.

"LEWIS."

TO THE DUCHESS OF GRAMMONT.

At the National Assembly, August 11.

"We accept, madam, your generous offers: the horror of our situation makes us feel all their value. The only manner in which we can acknowledge so much loyalty, is by the duration of our most tender sentiments.

"LEWIS."

TO

TO MONSIEUR.

August 11, 1792.
At the National Assembly.

"Carnage and flames signalised in their turn, my dear brother, the horrible hours of yesterday. Forced to abandon my palace with all my family, to seek an asylum in the midst of my most cruel enemies, it is under their very eyes that I paint to you, perhaps for the last time, my dreadful situation.

"Francis I. in perilous circumstances, wrote, 'all is lost but honour:' for me, I have no longer any hope but in the justice of God, and in the purity of those benevolent intentions which I have never ceased to cherish for the French. If I should fall, which every thing leads me to believe, remember and imitate Henry IV. during the siege of Paris, and Lewis XII. when he ascended the throne.

"Adieu! My heart is oppressed: all I see, and all I hear, afflicts me. I am ignorant when, and how, I can henceforth write to you.

"LEWIS."

Billet addressed to M. de *****, wounded on the 10th of August, at the Château; (of which circumstance Lewis XVI. was ignorant.)

[This billet was delivered by Lewis XVI. in a bit of bread, to M. de L****, one of those who would not abandon the monarch after the 10th of August, until the moment when the commune of Paris compelled the legislative body to deliver the king, and his family, into the hands of general Santerre. Lewis XVI. in confiding this paper to M. de L****, shed tears. "This," said he, "is an eternal adieu which I send my brother. You will render me a signal service, sir, by remitting this billet where it is addressed." The person who undertook this task did not succeed. The billet was intercepted on the frontier; seized upon by the commune, and deposited among its archives, from which it was withdrawn by M. C****d, after the 9th Thermidor.]

Paris, August 12, 1792,
Seven in the Morning.

"My Brother,

"I am no longer king! The public voice will make known to you the most cruel catastrophe—— I am the most unfortunate of husbands, and of fathers!——I am the victim of my own goodness, of fear, of hope——It is an impenetrable mystery of iniquity! They have bereaved me of every thing: they have massacred my faithful subjects; I have been decoyed by stratagem far from my palace; and they now accuse me! I am a captive: they drag me to prison; and the queen, my children, and madame Elizabeth, share my sad fate.

"I can no longer doubt that I am an object odious in the eyes of the French, led astray by prejudice ——This is the stroke which is most insupportable. My brother, but a little while, and I shall exist no longer. Remember to avenge my memory by publishing how much I loved this ungrateful people. Recal one day to their remembrance the wrongs they have done me, and tell them I forgave them. Adieu, my brother, for the last time!

"LEWIS."

Letter

Letter of M. de MALESHERBES, to the President of the National Convention, at the Epocha of the Trial of Lewis XVI.

"I am ignorant, citizen president, if the convention will allow Lewis XVI. a counsel to defend his cause, and whether they will leave him the choice. If that be the case, I wish he should be informed, that, if he appoints me to that office, I am ready to devote myself to his service. I do not ask that you should impart my proposition to the convention, being far from thinking myself a personage of sufficient importance to occupy its thoughts: but I was twice admitted into the council of him who was then my master, at a time when that function was coveted by all the world; and I owe him the same service at present, when it is become a function which many consider as dangerous. Had I known any possible method of making him acquainted with my wishes, I should not have taken the liberty of addressing myself to you. I suppose, that, in the place you fill, you have a greater facility than any other person of communicating to him this letter.

"LAMOIGNON MALESHERBES."

TO M. DE MALESHERBES.

At the Temple.

"I have no terms, my dear Malesherbes, in which to express how sensibly I am affected by your sublime devotedness. You have anticipated my wishes: your aged hand is stretched forth towards me, and would push me from the scaffold. Were I still in possession of my throne, I ought to share it with you, in order to render myself more worthy of the remaining half. But I have only chains, which you render lighter by holding them up. I refer you to heaven and your own heart, for your reward.

"I do not cherish illusions relative to my fate. Ingratitude, which has dethroned me, will not pause in the midst of its career. They would have too much cause to blush, if they were continually to support the sight of their victim. I shall undergo the fate of Charles the First; and my blood will flow, to punish me for having never shed any.

"But would it not be possible to ennoble my last moments? The national assembly contains the destroyers of my monarchy, my accusers, my judges, and probably my executioners. Nothing can enlighten such men: they are not to be rendered just; and they are still less to be softened. Would it not be better to give some energy to my defence, since its weakness will never save me? It ought, I think, to be addressed, not to the national convention, but to the whole of France, who would judge my judges, and would restore me a place in the hearts of the people, which I have never deserved to lose. In that supposition, the part I should have to act would consist in not acknowledging the competence of the tribunal before which I should be forced to appear. I would observe a dignified silence; and, in condemning me, the men who call themselves my judges, would become my assassins.

"Upon the whole, you, my dear Malesherbes, and Tronchet who shares your devotedness, are more enlightened than I. Weigh, in wisdom, my reasons and your own. I will acquiesce, without hesitation, in all you propose.

If you secure my life, I will preserve it in order to remind you of the benefit: and, if we are bereaved of it, we shall meet again, with still greater delight, in the abodes of immortality.

"LEWIS."

MEMOIRS of the late EARL HOWE.

[From Mr. MASON'S LIFE of his LORDSHIP.]

"THE honourable Richard Howe, second son of Emanuel-Scrope viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, was born in the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, March 8th, 1725-6, O. S. —by the change of style, March 19th, 1726. He was sent for education first to Westminster school, when his father went to Barbadoes as governor of that island—having been appointed to his government in May 1732. From this school Richard was removed to that of Eton, not later than 1735, when the viscountess (his mother) returned a dowager to England. In his fourteenth year he left Eton also, to enter into the naval service."

"Mr. Richard Howe was initiated into his professional line by sailing for the South Seas, in the Severn, of 50 guns, commanded by the hon. captain Edward Legge. This ship (one of commodore Anson's squadron) was driven by distress into Rio Janeiro, and thence navigated back to Europe.

"Mr. Howe served next aboard the Burford (captain Lushington) in a squadron under the command of commodore sir Francis Knowles; who was detached from sir Chaloner Ogle's fleet in February 1743, to make an attack on the town of La Guitta, upon the coast of Curaçoa. The attack was made; the Burford suffered considerably; and the captain was killed in the action. This attempt having failed, a court-martial was held, relative to the conduct of the Burford. Young Howe was particularly called upon for his evidence. He gave it in a clear and collected manner, till he came to relate the death of his captain. He could then proceed no further, but burst into tears, and retired. There subsists a more intimate alliance between steady courage and sensibility, than the generality of men are aware of.

"Mr. Howe was soon afterwards appointed acting-lieutenant by commodore Knowles, and in a short time came to England with his ship. His commission not being confirmed by the Admiralty, he returned to his patron in the West Indies, where he was made lieutenant of a sloop of war.

"An English merchantman had been captured at the Dutch settlement of Eustatia by a French privateer, under the guns and protection of the governor. Lieutenant Howe, at his own earnest request, was sent with orders to claim her for the owners. This demand not being complied with, he desired leave to go with the boats, and attempt cutting her out of the harbour. The captain represented the danger of so adventurous a step; and added, that he had not sufficient interest to support him in England, on a representation of the breach

breach of neutrality. The lieutenant then requested he would, for a short time, quit the ship, and leave the command with him. This being done, the lieutenant went with the boats, cut out the vessel, and restored it to the proprietors.

"In the autumn of 1745, lieutenant Howe, having served previously with admiral Vernon in the Downs, was raised to the rank of commander in the Baltimore sloop of war, which joined the rest of the squadron on the coast of Scotland under admiral Smith. During this cruise, the Baltimore, and another armed vessel, fell in with two French frigates, of 30 guns each, full of troops and ammunition. Captain Howe immediately ran the Baltimore between them, and almost on board one of the ships. A desperate action commenced; in which captain Howe was severely wounded in the head by a musquet-ball, and carried off the deck, to all appearance dead. But by medical assistance he soon discovered signs of life, and, after the dressing of his wound, flew again to his post. The action continued, till the French ships sheered off, leaving the Baltimore in too shattered a condition to pursue them. For his behaviour in this action, properly represented by the worthy admiral Smith, our young hero was advanced to the rank of post-captain, and on April 10th, 1746, appointed to the Triton frigate. With the Triton he was ordered to Lisbon: there found the Rippon, of 60 guns, commanded by captain Holbourne, with whom he changed ships, and visited the coast of Guinea. He afterwards went to admiral Knowles at Jamaica, was appointed his first captain on board the Cornwall, of 80 guns, in which ship he returned to England at the peace in 1748."

"At the close of this same year (1751) captain Howe was appointed to the Mary yacht. This was not the kind of command that accorded with his active spirit: he was glad to quit it in June 1752, on being commissioned to the Dolphin frigate. The Dolphin was one of the squadron that sailed to the Mediterranean under commodore Edgecumbe; who, during his station there, dispatched captain Howe to the coast of Barbary on a very critical service. The inhabitants of Sallee were fitting out a cruiser of about 20 guns, avowedly to plunder vessels of all the Christian nations, and particularly of the English. On arriving in their road, the captain sent a letter on shore to the bashaw and alcaide; acquainting them with the nature of the service to which he was appointed, and requesting an explanation of their intentions. The Moors invited the captain on shore, to treat with them. He was strongly advised not to put himself in the power of such a faithless people; but, considering it as a duty belonging to his employment, he went on shore next morning, accompanied by two or three friends only, leaving his ship to the care of the lieutenant, with orders how to proceed in case of any accident. On his approach near the beach, he perceived a concourse of people ready to receive him, and, upon landing, was immediately conducted to the bashaw and alcaide; who had prepared a repast for his entertainment (a sheep roasted whole, &c.), and behaved with the greatest civility, and even politeness. They then proceeded to the business of the intended cruiser; and

by their discourse appeared not quite free from hostile designs. When they were reminded of subsisting treaties, they replied, that the emperor of Morocco's engagements were not binding to them. They however, after much argument, consented to abandon their intentions of cruising against the English, if the captain would furnish them with a few materials for their ship. This he judiciously contrived to evade, by observing, that the stores aboard the Dolphin were the property of the king his master, and not his to give away; but that if the bashaw and alcaide would honour him with a visit, they should be welcome to any thing on board that was at his own disposal. This invitation was accepted, and they went on board next day with near two hundred of their followers; so that it was thought necessary to arm a number of seamen, as sentinels, in the gangways, and other parts of the ship. The principal Moors were at first a little alarmed, and indeed affronted, at this circumstance; but on the captain's informing them, that it was only a proper compliment to the dignity of his guests, they were perfectly satisfied, and cheerfully partook of the repast, not objecting to rum-punch, under the title of sherbet. They accepted of a pair of handsome pistols, and some other things; and by a promise to return with a more considerable present for the emperor (which he afterwards faithfully performed), the captain put them off with the gift of a hand-pump. On the Dolphin's departure, they sent a letter to the commodore, thanking him for appointing such an officer to negociate with them, and desiring that the same person might return with the promised presents for the emperor."

"February 16th, 1758, was an auspicious day indeed in our hero's calendar. Being allotted a cessation for a few months, amidst the career of his glorious actions, he married Mary, one of the two daughters and co-heiresses to Chiverton Hartop, esq. of Welby, in the county of Leicester. This marriage was productive of no living child for the first four years; but afterwards amply compensated for the delay, by giving the world the two noble ladies, to whom this publication is inscribed, and an intermediate one, whose untimely decease will be recorded in the sequel*.

"Being thoroughly sensible of the skill and activity of captain Howe (the only officer of the great armament in 1757, who had performed any service), Mr. secretary Pitt contrived to have an interview with him, for the purpose of discoursing about other attacks on the French coast. At the close of the conversation, captain Howe expressed his desire to be one of the officers employed on such service. The minister replied, "he could not interfere in recommending captains to the commander in chief." Thus the matter seemingly ended: but Mr. Pitt had in reality determined that the supreme naval command should be entrusted to captain Howe himself.

"In consequence of this determination,

"* The eldest of these three ladies (Sophia-Charlotte) was born February 19th, 1762; the second (Mary-Juliana) April 17th, 1765; the youngest (Louisa-Catherine) December 9th, 1767. The birth of their mother (late countess Howe) is not exactly known; but she was baptized July 20th, 1732, O. S."

mination, at the beginning of June, 1758, commodore Howe set sail in the Essex with his squadron of ships of war, and above one hundred transports, having on board some thousand land forces and a large train of artillery, through the race of Alderney—being the first Englishman who was bold enough to sail with a fleet of ships through this dangerous pass. The commodore proceeded to the bay of Concalle. Here the duke of Marlborough landed with the troops, and having destroyed near St. Maloes an hundred sail of shipping, and many magazines, re-embarked on June 11th. The commodore, after making various movements with his fleet, to the terror of the French coast, on July 1st returned to St. Helens.

" A second expedition in the same year (1758) being concerted under the same naval commander, prince Edward (afterwards duke of York) went on board the Essex on July 24th. August 1st, commodore Howe, with the troops under lieut.-gen. Bligh, sailed from St. Helens. On the 6th he came to anchor in Cherbourg road. The town of Cherbourg was taken, the basin totally destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood. This service performed, the fleet anchored August 19th under the high land of Portland.

" On August 31st the commodore sailed again towards St. Maloes, still attended by prince Edward. He came to anchor September 3d in the bay of St. Lunaire, and landed the troops without opposition. The commodore found it advisable to move thence into the bay of St. Cas. On the retreat of the British forces from St. Cas, September 7th, the commodore ordered his barge to be rowed through the thickest of the enemy's fire; thus animating the sailors, who had shown some backwardness at the tremendous aspect of the peril, to be firm in their duty. As many of the flying soldiers as his own boat could possibly contain, were repeatedly taken in; and, the rest of the boats following so noble an example, above 700 of the army were saved, who would otherwise have perished.

" Here let me pause a while, and indulge myself in the feelings of an early friendship, by expressing my sincere regret for the loss of a valuable youth (then principal representative, both in lineage and fortune, of the great lord chancellor Somers), ensign James Cocks. It was this unfortunate defeat, thou much-lamented companion! which deprived thy country of a true heroic spirit, tempered with many social virtues, in only the twentieth year of thine existence.

" Thee * Brookman's grove, † Teme's glassy current thee,
Wept thee thy lucid lakes ‡.

" Before we take our leave of the above-mentioned expeditions, I would just say a word or two, relative to prince Edward, from what was heard by myself many years after in conversation with earl Howe. When his royal high-

" * The name of his seat in Hertfordshire, now the property and residence of Samuel Robert Gausson, esq. who (as if the chancellor Somers's genius still hovered over the spot) is one of the most attentive and unbiassed magistrates in the kingdom.

" † A river that runs by a large extent of land in Worcestershire which belonged to this valiant youth.

" ‡ Te nemus Angitiæ, vitreâ te Fucinus undâ,
Te liquidi flevere lacus.——*Virg. Æn. VII.* v. 759.

ness first engaged in the service, the commodore asked him 'what station he would choose.' The reply was, 'to be always where you are.' This request was uniformly complied with, till the commodore saw it necessary to brave the most menacing front of danger himself, for rescuing the British troops from destruction. On this occasion he told the prince (then in the barge with him) that he must desire him to go immediately back to the ship. This request beyond description disconcerted prince Edward, who most earnestly desired to be suffered to remain in his promised station. The commodore answered, 'he should be happy to have his royal highness still at his side; but that the due attention to such a charge would unavoidably draw off his thoughts from the important business of the moment.' Prince Edward, demonstrating a judgement equal to his spirit, acquiesced, and withdrew to the ship.—Notwithstanding this proof of the commodore's vigilance over the personal safety of his royal naval pupil, the tattling duke of Newcastle (then at the head of the treasury) remonstrated to George the Second, on the perils to which his grandson was exposed by his commander. But the sovereign replied with indignation, 'how shall the boy be trained to sea-service without being inured to its dangers?'

"Previously to the commodore's setting out on one of the expeditions already recited, being always attentive to verbal exactness, he found himself unable to comprehend one particular passage in his written instructions, which he had received from the great William Pitt. To him, therefore, he repaired, and mentioned, that he did not perfectly understand his orders. 'Not understand your orders!' (exclaimed the secretary in his haughty tone): 'that's very strange indeed.' The commodore, perfectly understanding the real purport of this exclamation, instantly replied: 'Sir, do not mistake me. When I shall be thoroughly acquainted with my errand, you may depend upon my executing it to the utmost of my power.' This softened at once the minister's features: with the readiest complacence he condescended to be expositor of his own instructions—which, but for a habit of haughtiness, he might as easily have done at first. This anecdote is also given from the mouth of lord Howe.

"In a few days after those gallant exertions of humanity, which he had shown in the bay of St. Cas on September 7th, Richard, viscount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, came home with his fleet. He had succeeded to this title by the death of his elder brother George Augustus, killed July 5th, at the siege of Ticonderoga, in America—as promising an officer in the land service, as even his brother Richard in the naval.

"In November, 1759, the Magnanime, commanded by lord Howe, made one of sir Edward Hawke's fleet at his memorable victory over marquis de Conflans. The Magnanime attacked the Formidable of 84 guns, which was thereby completely disabled, and afterwards taken. But the Magnanime, having lost her fore-yard, was driven through the enemy's fleet to leeward, where lord Howe bore down, and attacked the Hero so furiously, that he soon compelled her to strike. According to the foregoing account (from the Memoir) this rapid

pid movement of the Magnanime was involuntary; but it was regarded in another light by intelligent officers on board the fleet: they considered it as a masterly stroke in the captain for the more effectual annoyance of a flying enemy. The commanding admiral himself was of this opinion, and spoke in the highest terms of so judicious an effort. For his behaviour in this action, when lord Howe was presented at court by sir Edward Hawke, he was honoured with the particular thanks of George the Second, for so many repetitions of signal service to his country. Nor did his royal master compliment him by words alone, but appointed him to a lucrative post (colonel of the Chatham marines), created on purpose, March 22d, 1760.

"On September 4th, of the same year (1760), lord Howe, in the Magnanime, with also the Bedford and Prince Frederick, was dispatched by sir Edward Hawke to dispossess the French of the island of Dumet. In the successful execution of these orders, the king's ships had not a single man killed or wounded."

"A new turn of ministerial arrangements, in 1782, brought lord Howe again into the notice of his countrymen. April 8th, he was raised to the rank of admiral of the blue. On the 20th of the same month he was created a viscount of Great Britain, by the title of Howe of Langar, in the county of Nottingham.

"May 9th he sailed with twelve line-of-battle ships, in quest of the Dutch fleet that had put to sea from the Texel; but the Dutch admiral, hearing of this, retired into the Texel again. The British fleet cruised on the coast of Holland for about a month, and then returned to Spithead.

"It must have been within a very short time after his return from this cruise against the Dutch, that lord Howe lost his mother, the viscountess dowager, who died June 13th, 1782, turned of eighty by a few years. Her jointure of course devolved to him; and she bequeathed him the chief of her personal property; but whether the latter amounted to any thing considerable, is more than the writer of this life has the least knowledge of.

"In July admiral lord Howe sailed from Spithead on a cruise to the westward with twenty-two sail of the line; August 14th he returned to Spithead without having seen the enemy. He sailed again from Spithead, September 11th, with thirty-four sail of the line for the relief of Gibraltar. This he effected, October 11th, in spite of the combined fleet of France and Spain (forty-six sail of the line), and in that masterly manner which characterises all his naval exploits. A more particular account of this achievement may be found in captain Schomberg's work. It was the action lord Howe always spoke of to his dying day, as the greatest he had ever performed, and as the only one of which he claimed the sole merit to himself. The main object of his mission being thus accomplished, "he offered the enemy battle; which they might from their situation have accepted, but which it was not in his power to enforce. The enemy to windward kept up a constant fire four hours on the English fleet, but would never come near enough to make the action any way decisive*."

* "*British Magazine*, confirmed by *Naval Chronology*."

Much inclined in himself was lord Howe to have attempted drawing the enemy into a real engagement by a pretended flight of his own. But for the sake of his own reputation with the people, and the honour of the British flag, he would not venture trying the experiment. He knew that if his artifice had failed of its intended effect, the English admiral and his fleet would have been reviled, as if they had fled in reality. Some may account this over-cautiousness against false imputation for a weakness in our hero's character. Enamoured he certainly was of fair fame; and conscious of never deserving obloquy, he did not always despise it as he should have done. Having, according to his instructions, dispatched part of his fleet on another service, he returned home, and anchored at Spithead November 15th. For his skill and courage in the foregoing transactions he received the thanks of both houses of parliament. The corporation of London, in common council assembled, ordered an historical picture of the siege and relief of Gibraltar to be executed by Mr. Copley.—Still there were calumniators at the time, who would have placed the most laudable actions of lord Howe in a very different light; and the pound, shilling, and pence calculator of 1779, was among the foremost of these. But since the calumnies alluded to had no other ground, than a total mis-statement of facts, and are now credited by nobody, it would be mere waste of time to enter upon a particular refutation of them."

"We will proceed to 1794.—May 2d the fleet, with the same commander, sailed from St. Helens. May 21st, news was heard of the French being off Ushant. May 28th, captain Parker, of the Audacious (one of lord Howe's fleet), engaged Le Revolutionnaire, and made her strike; but she was rescued by five other French ships coming up, one of which (L'Audacieux) towed her into port. May 29th a battle began; in which (had the captain, who was afterwards by a trial found guilty of breach of orders, done his duty) lord Howe had got the French into such a situation, that he doubted not of being able to give a good account of the whole of them. The battle of that day (being thus impeded) was, before night, totally intercepted by a fog. This fog was not dissipated till June 1st; and it is remarkable, that, during its continuance, earl Howe's youngest daughter (then countess of Altamont) coming with the earl her husband from Lisbon to Ireland, sailed through the midst of the French fleet, happily without seeing or being seen by any of them. During the fog, the *four other French ships that had accompanied L'Audacieux from Brest had joined their fleet, though lord Howe knew nothing of this reinforcement of the enemy, till after he had written his letter of June 2d to the Admiralty. On June 1st (the French having now twenty-nine sail of the line to twenty-five) the action recommenced; in which six French ships were taken, a seventh sent to the bottom, and the rest put to flight—most of them in a shattered condition."

"In the beginning of the year 1798 passed an act, empowering the Bank to receive voluntary contributions for defraying the ex-

"* Sans Pareil of 80 guns, Le Trajan, Le Patriot, Le Temeraire, of 74 guns each."

penses

penses of the war. At this time earl Howe's only pecuniary emolument, for all his past services, was the stipend arising from his post of general of the marines. Being himself confined to his bed, he commissioned the countess to receive his annual salary at the marine pay-office, with instructions to carry the whole of it (upwards of 1800*l.*) immediately to the bank as his contribution. This was executed accordingly. I state the transaction with the utmost minuteness, that no partisan of the late prime-minister may, from inaccurate information of the mere manner of doing it, be led to deny the truth of the thing itself, and thus to detract from the patriotic virtues of his father's friend.

" I come now to the most painful part of my biographical duty; and must give some account of this important life, during its valetudinarian state for two years, previous to its fatal conclusion. It was in the summer of 1797, that, having been deprived of Dr. Warren's medical assistance by that eminent physician's decease, lord Howe, with his usual discernment, applied for advice to the present Dr. Pitcairn. Bathing in warm sea-water was the doctor's prescription for the earl's rheumatic weakness; who, in compliance with this opinion, went first to Bognor rocks, and afterwards to Worthing. While resident at the latter place, finding his strength exceedingly restored, he used riding exercise to a much greater degree than his age or constitution would allow. The fatigue of one of his excursions on horseback produced so much gout, that it sent him to London. There, by the diligent and unwearied attention of his physician for many months, he recovered from the violent disorder: he might perhaps still have been living, and also his daughter lady Mary (who departed next), and his affectionate countess (whom the double weight of sorrow made lastly sink into her grave *), had not a most unlucky accident intervened. Dr. Pitcairn, from an internal hurt by a fall, was obliged to repair to Lisbon in the autumn of 1798, and did not return before the spring of 1800. Lord Howe, after his recovery from this long confinement to his bed-room, was obliged to use crutches. Such a perpetual memento of his infirmity suited not his genius. In the beginning of 1799 he grew so impatient of the weakness and pains in his knees, that he could not forbear trying electricity. The experiment had given him such considerable relief, that he was able to move about upon a horse; nor did he in the least apprehend that this quick restoration of his strength would be attended with any fatal consequence. So far from it, that he strenously recommended the same remedy to myself, for the perpetual debility in my tottering knees, which a stroke on the forehead in 1793 has entailed upon the rest of my life. He gave me too a written direction to the electrifier, and I had accorded to make Mr. Stott a visit of inquiry into his method, the next time I should go to London. Thither first, in very few days, driven by a sudden emergency, the earl went himself, never to return. The gout had seized upon his head; and by August the 5th he was no more. He had lived five months and seventeen days of his seventy-fourth year, and was buried in the family vault at Langar, in the county of Nottingham."

" * She out-lived her daughter lady Mary exactly four calendar months, and died August 9th, 1800."

MANNERS

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

Origin, Customs, and Language of the Ceylonese.

[From Mr. Percival's Account of that Island.]

"THE Malay troops are armed and clothed much in the same manner as the European, with the exception of shoes, the wearing of which is contrary to the rules of their religion; instead of them they use a particular species of sandal. Along with their other arms they always wear their kreeses or poisoned daggers by their sides: in the heat of an engagement they often throw down their musket and bayonet, and rushing upon the enemy with these kreeses carry terror and destruction wherever they come. From having done duty in the same garrison with them for three years and a half, and having during that period lived in habits of intimacy with their native officers, I had an opportunity of minutely observing the character of the Malays as soldiers. From their natural intrepidity and hardiness, they are well calculated to become very useful and serviceable troops if properly officered and commanded. It requires however much management, much attention to their tempers, skill in regulating their œconomy, firmness in maintaining discipline, and at the same time great caution in punishing misbehaviour, to make our service reap in its full extent the advantage that might be derived from them. To their native officers, who were at that time chiefly from among their own princes and great men, they always pay the most implicit obedience, and seemed to hold them in the highest veneration. On being punished by sentence of a court-martial they never murmur, and their darling passion of revenge seems to be entirely laid aside. The contrast of this behaviour with their usual furious resentments on the most trivial occasions, struck me so forcibly, that I was induced to inquire the cause of some of their officers. I was told, that it was an ordinance of their religion, and a rule among their customs which was never infringed upon, to pay implicit obedience to all their officers, European as well as Malay, and to execute military orders with the strictest punctuality; and they were also enjoined never to murmur at any conduct of their superiors, or hesitate to execute orders as long as

as they received pay and continued in the service of any power. In addition to this they are always tried for any offences by a court composed wholly of their own native officers, who are acquainted with their language and customs, and thus afford a security of every justice being rendered to the accused. The patience with which the Malays submit to the sentence of their court-martial, and their refraining from revenge when they are assured that justice is intended them, is another striking argument in support of what I have already advanced, that mild and generous treatment will, in the end, have the effect of subduing their natural ferocity."

"I have now described those various races who, for the purposes of conquest or commerce, have settled in the sea-coasts of Ceylon. The far greater proportion of the inhabitants consists of the native Ceylonese who have submitted to the dominion of Europeans. When the Portuguese first arrived on the island, the whole of it, with the exception of the woods inhabited by the wild Bedas, was possessed by one race. The natives who inhabited the sea-coasts, however, were soon compelled either to fly for independence to their mountains, or to submit to their invaders. A great proportion of them chose the latter alternative, and preferred the comforts of the plains to the poverty and independence of barren fastnesses. It was indeed impossible for them all to retire to the mountains, as the interior parts barely supply the wants of their thinly-scattered inhabitants. It is known from their frequent insurrections that they at first bore the yoke of the Portuguese with reluctance: time, however, has rendered it familiar, and they are now reduced to a degree of abject obedience; in which they must continue to serve, unless some extraordinary chain of circumstances should concur to rouse their natural feelings.

"The Ceylonese under the dominion of Europeans retain their original appellation of Cinglese, while those who live in those parts which acknowledge only the authority of their native princes, are distinguished by the name of Candian, from the country they inhabit. The constant intercourse of the Cinglese with Europeans, and the aversion which the Candians have uniformly entertained to their several invaders, have introduced considerable shades of difference into the manners of these two branches of the same people. In most points however they still continue to resemble each other; and a description of the one cannot fail to include most of the circumstances which characterise the other. I shall therefore give an account of those circumstances which apply to both under the general name of Ceylonese, and then point out those characteristics which distinguish the one from the other.

"Whether the Cinglese were the original inhabitants of the island, or from what other country they came, and at what time they effected a settlement there, are points of which neither they themselves nor any one else has been able to give a distinct account. There is an ancient tradition among them, that after the expulsion of Adam from this island, which they universally look upon to have been Paradise, it was first peopled by a band of Chinese adventurers who accidentally arrived on its coasts. This

This tradition is, however, extremely improbable, as they have nothing in common with the Chinese, either in their language, manners, or dress. Those who suppose that Ceylon once formed part of the continent of India, and was disunited from it only by some unusual shock of nature, find no difficulty in peopling it with the same race who inhabited it before it became a separate island. Indeed the distance is so small between Ceylon and the continent, that it requires no stretch of imagination to suppose that it was peopled either from the Coromandel or Malabar coasts; and this is, in fact, the received opinion among most people. Some circumstances, however, seem to indicate that they have come from a greater distance; their complexion, features, language, and manners, are so similar to those of the Maldivians, that I should for my part be apt to conclude that both were of the same stock. The Maldive islands are only two or three days' sail from Ceylon; and from the dissimilarity of the habits found among them to those of the Indians on the continent, it might be argued that the natives of these islands have not directly originated from those of Hindostan.

"The Ceylonese are of a middling stature, about five feet eight, and fairer in complexion than the Moors and Malabars of the continent. They are, however, at the same time neither so well made nor so strong. I know no race they resemble so much in appearance as the Maldivians. The Candians are both fairer, better made, and less effeminate than the Cinglese in our service.

"The women are not so tall in proportion as the men: they are much fairer, and approach to a yellow or mulatto colour. They continually anoint their bodies with cocoa-nut oil; and, in particular, always keep their hair moist with it. Both sexes are remarkably clean and neat both in their persons and houses. In dressing their victuals they are scrupulously nice. They are cautious not even to touch the vessel out of which they drink with their lips; but (what would seem a very awkward method to an European) they hold the vessel at some distance over their heads, and literally pour the drink down their throats. It is perhaps from the fear of not doing it with sufficient dexterity that they never use their left hand in preparing their food, or in eating it. While at meals, they seldom converse with each other: they even seem to look upon the whole business of eating as something rather required by necessity, than very consistent with decency: while drinking, they never turn their faces towards each other.

"In their diet they are exceedingly abstemious; fruits and rice constitute the chief part of their food. In some places where fish abounds, they make it a portion of their meals; but scarcely any where is flesh in common use.

"The Ceylonese are courteous and polite in their demeanour, even to a degree far exceeding their civilisation. In several qualities they are greatly superior to all other Indians who have fallen within the sphere of my observation. I have already exempted them from the censure of stealing and lying, which seem to be almost inherent in the nature of an Indian. They are mild and by no means captious or passionate in their intercourse with each other; though when once

once their anger is roused it is proportionably furious and lasting. Their hatred is indeed mortal, and they will frequently destroy themselves to obtain the destruction of the detested object. One instance will serve to show the extent to which this passion is carried. If a Ceylonese cannot obtain money due to him by another, he goes to his debtor and threatens to kill himself if he is not instantly paid. This threat, which is sometimes put in execution, reduces the debtor, if it be in his power, to immediate compliance with the demand; as, by their law, if any man causes the loss of another man's life, his own is the forfeit. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," is a proverbial expression continually in their mouths. This is on other occasions a very common mode of revenge among them: and a Ceylonese has often been known to contrive to kill himself in the company of his enemy, that the latter might suffer for it.

"This dreadful spirit of revenge, so inconsistent with the usual mild and humane sentiments of the Ceylonese, and much more congenial to the bloody temper of a Malay, still continues to be fostered by the sacred customs of the Candians. Among the Cinglese, however, it has been greatly mitigated by their intercourse with Europeans. The desperate mode of obtaining revenge which I have just described has been given up from having been disappointed of its object; as in all those parts under our dominion the European modes of investigating and punishing crimes are enforced. A case of this nature occurred at Caltura in 1799. A Cinglese peasant happening to have a suit or controversy with another, watched an opportunity of going to bathe in company with him, and drowned himself with the view of having his adversary put to death. The latter was upon this taken up and sent to Columbo to take his trial for making away with the deceased, upon the principle of having been the last seen in his company. There was, however, nothing more than presumptive proof against the culprit, and he was of course acquitted. This decision, however, did not by any means tally with the sentiments of the Cinglese, who are as much inclined to continue their ancient barbarous practice as their brethren the Candians, although they are deprived of the power.

"There is no nation among whom the distinction of ranks is kept up with such scrupulous exactness as among the Ceylonese; even in the dimensions and appearance of their houses they seem restricted, and a house of a certain size commonly announces its proprietor to have been born in a certain rank. This strong trait of barbarism is of course more glaring among the inhabitants of the interior, than those who have been civilised by an intercourse with Europeans. The Candians are not allowed to whiten their houses, nor to cover them with tiles, that being a royal privilege, and reserved solely for the great king. Even among the Cinglese there is still something more than the difference of riches which affects their domestic economy.

"It is difficult to say whether it be the remains of a tyrannical prohibition, or a superstition arising from the danger of electricity in this climate, that the Ceylonese never employ nails in the construction of their houses. Their small, low huts, which are too frailly united

united to admit of above one story, are fastened entirely with withes made of ratan, or coya rope. They are constructed of slender pieces of wood or bamboe, daubed over with clay, and covered with rice-straw or leaves of the cocoa-tree. Round the walls of their houses are small banks or benches of clay, designed to sit or sleep on. The benches as well as the floors of their houses are all laid over with cow-dung, to keep away vermin, and to preserve their surface smooth, and not so easily rendered dirty by rain as if it were of clay.

"In such a state of society, and where luxury seems almost unknown, sumptuous furniture is not to be expected even in the best houses. That of the cottages is in the last stage of simplicity, and consists merely of the indispensable instruments for preparing their victuals. A few earthen pots to cook their rice, and one or two brass basins out of which to eat it; a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding it, with a flat stone on which to pound pepper, turmeric, and chillies for their curries; a homeny, or kind of grater, which is an iron instrument like the rowel of a spur fixed on a piece of wood like a boot-jack, and used to rasp their cocoa-nuts; these and a few other necessary utensils form the whole of their household furniture. They use neither tables, chairs, nor spoons; but, like other Indians, place themselves on the ground, and eat their food with their hands. The houses of the Candians are neater and better constructed than those of the Cinglese; for, although the latter are accustomed to better models, yet the abject state to which their minds have been reduced by the successive tyranny of the Portuguese and Dutch, has made them rather go back than advance in improvement, since they ceased to form part of a barbarous empire.

"Their villages and towns, instead of presenting that compact appearance to which we are accustomed, look more like a number of distinct houses scattered up and down in the midst of a thick wood or forest. There is not the smallest regularity observed, but every one places his hut in the centre of a cocoa-tree tope, in the most convenient spot he can find. In those mountainous parts where sustenance itself can scarcely be procured, and where the natives live in constant danger of attack from wild beasts, of being annoyed by reptiles, or suddenly overtaken by inundations, it is usual for them to build their huts on the summits of rocks, or the tops of high trees. Some of them fix a number of high posts in the ground, and place upon them a sort of hurdle which serves them for a nocturnal habitation. To preserve themselves from the intense rays of the sun, they universally have the large leaf of the talipot-tree carried over their heads.

"The Ceylonese are exceedingly polite and ceremonious, and never fail on meeting to present each other with the betel-leaf, their constant mark of respect and friendship. All ranks universally chew the betel-leaf; it is the dessert to all their entertainments, and the unfailing supplement to all their conversations. The betel-leaf in shape resembles ivy, but in colour and thickness it approaches more nearly to the leaf of the laurel. Along with the betel-leaf they mix tobacco, areka-nut, and the lime of burnt shells, to render it more pungent, as is the custom with other

other Indians. When chewed, this mixture becomes as red as blood, and stains their mouth, lips, and teeth, of a black colour which can never be effaced. This effect, which to an European would deform the countenance, with them is considered as beautifying it, for they look upon white teeth as only fit for dogs, and a disgrace to the human species. The hot mixture, however, speedily destroys their teeth, and often renders them toothless at an early age. They also frequently stain their nails and fingers with the juice of the betel-leaf; but this seems to be attended with no bad consequence, as their hands are delicate and well formed in an uncommon degree.

"There is a wonderful degree of gravity observed in conversation even among relations and intimate friends. It is not unusual to see a party of Ceylonese sit for a long time together as grave and mute as an assembly of quakers when the Spirit does not move them; and, during all this while, they continue chewing betel-leaf as if for a wager, and apparently enjoying it as much as an Englishman would a bottle of old Port.

"In their salutations they are particularly punctilious: the form which they use is that common to all Indians, of bringing the palms of the hands to the forehead, and then making a *salam*, or low bow. It is here that the distinctions of rank are peculiarly observable: a person of a lower class on meeting his superior almost throws himself prostrate before him, and repeats his name and quality fifty different ways; while the superior, stalking past with the most unbending gravity of features, scarcely deigns the slightest nod in return.

"The natives of Ceylon are more continent with respect to women than the other Asiatic nations; and their women are treated with much more attention. A Ceylonese woman almost never experiences the treatment of a slave, but is looked upon by her husband, more after the European manner, as a wife and a companion. These traits may seem very inconsistent with that licentious commerce among the sexes, which is so contrary to Asiatic customs and ideas, and which has prevailed from time immemorial in this island. Mr. Knox has drawn a picture of their total disregard to chastity, or any bounds to sexual intercourse, which is extremely abhorrent to the ideas not only of an Asiatic, but even to the inhabitants of the most dissolute metropolis in Europe: and from my own observations among the Cinglese, and all the accounts which I could obtain of the Candians, I am convinced that he has, in very few instances, exaggerated their licentiousness.

"A Cinglese husband is not in the smallest degree jealous of his wife, and is rather ambitious to display her to the public eye. Nor is he particularly offended at her infidelity to him, unless she be caught in the fact; in which case he thinks himself entitled to exercise the rights of an Asiatic husband. The infringement of chastity scarcely subjects a woman either married or unmarried to the slightest reproach, unless indeed they happen to have connexion with one of lower cast; an act which is looked upon as the very excess of infamy. Among the Candians, in particular, this only distinction of moral turpitude, which is so worthy of a barbarous nation, is carried to the highest pitch. Even a man will scarcely venture to marry a woman of

of an inferior rank, nor would the king allow of it without exacting a large fine; but a woman is never known to form a connexion below her own sphere, as it would disgrace her in the eyes of the world for ever. With people of their own rank, on the contrary, the most unbounded commerce is carried on in private; and it is by no means uncommon, nor attended with any disgrace, for the nearest relations to have connexion with each other.

"Among the Cinglese, the distinction of rank has indeed begun to be less strictly attended to; but without any better boundary being established in its place.

"A mother makes no scruple of disposing of her daughter's favours for a small sum to any one that desires them. They are particularly fond of forming such connexions with Europeans; and, instead of accounting it any reproach, a mother, in quarrelling with any of her neighbours, will silence them at once on the score of her superior dignity, by telling them that her daughter has had the honour to lie with an European. Even women of the highest rank do not think themselves degraded by having connexion with Europeans, and are not ashamed to be seen by them in public. This forms a remarkable contrast with the Mahometan women of the continent, who would think themselves disgraced and polluted if any of their features were even by accident discovered to a stranger.

"In some respects the accounts given of the matrimonial connexions of the Ceylonese are incorrect. It has in particular been said that each husband has only one wife, although a woman is permitted to cohabit promiscuously with several husbands. This, however, is not always the case: many of the men indeed have but one wife, while others have as many as they can maintain. There is no positive regulation on the subject, and it is probable that the ease with which promiscuous intercourse is carried on, and the ease with which marriages are dissolved, is, together with their poverty, the true cause why polygamy is not more general among them. In their particular circumstances indeed, where the houses consist often of but one apartment, and even the necessaries of life are so scanty, it is not to be supposed that a man will voluntarily undertake the burthen of maintaining two wives, when he can at pleasure put away the wife he begins to get tired of, and take in her place the new object of his affections.

"The marriage ceremony, which among nations with stricter ideas of chastity is looked upon with a degree of mystery and veneration, is a matter of very small importance among the Ceylonese, and seems to be at all attended to only with a view to entitle the parties to share in each other's goods, and to give their relations an opportunity of observing that they have married into their own cast. The marriages are often contracted by the parents while the parties are as yet in a state of childhood, merely with a view to match them according to their rank, and are often dissolved by consent almost as soon as consummated. It is also customary for those who intend to marry, previously to cohabit and make trial of each other's temper; and if they find they cannot agree, they break off without the interference of the priest, or any further ceremony, and no disgrace attaches on the occasion to either

either party, but the woman is quite as much esteemed by her next lover as if he had found her in a state of virginity.

"After the parties have agreed to marry, the first step is, that the man present his bride with the wedding-clothes, which indeed are not of the most costly kind: they consist of a piece of cloth, six or seven yards in length, for the use of the bride, and another piece of cloth to be placed on the bed. It gives us a striking idea of the total want of industry among the Ceylonese, and their extreme state of poverty, that even these simple marriage presents are frequently beyond the ability of the man to purchase, and that he is often obliged to borrow them for the occasion from some of his neighbours.

"The wedding presents are presented by the bridegroom in person, and the following night he is entitled to lie with the bride. Upon this occasion is appointed the day for bringing her home, and celebrating the wedding with festivities. On that day he and his relations repair to the bride's house, carrying along with them what they are able to contribute to the marriage-feast. The bride and bridegroom, in the presence of this assembly, eat out of one dish to denote that they are of the same rank. Their thumbs are then tied together; and the ceremony concludes by the nearest relations, or the priest, when he is present, cutting them asunder. This, however, is accounted a less binding ceremony, and indeed scarcely intended for continuance. When it is desired to make the marriage as firm and indissoluble as the nature of their manners will allow, the parties are joined together with a long piece of cloth, which is folded several times round both their bodies; and water is then poured upon them by the priest, who always officiates at this ceremony although rarely at the former. After the marriage ceremony, whether the stricter or the less binding one is performed, the parties pass the night at the bride's house; and in the morning the husband brings her home, accompanied by her friends, who carry with them provisions for another feast. In bringing home the bride a strange ancient custom is observed; the bride is always obliged to march before her husband, and never to be out of his sight by the way. The traditionary reason for this practice is, that a man on this occasion once happening to walk foremost, his wife was carried off from him before he was aware; a circumstance not at all unlikely to happen more than once among a people who think so lightly of the marriage ties. The wedding-day is always looked upon as a time of particular festivity; and those who are able to afford it, never fail to have the feasts accompanied with music and dancing; the merriment is often protracted, and certain nuptial songs continue to be carolled the whole night long.

"The portion given with the daughter is in proportion to the ability of the parents; and if the young couple are not in circumstances to maintain themselves, they still continue to reside with their parents. If the young people find after marriage that their dispositions do not agree, they separate without ceremony; only the woman carries with her the portion she brought, in order to make her as good a match for her next husband. Both men and wo-

men often marry and divorce several times in this manner, before they have found a partner, with whom they can reconcile themselves to spend the remainder of their days.

"Owing to the early intercourse of the women with the other sex, for they are in general even regularly married at twelve, they soon lose the appearance of youth, and get old and haggard in their looks immediately after they pass twenty. The climate, indeed, conduces much to this early decay; and they expose themselves so much to the sun, that were it not for the quantities of cocoa-nut oil with which they anoint themselves profusely, their skins would soon crack and break out in blotches.

"The Cinglese women are much more pleasant in their manners, and, I may add, more elegant in their persons than those of the other Indian nations. Their extreme cleanliness is a trait which renders them particularly agreeable to an Englishman, although he finds it something difficult to reconcile himself to the strong exhalations of the cocoa-nut-oil.

"The Ceylonese, like other inhabitants of warm climates, are particularly fond of bathing, and often plunge into the water several times a day. In this gratification, however, they are often interrupted by alligators, of whom they entertain the greatest terror; and are obliged to have recourse to precautions against this dreadful enemy, by inclosing with a strong paling a little spot on the side of a pond or river, sufficiently large to allow them room to wash and refresh themselves.

"Gravity, that constant characteristic of the savage state, still continues among the Ceylonese in a much greater degree than might be expected from their stage of civilisation. This is probably owing to the gloomy superstitious fears which they imbibe from their infancy, and which continue to embitter their existence ever after. Sports and diversions are almost entirely unknown among them. None of them attempt those tricks and feats of activity for which the natives of Hindostan are so famous; for all the jugglers, dancers, and conjurors, who are at any time found at Ceylon, are universally from the continent. The dispirited and oppressed state under which the Cinglese have so long groaned, may indeed be supposed to have among them extinguished the practice of their original amusements; but during the whole time of my stay on the island, and after the minutest inquiries, I never could learn of any diversions in use among the Candians. It is indeed to be supposed that in their more flourishing state they had, like other nations, some recreations for their leisure hours; and Mr. Knox records one or two which in his time still continued in use at new-years and particular festivals; but their perpetual contests with the Portuguese and Dutch, joined to the tyranny of their own internal government, have probably succeeded, along with the gloom of their superstition, in destroying those glimmerings of humane and social enjoyment, which were just beginning to break through the dark ferocity of barbarism.

"During the wet season, the Ceylonese are subject to a variety of diseases. Every man is here his own physician, and the mode of cure practised is of course very simple. A plaister of herbs or of cow-dung

thung is universally applied to the part affected; and I have seen the same remedy applied to a man in a high fever, when his whole body was daubed over with this ointment. Leprosy appears to be very prevalent among them, and the streets of Columbo swarm with Cinglese beggars labouring under this distressing disease. I have seen some of these objects with their skin party-coloured, half black and half white; for this disease leaves white blotches and spots in all those places of the skin where it breaks out, and it is not uncommon to see one limb completely white while the other retains its natural black colour.

"The disease which particularly excites their apprehension is the small-pox. It is looked upon as the immediate instrument of God's vengeance, and therefore they do not venture to use any charms or incantations for their recovery, as they are accustomed to do in all other diseases. If any one dies of it he is looked upon as accursed, and even his body is denied the rites of burial. It is carried out to some unfrequented place, and there left with a few bushes or branches of trees thrown over it. It is to be hoped that an intercourse with our countrymen will in time do away these gloomy notions of fatality, and that the effect of remedies on the Europeans will induce the natives also to adopt them. It would be an object worthy the attention of government to cause to be introduced among them the inoculation for the cow-pox, which has lately been discovered for the deliverance of mankind from a most fatal pestilence. The governor might insist that all the children within our jurisdiction should undergo this operation.

"The language of the Ceylonese may appear the best clue by which to trace out their origin; but it only serves to involve our conjectures in greater obscurity. Their language appears almost completely peculiar to this island. It is spoken by none of the Malabars or other nations on the continent of India; nor can any of them be instructed in it without considerable difficulty. If I might be allowed to offer an opinion on a subject that requires the profound investigation of the learned, I should say that it appears to me most nearly allied to the Maldivian. I had an opportunity of observing the similarity both in this and in other respects between these people and the Ceylonese, while I was stationed at Columbo; it being a custom with the king of the Maldive islands to send an ambassador yearly with presents to our governor at Ceylon, in order to maintain a friendly understanding with us. The Maldivians of his retinue both in shape, complexion, and habit, approached much nearer to the Ceylonese than to any of the Malabar race: and their language appeared to me to follow the same rule.

"There are in fact two dialects of the Ceylonese language, differing very considerably from each other, and having each a separate grammar. The poetic or court language is also styled the Candian Sanscrit, or more properly the Paulee, or Mangada. This dialect, which is retained in those parts of the interior, where the language may be supposed to be preserved in its greatest purity, contains a considerable mixture of Arabic, and is accounted the most elegant as well as the most smooth and sonorous. The learned will judge of the inference to be

drawn from the Arabic forming so considerable a portion of the Ceylonese language in those parts where it is spoken in its original purity. The current opinion among the natives is, that Arabic is their original language, and that some mixture of the Sanscrit was introduced by a colony who came over by Adam's bridge from the continent of India. Among the Cinglese on the coasts, the vulgar dialect, distinguished by the name of the Cinglese, is spoken: it has been greatly corrupted by the introduction of foreign words, and that melody and force which is attributed to the language of the interior is here no longer discernible. If I may judge from the impression made upon me during my residence on the island, the Cinglese spoken on the coasts is much inferior to any of the other Indian languages which I have heard.

"The hyperbolical strain of compliment and adulation which is common to all the Asiatic nations, is found no where in greater perfection than in the island of Ceylon. There is here a degree of punctilious minuteness with which the phraseology employed is exactly adjusted to the rank of the person addressed, that altogether astonishes an European. There is no impropriety which a man can be guilty of more unpardonable in their eyes, than addressing a superior in language that is only fit for an equal or an inferior.

"There is something very peculiar in the pronunciation of the Ceylonese. They seem to steal out the first part of the sentence in such a manner as scarcely to catch the attention, and then dwell with a loud and long accent on the concluding syllables. They are particularly fond of closing with an emphatic *ye* or *ak*, which forms the last syllable of a great number of their words.

"They divide their time nearly as we do, only their year commences on the 28th of March. The manner in which they make allowance for leap-year, and the odd portions of time which are not reduceable to the regular calculation, is by beginning their year a day sooner or later, or in other words by adding a day to the former year. The first month of the year they name *Wasackmahayé*, the second *Pomahayé*, and so on; every one ending in the favourite syllable *ayé*. Their months are, like ours, divided into weeks of seven days. The first day of the week, which corresponds with our Sunday, they call *Fridahé*, then, *Sandudahé*, *Onghorudahé*, *Bodadahé*, *Brasputindahé*, *Secouradahé*, *Henouradahé*. Wednesday and Saturday are the days on which they perform their religious ceremonies. The day, which is reckoned from sun-rise to sun-set, is divided into fifteen hours, and the night into as many, which forms a pretty regular division of time, as the length of the day and night varies very little in this latitude.

"In their state of society, the exact measurement of time is not of particular consequence, and therefore we find them very little solicitous about dealing out scrupulously an article of which they do not understand the value. It does not appear that before the arrival of Europeans on the island the Ceylonese had contrived even the rudest species of dial. On any particular occasion, they employed a vessel with a hole in the bottom that let out the water with which it was filled in one hour according to their division. This rude instrument

strument was sufficient for all their purposes; and was even seldom employed unless at court ceremonials.

"The learning of the Ceylonese consists chiefly in some pretended skill in astrology. It appears, indeed, that they were formerly possessed of some literature, as well as of some refinement in the arts. At Adam's peak, their principal place of worship, and in the ruins of some of their temples, certain inscriptions have been discovered which they are now unable to decipher. The Dutch repeatedly sent some of the most ingenious Malabars, as well as persons from the various continental tribes, to examine these inscriptions; but, although they were accompanied by the natives, and assisted by all their traditions, no interpretation could be effected. In the neighbourhood of Sittivacca I had an opportunity to see several of these inscriptions among the ruins of a pagoda.

"To read and write are no ordinary accomplishments among the natives of Ceylon. These arts are among the Candians chiefly confined to the learned men of the sect called Gonies, who are retained by the king to execute all the writings of state, and those which respect religious affairs. The Arabic is the character which they employ on these occasions.

"For writing, as they do not understand the art of making paper, they employ the leaf of the talipot tree. From these leaves, which are of an immense size, they cut out slips from a foot to a foot and a half long, and about a couple of inches broad. These slips are smoothed, and all excrescences pared off with a knife, and are then, without any other preparation, ready to be used. A fine pointed steel pencil, like a bodkin, and set in a wooden or ivory handle, ornamented according to the taste of the owner, is employed to write or rather engrave their letters or characters on these talipot slips which are very thick and tough. In order to render the characters more visible and distinct, they rub them over with oil mixed with charcoal reduced to powder, and this has the effect also of rendering them so permanent that they can never be effaced. When one slip is not sufficient to contain all that they intend to write on any particular subject, they string several together by a piece of twine passed through them, and attach them to a board in the same way as we file newspapers.

"Palm leaves are sometimes employed for the same purpose; but those of the talipot, both from their breadth and thickness, are preferred. Few of the natives, and those only of the higher order who have much connexion and long accounts to keep with the Europeans, employ any other materials in writing than those which I have just described. There is also a sort of paper, made of the bark of a tree, sometimes used.

"I have seen several of those talipot books or files, called by the natives *olioes*, richly ornamented and bound in thin lacquered boards of ivory, or even silver and gold. They are particularly dexterous and accurate in their mode of writing. In those letters or dispatches which were sent by the king to the Dutch government, the monarch seemed particularly anxious to display his magnificence in the richness and splendour with which they were executed. The writing was inclosed in leaves of beaten gold in the shape of a cocoa-tree leaf. This

was rolled up in a cover richly ornamented and almost hid in a profusion of pearls and other precious stones. The whole was enclosed in a box of silver or ivory, which was sealed with the emperor's great seal. The same splendour has been observed in the letters sent to our governor since we have had possession of the island.

"The progress of the Ceylonese in the other arts of life is proportionate to their literature. Their agriculture is still in the rudest state; and perhaps there is no other part of India where the lands are cultivated with more negligence. The Ceylonese are naturally, like other tribes who inhabit a mountainous country, and have been accustomed to the habits of pastoral life, indolent in the extreme. Their soil, where it can be watered, yields them a sufficient quantity of rice to maintain their existence, and this seems almost as much as they desire. The example of the Europeans in the cultivation of the cinnamon has not yet awaked a spirit of emulation among the natives, nor has any improvement of their rude agricultural instruments been as yet introduced. Their plough consists merely of a crooked piece of wood, shaped in such a manner that the one end serves for a handle, while the other which is shod with iron to prevent the wood from wearing, ploughs, or rather tears up the ground. This very rude instrument, however, serves their purpose, as it is not required to make regular furrows, but merely to loosen the earth so as to allow the water with which they inundate it to drench it completely. After a first ploughing with this instrument, the fields are flooded; and after they have lain some time under water, it is let off, and they are ploughed anew. The water besides nourishing the rice serves the purpose of rotting the weeds. The only good trait in their husbandry is the care with which they guard against weeds: this indeed costs them little labour where they have an opportunity of flooding the grounds. The other tools they employ in agriculture are a board for smoothing their fields, which they drag over them edgewise with their oxen; and a piece of board fastened to the end of a long pole, which serves them in place of rakes.

"When the season for ploughing arrives, each village makes it a common concern, and every one attends with his plough and his oxen till the whole of the fields belonging to that society be finished. The same method is followed in reaping the corn; and both the seed-time and harvest become in this manner the seasons of general industry and good fellowship. Each person of the society affords provisions to the whole during the time they are cultivating his fields. The women are not employed in either of these laborious operations; their business is to gather the corn after the reapers, and assist in saving it.

"Oxen are employed both in ploughing and in treading out the corn. This method of separating the rice from the straw, is in reality much more expeditious than our method of threshing out corn; and as it is also attended with much less labour, a consideration always of the highest importance to a Ceylonese, it is probable that the practice will be continued. For unhusking their rice, the mode they employ is to beat it in a mortar, or more frequently on a hard floor; or if the rice be of a brittle sort, and

and likely to break in pieces, they boil it previous to beating it out. Water is the only manure which they think requisite.

"It is evident, from this sketch of their agriculture, that the lands of Ceylon do not produce a crop at all equal to what by proper cultivation they might be made to bear. The introduction of a more improved method would, in all probability, soon render the island capable not only of supporting its present inhabitants, but also of affording resources sufficient for a much increased population.

"The extreme indolence into which the Ceylonese are at present sunk, makes them employ every expedient to escape labour, and the small quantity of food which is necessary for the support of their existence, enables them throughout the greater part of the year literally to live without doing any thing. Small as is the labour required for the cultivation of their rice fields, many of them let their grounds to their neighbours, who are not altogether so lazy, for a certain proportion of grain, generally about one third of its produce. There are a number of deductions which prevent them from receiving a larger proportion: a considerable quantity is carried off by the priests for the service of their temples, or is offered up for protection and thanksgiving, both on account of the blessings they have received, and in the hope of further assistance."

RELIGION of the CEYLONESE.

[From the same Work.]

"THE religion of the Ceylonese is one of the most prominent features in a description of them, and mixes with every circumstance of their lives and manners. There is no people who labour more under the influence of superstitious fears. Omens regulate their whole conduct, and even decide upon their destiny from their birth. When a child is born, the first step is to call the astrologer, and inquire of him whether it is destined to be fortunate or unfortunate. If the astrologer declares that it was born to misfortune, they frequently anticipate its future evils by destroying it. On going out in a morning, they anxiously observe the first object which occurs to them, and according to their opinion of its good or bad luck, they prognosticate whether the business they go about shall be prosperous or unsuccessful. A white man or a woman with child are looked upon as omens particularly fortunate; but to meet with a beggar or a deformed person, they account a grievous mischance, and will not proceed for that day on their intended business if they can avoid it. I have in my morning rides seen a string of Cinglese, cautiously treading in one another's footsteps, and anxiously expecting, from the omen that should occur to the foremost, their good or bad success for that day. I, as an European, was always a glad sight to them.

"The excess of trembling superstition

stition which unhinges the minds of the Ceylonese is in a great measure to be attributed to the climate in which they live. One might imagine from the frequency of thunder storms in Ceylon that the natives would become gradually accustomed to them. But the noise of the thunder is too terrible, and the unseen effects of the lightning too dreadful, for the minds of any but those who know something of the causes of those natural phænomena, ever to get completely rid of their apprehensions of them. The poor Ceylonese looks upon these storms as a judgement from heaven, and as directed by the souls of bad men who are sent to torment and punish him for his sins. The frequency of thunder storms with them, they consider as a proof that their island is abandoned to the dominion of devils; and recollect with melancholy regret that this fated spot was once inhabited by Adam, and the seat of Paradise. The fiends which they conceive to be hovering around them are without number. Every disease or trouble that assails them is produced by the immediate agency of the demons sent to punish them: while on the other hand every blessing or success comes directly from the hands of the beneficent and supreme God. To screen themselves from the power of the inferior deities, who are all represented as wicked spirits, and whose power is by no means irresistible, they wear amulets of various descriptions; and employ a variety of charms and spells to ward off the influence of witchcraft and enchantments by which they think themselves beset on all sides.

"Such is the hold which these chimeras have from their infancy taken of the distempered brain of the Ceylonese, that they find it impossible by any extension of their knowledge or experience of their folly, ever to escape from their grasp. Many even of those who have been converted to Christianity, still labour under their original terrors; and look with regret and envy on the fortitude of the Europeans that is able to resist these delusions; for delusions they own and believe them to be even while they groan under their influence. Those, however, who live in Columbo and the other towns of the island where they have an opportunity of profiting by the example of Europeans, have been able to bring their minds to a comparative state of tranquillity. Some of them even go so far as to set their inferior deities at open defiance. It is not indeed uncommon with the Cinglese, upon not having their desires complied with, or upon meeting with a series of bad luck in spite of their repeated prayers, to quarrel with their divinities, revile them, and even trample their images under foot. It is probable that by degrees intercourse with Europeans will entirely do away these superstitious fears, as the Cinglese of the towns have already made considerable progress in subduing their gloomy apprehensions.

"Not so the poor wretched peasants who inhabit the more mountainous parts of the country, and live at a distance from our settlements. These unhappy people have never for a moment their minds free from the terror of those demons who seem perpetually to hover around them. Their imaginations are so disturbed by such ideas, that it is not uncommon to see many driven to madness from this cause. Several Cinglese lunatics have fallen under my own observation;

servation; and, upon inquiring into the circumstances which had deprived them of their reason, I universally found that their wretched state was to be traced solely to the excess of their superstitious fears.

"The spirits of the wicked subordinate demons are the chief objects of fear among the Ceylonese; and impress their minds with much more awe than the more powerful divinities who disperse blessings among them. They indeed think that their country is in a particular manner delivered over to the dominion of evil spirits: nor is this idea confined to themselves alone; the Malabars and other Indians are also possessed with it, probably from the uncommon frequency of thunder-storms there; and the same cause has made this idea current even among the Dutch inhabitants.

"There is a curious proof of superstitious opinions in the narrative of our countryman, Mr. Knox, who himself believed that he had heard in Ceylon the devil crying aloud in the night-time with a voice something resembling the barking of a dog.

"The progress of civilisation and the removal of superstitious fears among the Ceylonese are greatly opposed by the interested arts of their priests; and they well know how to make the devils forage for them. To prevent fruit being stolen, the people hang up certain grotesque figures around the orchard, and dedicate it to the devils; after which none of the native Ceylonese will dare even to touch the fruit on any account. Even the owner will not venture to use it, till it be first liberated from the dedication. For this purpose, they carry some of it to the pagoda, where the priests, after first receiving a certain proportion for themselves, remove the incantations with which it was dedicated. If any part of the fruit, after its dedication, has been stolen by some of their less scrupulous neighbours, they break out into the most extravagant execrations against the devils who have been base enough to betray the pledge entrusted to their charge.

"The superstitious fears and ceremonies of the Ceylonese form the chief part of their devotion towards supernatural beings. With regard to what may be properly termed their religion, neither the Europeans nor indeed they themselves seem to have formed any clear idea. Some have asserted that it is the same with that of the Hindoos with only a slight variation of forms and names. Nothing however is easier than to trace resemblances between religions where we give free scope to the imagination, and allow ourselves the liberty of altering terms at pleasure. The religion of the Ceylonese appears to me to be founded on a different system of idolatry from that practised among the Hindoos. A variety of ideas indeed seem to be borrowed from the latter; and with these a large mixture of Mahometanism is very perceptible. In one point they agree with both, as well as with Christians, in acknowledging one Supreme Being who made and governs all things. They differ however as widely from the Mahometans and rigid Hindoos in another respect; for although they are unable to conquer their original superstitions, they entertain the highest reverence for the Christian religion; and some of the Cinglese have been converted without being hardly censured by others for their apostacy.

apostacy. It gives us a striking proof of the wonderful confusion of their ideas with regard to religion, when we find that the same people who adore one Supreme Being more powerful than all others, should at the same time offer up their devotions to devils, animals, and the very productions of the earth.

"Besides the one Supreme Being, who is worshipped as the Creator and Ruler of heaven and earth, the Ceylonese have a number of inferior deities, besides tormenting demons. The inferior deities who watch over them for good are supposed to be the souls of good men; while the demons are looked upon as the spirits of the wicked; and both are supposed to act by the permission of the Supreme Being. The next in dignity to him is their god Buddou, the saviour of souls. This idea of a saviour seems, in some degree, to pervade every religion in the world, although tainted by a variety of different superstitions which are joined to it; and, what is remarkable, the expectations formed from the interference of this saviour are, in almost every religion, nearly the same. Buddou, according to the most general tradition, was originally the spirit of a good man, who was again sent to revisit the earth; and, after having performed a prodigious number of virtuous actions, and been transformed into a hundred and ninety-nine different shapes, re-ascended into heaven, and is still employed in procuring the pardon of his worshippers. The introduction of the worship of Buddou into Ceylon is fixed at about forty years after the Christian æra, at which time, some say, a violent quarrel took place between the Brahmins and the followers of Buddou, who then formed one of the religious sects on the continent. The Brahmins prevailed, and the Buddites were compelled to take refuge in Ceylon. What religion subsisted there before, or if the same religion then prevailed, is a fruitless and unavailing inquiry. The Buddites are said to have been originally a sect of monks, or rather hermits, who led a wandering solitary life, remarkable for chastity, renouncing all the pursuits of the world, and all care of property, and contented with the support of piety amidst the extremest poverty.

"It is alleged that Buddou is worshipped in Pegu and several other parts of the continent, under a different name, the deity of the moon.

"The priests of Buddou are in Ceylon accounted superior to all others. They are called Tirinanxes, and are held in high estimation at the court of Candy, where indeed they have the chief management of affairs. The king has no authority over them, but endeavours to gain their good-will by respecting their immunities, and loading them with distinctions. They have on many occasions shown their gratitude for these attentions, and have materially assisted him both in repressing disturbances in his own dominions, and by exciting the people to support him in his wars against the Dutch. The followers of Buddou believe in the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration into various bodies before it reaches Nimban, or the region of eternity.

"In such high veneration are the Tirinanxes held that their persons are accounted sacred; and the king of Candy, absolute as he is, has

has no power to take away their lives or anywise punish them even for conspiring against his own life. They choose their own superiors; and their chief priest or archbishop is invested with the power of settling all religious disputes. The body of the Tirinanxes are elected by the king from among the nobles, and they are consequently men possessed of power and influence even independent of their sacred character. The honours and respect with which they are every where attended show the strong hold which they have on the minds of the people. All ranks bow down before them; when they sit down, they find their seats covered with a white cloth; and when they walk forth, the broad end of the talipot leaf is borne before them: all these are privileges of the highest kind, and shared with them only by the monarch. The Tirinanxes are also exempted from all taxes. They are placed under certain restrictions, and are totally debarred from wine or women. They have, however, an opportunity of escaping from these restraints; and are allowed to lay aside their order when it suits their inclination.

"Their dress consists of a large loose piece of yellow cloth thrown over their left shoulder, and fastened round the waist by a girdle of the same. The right shoulder, the arms, the head, and the feet, are completely bare. In one hand they carry a painted cane, and in the other an umbrella of the broad end of the talipot leaf.

"The temples of Buddou are superior to those of all the other deities; for they never dedicate temples to the Supreme Being, nor represent him by any image. In the temples of Buddou are figures of men habited like his priests, and placed in various postures: some of them are seen setting cross-legged on the ground with long bushy heads of hair like their women, while others recline at full length on the ground. At Ruanelli, in the interior, I saw a monstrous figure, upwards of twenty feet in length, placed in the cavern of an immense rock, which lay at the bottom of a hill: I shall describe it more particularly in my account of the embassy to Candy.

"In the interior of Ceylon, the ruins of the pagodas and temples which fell in my way were all of hewn stone, and of much superior workmanship to those in the lower parts of the country. Several of them were in a perfect state of preservation; and, on a comparison with those erected in later times, they afford the strongest proof either that the Ceylonese had formerly attained a much higher state of civilisation, or that the island had anciently been inhabited by a different race from its present possessors. Most of these ancient monuments however have suffered severely from the ravages of the Portuguese, whose policy it was to destroy all monuments of art or former splendour among the unhappy natives. But the religious buildings of the Ceylonese were not only defaced and ruined by their barbarous invaders; even the materials which composed them, the hewn stones and massy pillars, were transported to the sea-coasts to erect fortifications, and rivet those chains which were imposed on their former worshippers.

"The temples dedicated to the inferior gods are poor, mean, and contemptible; and usually constructed

structed of clay and wood. In general they are mere huts, one story high, without windows, and covered with cocoa-tree leaves. At the doors of these homely edifices, a pole or flag is commonly placed, and by it a priest is seen sitting during the whole course of the day. There is no figure too ridiculous to find a place within: besides swammies of all constructions, there are representations of wild beasts, birds, pieces of consecrated armour, and some very indecent figures of men and women.

"The priests of the inferior deities, though dressed in the same manner with the tirinanxes, are easily distinguishable by the smaller degree of respect which is paid them. They are continually met in their wandering excursions over the island, and, like all those of the same class in India, are a set of lazy, impudent vagabonds, who, without any exertion or industry, are enabled to live well by the extortions which they practise on the people. Even those who supply their demands are conscious of their vices; but superstitious fears have taken too deep a hold on the minds of the votaries to permit them to withdraw themselves from the yoke.

"The superstition of the Ceylonese serves instead of regular endowments for the support of their religious establishments. The Candians indeed allow certain portions of land and particular taxes to maintain their priests and religious houses, particularly those of Buddou. The inferior priests, however, are left to support their temples and themselves by their own dexterity, and in this task they are very successful. As all sorts of diseases are accounted immediate indications of the divine wrath, the priest and the temple are the constant remedies. Hence all the religious resorts are daily crowded with diseased votaries, who expect, by the prayers which they offer up, to appease the incensed gods. Nor do they ever neglect to enforce their prayers by a gift, which they devoutly deposit on the altar. The priest presents it up with all due ceremony to the god; and after its purpose is thus served, very prudently converts it to his own use. It is a rule with their priests never to quit the temple till replaced by some of their own order; and by this means the offerings of the devotees are punctually received, while another party of the priests are making a tour of the country in search of casual contributions.

"The time of sickness is of course the season when the priests expect their principal harvest. Besides other offerings, it is usual for a Ceylonese when he is apprehensive of danger from his illness, to devote a cock to the devil or evil spirit who he imagines torments him. The animal is then left at home to fatten till the Jaddese or priest finds it convenient to dedicate him at the covel or temple. When any particular festival or sacrifice is intended, it is usual to see the priest going from village to village to collect the dedicated cocks for the occasion; and he often procures several dozens at a time.

"The days appointed for attendance on the places of religious worship, are the Wednesday and Saturday of every week: the sick, however, flock daily to them. There are several particular festivals held in honour of their gods, and with a view to conciliate their favour. In the month of June or July, at the new moon called perahar,

perahar, a solemn and general concourse takes place to the various religious resorts on the islands. Every one that regards the festival betakes himself to some pagoda or other; there is, however, nothing compulsory in these acts of worship, and with the usual indifference of the Ceylonese to religious matters where their fears are not interested, many keep away from mere caprice. At Candy, this festival is celebrated with great pomp, and is attended by the king in person, accompanied with all the splendour of his court. It is on this occasion that he makes his princely offering to the deities, and joins his people in their acts of devotion.

"In November, when the moon is at full, there is another festival which is celebrated in the night-time. It is customary on this occasion for the people to make contributions of oil for lighting up their temples during the continuance of the festival.

"The festivals in honour of Buddou are not held in the temples where he is usually worshipped, but at a high hill and a consecrated tree. The mountain called Hammalleel, or Adam's Peak, is one of the highest in Ceylon, and lies at the distance of about fifty miles to the north-east of Columbo. It is from the summit of this mountain, as tradition reports, that Adam took his last view of Paradise before he quitted it never to return. The spot on which his foot stood at the moment is still supposed to be found in an impression on the summit of the mountain resembling the print of a man's foot, but more than double the ordinary size. After taking this farewell view, the father of mankind is said so have gone over to the continent of India, which was at that time joined to the island; but no sooner had he passed Adam's bridge, than the sea closed behind him and cut off all hopes of return. This tradition, from whatever source it was originally derived, seems to be interwoven with their earliest notions of religion, and it is difficult to conceive that it could have been engrafted on them without forming an original part. I have frequently had the curiosity to inquire of black men of different casts concerning this tradition of Adam. All of them with every appearance of belief assured me that it was really true, and in support of it produced a variety of testimonies, old sayings, and prophecies, which have for ages been current among them. The origin of these traditions I do not pretend to trace, but their connexion with scriptural history is very evident; and they afford a new instance how universally the opinions with respect to the origin of man coincide with the history of that event as recorded in the Bible.

"A large chain, said also to be the workmanship of Adam, is fixed in a rock near the summit of the mountain. It has the appearance of having been placed there at a very distant period; but who really placed it there, or for what purpose, it is impossible for any European to trace amidst the confused and unintelligible superstitions which the natives have mingled with their obscure traditions.

"The ascent of the mountain is exceedingly steep and difficult, and in some parts near the summit the devotees are obliged to be assisted in climbing by ropes and chains fixed by hooks to the rocks. The night time is usually pitched upon to

to ascend, in order to avoid such fatiguing exertions during the excessive heat of the day. On the summit are a number of large flat rocks plentifully supplied with water. It is on one of them that the print of Adam's foot is shown.

"This mountain, which is looked upon as the original residence of Adam, is held in great veneration not only by the natives of Ceylon, but also by a variety of persons of different casts and persuasions throughout India. Most of these have particular places of worship on it to which they make pilgrimages at certain seasons of the year. The Roman catholic priests have also taken advantage of the current superstitions to forward the propagation of their own tenets; and a chapel which they have erected on the mountain is yearly frequented by vast numbers of black Christians of the Portuguese and Malabar race.

"It is to Adam's Peak that the Ceylonese repair to worship at the great festival of Buddou. The Cinglese of the coasts in particular resort to it in vast multitudes. A large proportion of the Candians likewise attend; but whether from a fear of mixing with foreigners or from ideas of superior sanctity, they seem more inclined to hold their great festival under the shade of the *bogaha* tree, which stands at Annarodgburro, an ancient city, in the northern part of the king of Candy's dominions; and none but his own subjects are permitted to approach this sanctuary. The bogaha tree, says tradition, suddenly flew over from some distant country, and planted itself in the spot where it now stands. It was intended as a shelter for the god Buddou; and under its branches he was wont to repose while he sojourned on earth. Near this hallowed spot ninety kings are interred, who all merited admission to the regions of bliss by the temples and images they constructed for Buddou. They are now sent as good spirits to preside over the safety of his followers, and protect them from being brought into subjection to Europeans; a calamity against which they continually pray. Around the tree are a number of huts, erected for the use of the devotees who repair hither; and as every sort of uncleanness and dust must be removed from the sacred spot, people are retained for the purpose of continually sweeping the approaches before the worshippers, and to attend the priests during the performance of the ceremonies.

"As the preference was given by Buddou to the shade of the bogaha tree above all others, it is universally held sacred among the Ceylonese. Wherever it is found throughout the island, persons are appointed to watch over it, and preserve it from dirt or injury. The bogaha tree is held in the same estimation among the followers of Buddou, as the banyan tree among the Brahmins.

"Notwithstanding the many religious ceremonies and superstitions which prevail among the Ceylonese, they are far from being such devotees and zealots as many of the sects on the continent. Indeed, they seem to be more actuated by apprehension than by any real sentiment of zeal; and they seldom think themselves called upon to take much concern in religious matters till they fall into sickness, or verge towards the close of life. The injustice of the Portuguese in forcing religious tenets upon them, must have shocked them the more as they have not the smallest idea of

of intolerant zeal. So far are they from being displeased at Europeans, or people of other persuasions entering their temples and observing their ceremonies, that they are rather gratified by such marks of attention, and account the presence of visitors as an honour done themselves. On being questioned about their superstitions, they do not hesitate to confess the absurdity of their apprehensions, but still they look upon themselves as unable to escape from them; and dread even to attempt vindicating their freedom, from a fear that they may be instantly delivered over to the vengeance of those malignant spirits who infest their country. The Christian priests and missionaries, though often successful in propagating their doctrines, have never yet been able totally to eradicate superstitions which have been imbibed from the cradle.

"I was very much surprised to observe the Ceylonese wear beads, and mutter prayers as they count them and go along the road, in the same manner as I have seen done in Roman catholic countries. I at first imagined that these were converts to that religion; but upon inquiry, I found that they were all staunch adherents to the worship of Buddou. Their high respect for the customs of the Europeans led them early to adopt this usage from the Portuguese; but the prayers which they mutter over their beads, have no reference whatever to those used by the Roman catholics, but are directed entirely to their own superstitions, and intended as preventives against the influence of the evil spirits which surround them.

"The immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, are tenets firmly believed among all the Ceylonese. They believe that the souls of the just are immediately after death admitted into the rank of gods, and that their ancient prophets and good kings are long since employed in exercising the powers of this station: while, on the other hand, the souls of the wicked, particularly of unjust tyrants and impious priests, are supposed to have passed into wild beasts and reptiles.

"The Ceylonese are rigid predestinarians, and believe that people are born to their particular destinies, whether good or bad, without any possibility of avoiding or altering them. Spells and charms are indeed supposed in some measure to lighten the effects of appointed calamities; and considerable reliance is placed on giving alms. On this account the Ceylonese are very liberal in the distribution of charity. They consider giving presents to their priests, and alms to their beggars, as essential acts of goodness. The Cinglese in our service in particular, who have the natural ferocity of their minds more completely subdued, often give remarkable proofs of their extended good nature in these respects. It is customary for them even to lay by a certain proportion of their food to distribute among the poor; and although distressed strangers are among the Indians accounted objects of very little compassion, yet a Cinglese will not shut his hand to the Malabar or Moor who asks him for relief. Their tenderness is at times extended even to the brute creation; and it is customary for them to bind themselves during the continuance of certain festivals or seasons of devotion, to refrain from killing any living creature, but subsist entirely on herbs and fruits.

"I have

"I have already observed, that the Ceylonese are much more conscientious in their dealings than the natives of the continent. This remark applies particularly to the Cinglese, who, besides being naturally abstemious, frugal, and free from covetousness, are not tempted by want to purloin the property of their neighbours. The Candians, though endued with much more pride and spirit, are by no means so conscientious or honest. Those indeed among them, who are guilty of stealing or lying, are exposed to public reproach, while just and honourable actions never fail to meet with applause; but when they expect to escape detection, they are seldom deterred from trespassing by scruples of conscience. The rapacity of their governors, and their frequent inroads into the European settlements, seem to have depraved their originally good dispositions.

"Their burials are not attended with any particular religious solemnity. Mr. Knox states, that in his time it was customary to burn the dead, particularly the bodies of persons of distinction. If this practice still subsists in any part of Ceylon, it has entirely escaped my researches, and must be both rare and confined to the remotest parts of the interior. The analogy of several of the casts on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, among whom the practice of burning the dead is general, may be alleged as a proof of its once having been customary among the Ceylonese. At present, as far as I have been able to discover, the funeral ceremony is very simple, and nearly resembles what takes place among ourselves. The body is wrapped in a mat or piece of cloth, and carried to some unfrequented spot where it is deposited.

"Such are the circumstances I have been able to collect, which apply to the native Ceylonese in general. There are some particular shades of difference which arise between the Candians and Cinglese, both from the nature of the country they inhabit, and from the more frequent intercourse of the latter with foreigners. These chiefly relate to their political situation, and their forms of administering justice, which among the Cinglese are of course considerably assimilated to those of the people which holds them in subjection."

EMBASSY to the COURT of CANDY, in 1800.

[From the same Work.]

"THE general was now arrived at that place where it was determined he should reside while he transacted the business of his embassy. It might now seem that he had overcome the chief difficulties that lay in his way; and that the fatigues of his tedious march would have been compensated by a frank reception and ready admittance into the royal presence. But it was the study of the Candians to impress the ambassador with the highest ideas of their dignity, and their condescension in receiving overtures from an European government.

vernment. With this view, so many ceremonies attended each introduction into the royal presence, that little business could be transacted; and such a space was allowed to elapse between each interview, that the general was only admitted to three during his stay here, which was from the 10th of April to the 3d of May.

"But previous to any interview, it was found no easy matter to adjust the ceremonies of introduction. It had been customary for the kings of Candy to demand prostration, and several other degrading tokens of submission from the ambassadors introduced to them. The Dutch ambassadors had always submitted to be introduced into the capital blindfold, and to prostrate themselves before the monarch. In a former war, when Trincomalee was taken by us from the Dutch, proposals were sent to the king to assist him in expelling his enemies out of the island, and to form a treaty of alliance with him. After the envoy entrusted with this business had arrived at Candy, the king would not receive him standing; and the envoy, not having instructions how to act in such a case, declined the interview till he could hear from Madrass; by which means so much time elapsed, that the object of the embassy was by intervening circumstances entirely defeated, and the envoy returned without being presented. Even after the British had shown their power by the capture of Columbo and the expulsion of the Dutch, the Candian monarch would not recede from his lofty pretensions; and Mr. Andrews, the British East-India Company's chief civil servant, who was sent upon a mission to Candy shortly after we had taken possession of the island, was obliged to kneel on being admitted to the royal presence. Nay, to such an extravagant pitch do the natives carry their ideas of the indispensable nature of this royal prerogative, that when Trincomalee was in the last war taken by our troops under general Stewart; and when the king was in consequence prevailed upon to send ambassadors to Madrass these persons very modestly desired lord Hobart to prostrate himself before them, and to receive the king's letter on his knees. This request, however, his lordship declined to comply with; but returned for answer, that as they were so much in the habit of kneeling, and so fond of prostration, a custom which his countrymen never adopted, their best plan to prevent the omission of this essential ceremony, would be to prostrate themselves before him who held the supreme authority there: and this alternative, after they found his lordship would not submit to the other, they actually assented to.

"General Macdowal, understanding that this ceremony was expected at his introduction, previously informed his majesty, by means of the adigar, that he could not on any account submit to it. The king made many objections to receiving him into his presence, unless he would consent first to prostrate himself, and then to remain kneeling during the royal audience. The general, however, positively refused compliance, and informed the minister that his sovereign acknowledged the superiority of no potentate upon earth; and that sooner than degrade his sovereign in the person of his representative, he would return to Columbo without being presented. The king, not daring to come to an open breach with us, upon this waved his

prerogative; but in order to reconcile this derogation from his dignity to his own feelings, he informed the general that it was his royal will to dispense in his case with the usual ceremonies required of ambassadors at their introduction, as the general came from his brother the king of Great-Britain, whose great power and strength he acknowledged to be far above that of the Dutch or the East-India Company.

"This important matter having been adjusted in this manner, and the time appointed for the first audience being come, the adigar, with a numerous attendance, lighted by a great blaze of torches (for audience is always given here by night), came to the edge of the river to conduct the general to the royal presence. The general on his part crossed the river in the boats which were in readiness, attended by his staff and the gentlemen belonging to the embassy, with an escort consisting of a subaltern and fifty sepoys. He was then conducted by the adigar about a mile and a half to the king's palace. The road thither was up a steep hill, with narrow crooked paths. The capital was surrounded by thick thorny hedges, with gates of the same, called by the natives *caravetties*. The caravetty nearest Candy has a rampart and breast-work, on which some of their artillery was occasionally mounted. The resistance which it could make to the approach of a regular army is, however, very trifling: Candy is indebted for its principal fortifications to nature.

"The way up to the city was very fatiguing, and the escort was not a little incommoded by the crowd of natives who eagerly pressed to gaze at them. This circumstance and the glare of the torches prevented the general's retinue from having an accurate view of the city. The embassy on entering it passed through one long broad street to the palace. The houses, though low huts of themselves, appeared greatly elevated from being built upon high banks on each side of the street, which forms a kind of area below. At the further end of this street is a high wall enclosing the gardens which belong to the palace. After a short turn here to the left, the palace appeared standing on the right. In front of it was a flight of stone steps, and a viranda or balcony, in which a number of the king's guards and several of the chief men in waiting were stationed. After passing this, and descending by another flight of steps, a large square surrounded by a high wall afforded a station for some more of the guards. At the opposite side stood a large arched gate-way, leading into an inner court where the king and his principal officers of state have their residence. In this inner division the king kept his own body guards, who were composed of Malays and Malabars. These troops are armed with swords, spears, and shields; and on them the king seems to place his chief dependence in the event of any sudden commotion or alarm.

"On the right hand of this inner court stood an open arch, through which was the entrance to the hall of audience. This state room was a long viranda with alternate arches and pillars along its sides. From this structure, as well as from the appearance of the roof and ceiling, it bore a considerable resemblance to the aisle of a church. The pillars and arches were adorned

ed with muslin flowers, and ornaments made of the plantain leaf, which had a very pretty effect. At the further end of the hall, and under one of the larger arches, was placed a kind of platform or throne, covered with a carpet, and surrounded with steps. Here the king sat in state. A small partition raised in front concealed his feet and the lower part of his body from view. Below the arches on each side of the hall the courtiers were seen, some prostrate, others sitting in silence and cross-legged like a parcel of tailors on a shop-board. The general was led up with much ceremony and gravity by the adigar, and the next chief officer present, and placed along with the adigar on the uppermost step of the throne.

"Although the rest of the hall was well lighted, that part where the king sat was contrived to be made more obscure than the rest, with a view of impressing a greater awe on those who approached him. He was in appearance a young man, very black, with a light beard. He was by no means so portly or well-looking as the adigar and several other of the officers around him. He was dressed in a robe of very fine muslin embroidered with gold, fitted close at the breast with several folds drawn round the waist, and flowing down from thence like a lady's gown. His arms were bare from the elbows downwards. On his fingers he wore a number of very broad rings set with precious stones of different sorts, while a number of gold chains were suspended round his neck over a stiff frilled piece of muslin resembling a queen Elizabeth's ruff. His head was covered with a turban of muslin spangled with gold, and surmounted by a crown of gold (an ornament by which he is distinguished from all the other Asiatic princes, who are prohibited by their religion from wearing this badge of royalty, and whose ornaments, when they use any, consist simply of a sprig or feather of precious stones). His waist was encircled with a rich sash, to which was suspended a short curved dagger or sabre, the handle richly ornamented, and the scabbard of gold filigree-work. In appearance his majesty much resembled the figures we are accustomed to see of king Henry VIII. The adigar, from his superior size, might indeed be said to do so still more: very little difference in dress was discernible between him and his sovereign, except that the minister did not carry a crown; although his turban also was surmounted by something like a ducal coronet.

"After general Macdowal had been presented in form to his majesty, and a numerous string of ceremonies had been gone through, the king proceeded to inquire about the health of his Britannic majesty, and the state of our affairs; to all which questions the general returned such answers as propriety dictated. The conversation was carried on with the most profound gravity and reserve. Even the most trifling circumstances were mentioned in whispers, with as much ceremony and importance as if the fate of kingdoms depended upon them. The king directed his speech to the adigar, who stood on the step below the throne, and who repeated his majesty's words to the maha moodelier, who had come up with the embassy as Cinglese interpreter. The latter in his turn gave it in Portuguese to monsieur Joinville, who had also been sent up by governor North to interpret from

that language, and who repeated it in French to general Macdowal. Thus the conversation was carried on by five different persons, and in three different languages; the general's answers returning by the same channel which had conveyed his majesty's questions.

"The tedious length to which such a conference must have been protracted, may be easily conceived; and though it lasted near three hours, this first interview was entirely occupied with complimentary matters. During the conference, rose-water was frequently sprinkled around from curiously-wroughtvessels of gold; and perfumes were handed about on salvers of gold and silver fillagree-work. The oppressive heat of the room however, joined to the powerful exhalations of the scented oils burned in the lamps, and the rank smell of cocoa-nut oil with which the natives present were universally anointed, overcame the effects of all these precautions, and almost stifled the European gentlemen who were allowed to remain at one end of the hall where the general's guard was stationed. During the audience, the rain poured down in torrents without intermission; and continued to do so until the general was on his march back to the camp, where he arrived about five in the morning, quite exhausted with fatigue.

"After this audience, some days were permitted to elapse before another could be obtained; as it is a standing maxim with the Candians never to hurry forward affairs, or to betray any symptom of anxiety for their being brought to a conclusion. I am convinced that their adherence to this principle on the present occasion cost them no small share of uneasiness; as their suspicions of us were too violent to allow their minds to enjoy any rest while we continued in their country.

"At the second audience the general introduced the business of the embassy, and made those demands which he was authorised to do on behalf of Great Britain. Concerning the nature of those demands, and the answers returned to them, I do not consider myself at liberty to give any statement, as they were matters of private negotiation. One circumstance however was publicly talked of as having been laid before his Candian majesty by the general on this occasion. It was a request made on the part of our government, that that prince would allow a road to be made and a communication to be opened from Trincomalee to Columbo, through his territories, a little to the north of Candy. This would have been a matter of vast convenience and importance to our government, as hitherto the tapals or letter-bags had to be conveyed by a circuitous route along the seacoast by Manaar and Jafnapatam, and double the distance of that proposed through the Candian territories. The king however would on no account accede to this proposal; but expressed his decided aversion to any intercourse or connexion existing between his subjects and the Europeans. At the same time, however, he expressed a desire to live on amicable terms with the British, whose power he acknowledged to be far superior to that of the Dutch. Whatever further transpired with regard to the objects of the embassy was too much the result of conjecture to be set down in an authentic narrative.

"Between this audience and the next

next audience for the purpose of taking leave, several messages and conversations took place between general Macdowal and the adigar on political topics. The greatest precaution was employed by the Candians to prevent any intercourse between those of our escort, particularly the Malays and Malabars, and those in the king's service. Our soldiers who attended the general to the court were prevented by every possible means from conversing with the natives. In spite of these precautions, however, several pieces of information were procured which may be turned to advantage hereafter. Several Malays in the king's service found an opportunity of expressing their sorrow at not having it in their power to return to Columbo with their old companions. Most of those Malays had been slaves to the Dutch, and had on account of ill treatment made their escape to the Candian territories. They would have gladly returned to their former masters, and submitted to any punishment for their desertion, rather than live in continual apprehension from the caprices of a despotic and barbarous court.

"At the audience for taking leave, the king put a gold chain round the general's neck, and presented him with a sword and an embroidered belt and scabbard. He also gave him a ring set with different sorts of precious stones, and an elephant. These, even when added to the presents sent to governor North by the king, were of small value in comparison of those his Candian majesty received from our government. To the officers who accompanied the king were distributed a gold chain, a ring, and some tortoise shells of little value; and the soldiers were merely presented with a piece of coarse cloth. Nor was the escort even supplied with provisions while at the Candian court; a piece of hospitality which was expected, and which on former occasions it had been usual to confer. A small quantity of rice and paddy of an inferior sort, with a few sweet meats dealt with a very sparing hand, were all the gifts which our troops derived from Candian hospitality.

"The general, after taking his final leave of his majesty, and having obtained orders for departure, commenced his route on the 2d of May for the camp at Kuanelli, and arrived there on the 6th. Next day he set out with his staff for Columbo, leaving directions with colonel Torrens to march the detachment back as soon as the escort he had carried up with him to Candy were sufficiently refreshed from their fatigues,

"On the tenth of May the whole detachment set off to Sittivacca, where they encamped that night.

"11th. Marched to Gurrawaddi.

"12th. Halted this day, being Sunday.

"13th. Proceeded to Cuddavilli.

"14th. Marched to Columbo, where the detachment, after being allowed a few days to refresh themselves, returned to garrison duty."

Pelew Islands, and Death of Abba Thulle.

[From Mr. Hockin's Supplementary Account.]

"HAVING in the preceding chapter given an account of the equipment and route of the vessels from Bombay to the Pelew Islands, together with such matter as I thought might be of use and benefit to those whom either misfortune or design may hereafter bring into these seas, I resume the account from the ships having anchored.

"On the 22d January some canoes were seen, which seemed to avoid the ships, notwithstanding the signals that were made to them; it was therefore concluded that the persons in the canoes were either enemies of Abba Thulle, or going express to him with an account of the arrival of the English. One of the boats being hoisted out, lieutenant Wedgeborough was sent in her to examine a channel to the westward of the place where the ships lay, and also to gain an intercourse with the natives. Soon after the boat had left the ship, and was got amongst the islands, three canoes came alongside the Panther, having in them several people who recollected Mr. White, although so many years had elapsed since his sailing from Oroolong; one of them, a rupack, immediately came on board, and calling out White, caught him in his arms, and giving him a most affectionate and ardent squeeze, seemed almost distracted with joy, calling for all his people to come and embrace their friend; he then took him into his canoe to get some sweet drink. Mr. Wedgeborough's reception was nearly the same; the account he gives is, that as soon as he got amongst the islands, the boat was surrounded with canoes; the natives, as soon as they heard him speak their language (of which he had gained some knowledge, when he was cast away with captain Wilson), and understood that they were English, expressed their joy by acclamations and gestures little short of madness; pointing to Oroolong, and calling it Englishman's land, and then immediately inquired for Lee Boo. Upon asking them the reason why they did not come to the ships, they said they did not know who they were, but had sent canoes to acquaint Abba Thulle, and expected him soon. As it was drawing towards evening, the natives invited them to land, and there to wait for the king. They again inquired for Lee Boo; and on being told his fate, and the disease of which he died, they appeared composed and satisfied: being asked what was become of Madan Blanchard, the person that remained behind, when captain Wilson and the crew of the Antelope left the islands, they said he was at Cooroora, but soon declined the conversation respecting him. The king not being arrived at sun-set, the boat was returning on board with two of the natives; but they had not proceeded far from the shore, before they saw a number of canoes pulling very fast, and among them one having a great number

number of paddles. The natives told Mr. Wedgeborough, that it was the king's canoe; and as they very soon drew near, he could, by the manner with which the men flourished their paddles, discover the king was in her; they therefore waited his coming, and at half past six in the evening, Mr. Wedgeborough says, "I had the unspeakable pleasure of once more being embraced by the benevolent Abba Thulle." They then proceeded together in the king's canoe towards the Panther; on their way, Mr. Wedgeborough acquainted him with the death of Lee Boo: the manner of receiving this information, I shall give in Mr. Wedgeborough's own words. "His countenance, which before bore the most evident marks of joy, became composed and thoughtful; and after remaining some time silent, as if wishing to recollect himself, he exclaimed, "*Weel, weel, weel a treeoy!* (in English, Good, good, very good)." The king then paused a little, as if to gain relief; but on his again entering on the melancholy subject, he said, he never entertained a doubt of the goodness of the English, or the captain, but rested assured that they would cherish and take care of his son. That the return of the ships with his friends the English, convinced him his opinion was right, when he gave Lee Boo to the care of captain Wilson: that he had counted upon the line the captain had given him, as far as one hundred knots, or moons, and then despairing of ever seeing his son or the captain again, he had caused the line to be buried, supposing that the vessel which the English had built at Englishman's island (Oroolong) was not large enough to carry them in safety to China, as they had sailed before the good moon set in. He then mentioned the death of Blanchard, but frequently paused in reciting so melancholy a tale, many of his own family having been slain with him in battle. Scarcely had the king finished the sad conversation, before they reached the ship; captain M'Cluer received him at his entrance, and was most tenderly embraced by him: the king supposing him to be captain Wilson, instantly felt his wrist for the rupack's bone, and seemed greatly disappointed at not finding it, eagerly inquiring what had been done with it. It being dark, the king was taken into the cabin, when he instantly found out his mistake, and earnestly asked where captain Wilson was, and the reason why he did not return to him? being answered that the captain was alive and well, and promoted to the command of a large ship (much larger than the Antelope), and too large to come among his islands till they were better known, he appeared satisfied: he was then informed, that, in consideration of his great kindness and humanity to captain Wilson, and the crew of the Antelope, the English East-India company had sent the vessels, with the gentlemen whom he now saw, together with his former acquaintance and friends, Messrs. Wedgeborough and White, to explain to him and his rupacks, the cause and manner of his son's death, and to bring a variety of articles for him and his people; and being shortly after shown some of the cattle, he was lost in amazement. After remaining on board about two hours, thinking his retinue, from their number and curiosity, were troublesome, he made a motion to retire, nor could any intreaties prevail upon him to sleep on board; for he said if he accept-

ed the kindness, his people would all want the same indulgence, and that there would be no end to the trouble they should give; that he was sure all the crew must want rest after so long a voyage; but he requested Mr. White might accompany him to the shore, and stay the night, and one of his sons should remain on board until the morning, when he would return himself, and have the vessels conducted to Cooroora. The canoes were manned in an instant, and the benevolent Abba Thulle quitted the ship, quite composed and serene, being highly gratified at the return of his good friends.

" The reader will be inclined, no doubt, to pause for a moment, and to sympathise with Abba Thulle. Behold this untutored prince of nature struggling with the fond emotions of a parent, and contending with the tenderest and strongest passion of the human breast. *Weel, weel, weel a treeoy*, were words spoken from a heart full of resignation: for however severe the conflict might be, his gratitude to the English prompted him to keep his sorrow silent within his breast, and prevented him from pouring forth the feelings of his heart in fruitless lamentations. Let not the reader hastily misconstrue the composure and resignation of Abba Thulle, on his receiving the melancholy news, into indifference or insensibility of mind; for excess of sorrow does not always so truly describe misery, as it denotes weakness of mind. The composure and resignation of Abba Thulle, may in some measure be accounted for, from the circumstance of his burying the line, on which he had knotted one hundred moons; each an anxious memorandum of the absence of his son. More than eight years having thus heavily passed away, he had given up every hope of again seeing him. The conduct which the king observed to all his subjects, will bear ample testimony both of the fortitude and goodness of his heart: and if it be true, that princes lay the best foundation for their own happiness, by studiously promoting that of their subjects, no one more fully merited being called father of his people, than the good Abba Thulle; all his actions appeared to spring from a magnanimity of mind invariably directed to the welfare of those he governed.

" I beg leave here to recal to the memory of my readers, the name of Mr. Keate, who finished his course of human frame on the 28th of June, 1797; his remains were interred on the north side of the communion table in Isleworth church. His works will be read by the learned and finished scholar with pleasure and instruction; and it is not easy to determine, whether to admire more the superior talents of his mind, or the excellent qualities of his heart.

" At day-light in the morning the vessels were surrounded by a number of canoes from the neighbouring islands, and about eight o'clock the king and Mr. White came alongside in the king's canoe, but he would not go on board on account of the number of people that accompanied him; for he by no means wished to incommode or impede the crew in the management of their sails; he said he would therefore only put two or three people on board to point out the channel to Cooroora, while himself, accompanied by Mr. White, would precede them to his capital, and prepare for the reception of the English. Owing to a strong current

current and unfavourable winds, the vessels did not arrive at their intended anchorage until the evening of the 26th.

"Mr. White's account of the behaviour of the natives, and the treatment he received during the absence of the vessels, was nearly as follows: soon after they left the ship they landed at a neighbouring island, where a supper was dressed for them, consisting of fish and yams. During the repast the king entered into conversation, and made many inquiries about the English, and after different people whose names he remembered, especially the boy Cobbledick, who used to sing to him. The fate of Blanchard was again anxiously inquired into by Mr. White; but the king touched on the melancholy subject but tenderly, and as it were in half sentences, being too much affected to dwell on it. Blanchard was killed in battle at Pellelew when the people of Cooroora made a conquest of that island, about five months before the arrival of the Panther and Endeavour. In this engagement, which seems to have been valiantly fought by both parties, besides Blanchard there were killed, on the part of Abba Thulle, his brother Raa Kook, Arra Kooker, and his favourite son Qui Bill, together with Arra Zook, and a great many of the old warriors particular friends to the crew of the Antelope. The inhabitants of Pellelew suffered severely in this conflict, most of their warriors being killed, and their women and children carried into captivity. Blanchard had a wife, but left no children; as a faithful narrator, I am sorry to state that the natives, in their account of him, spake very indifferently of his conduct while among them, saying that he lived a rambling life, going about from house to house, and from pye to pye, and from his idleness making himself of very little estimation in the eyes of the rupacks; that when he wanted any thing he staid about the king, to whose family he was considered as belonging. Soon after the sailing of the vessel, to which they had given the name of Oroolong (and which conveyed captain Wilson and the crew of the Antelope to China), Blanchard left off wearing clothes, and was tatooed or marked like the other inhabitants; the arms and ammunition which captain Wilson left behind, the king took care of himself, not having sufficient confidence in Blanchard.

"On the afternoon of this day the vessels being again safe within the reefs, having anchored near to the island of Oroolong, Mr. Wedgeborough went to take a view of his old habitation in the cove, where the Antelope's crew built their vessel: he found it a perfect wilderness, the whole being overgrown with underwood, except the part where the cocoa nut trees grew which were planted by Raa Kook and Arra Kooker, they looked very flourishing, but had not as yet produced any fruit. The inscription which had been cut out upon copper and affixed to a tree there *, had been taken away by the natives of Pellelew; which was one cause of the war that had just then terminated.

"At day-light the ships got under sail, and about ten o'clock the king and Mr. White came on board to pilot them to the anchoring place; there being a fine steady

* Vide the account of the Pelew Islands, chapter xx.

breeze

breeze with smooth water, the vessels went at more than six miles an hour, yet the canoes paddled at so superior a rate, that they would shoot a-head, and run round the ship like so many porpoises. At five o'clock in the afternoon they entered a snug harbour, to which the king directed them, in order to land the cattle and presents; and, while the ships were mooring, the king with his attendants went on shore, to prepare for their reception."

"The English continued in the discharge of every friendly and good office towards the natives, who on their part made every return in their power, till the 27th of June, when the vessels sailed from the Pelew Islands, to carry into execution their orders for a survey of the coast of New Guinea.

"Upon this occasion the good old king again manifested his zeal and care for the benefit of his own people, as well as his firm confidence in the friendship of the English; for understanding from captain M'Cluer, that it was his intention, after the business the ships were going upon should be finished, to stop again at his islands on their way to China, the king requested that some of his people might go with the English ships, and that they would leave one or two of their countrymen with him, until the expedition was over, that his people might be made conversant with their manner, and as like Englishmen as possible. Accordingly two boys were left with the king, and three of the natives embarked on board the Panther, on a voyage of instruction and discovery. The friendly Abba Thulle, with his accustomed attention and care having himself seen the vessels clear of danger, took his leave, after first giving the youth Pimmoo an affectionate admonition for his future conduct, and earnestly intreating his friends the English to return to him as soon as their business should be finished.

"Some other occurrences not altogether unworthy of notice may here be mentioned, before the final departure of the ships from the islands, occurrences, which, happening on coasts and seas hitherto unknown, when faithfully related, will, I trust, at least amuse, if not instruct the reader.

"On Saturday the 16th July they saw land, and commenced their survey on the northern part of the coast of New Guinea, which they continued for the space of two months; during that time their intercourse with the natives was friendly and kind. Being rather short of provisions, the vessels steered for Amboyna, where they arrived on Wednesday the 28th September; they remained here twelve days, completing their stock of provisions and water, and experienced every attention and accommodation the Dutch and the inhabitants could afford; the Dutch chief, Mr. Van Schilling, exerting himself to the utmost in supplying their wants, and in doing away every idea of jealousy or rivalship between the two nations: he informed them they were the only English ships that had visited that island for above a century. The ships left Amboyna and these friendly Dutchmen on Monday the 10th October, and resumed their business on the coast of New Guinea on Monday the 24th.

"Early on the morning of Wednesday the 26th, they saw several canoes coming off from the shore;

shore; about nine o'clock eleven of them were near the ship, and as the people in them made every possible sign of friendship, Mr. Nicholson, the surgeon, was induced to go into the long boat, that was towing a-stern of the Panther, judging that a conversation with them, and a few presents, would render them familiar, or at least well disposed. In this good office he was employed for some time; but having given to one man, who appeared to be a chief, a piece of chintz, he in return invited Mr. Nicholson, into his canoe, this offer he unthinkingly accepted. They then endeavoured to force the boat keeper out of the long boat, which caused an alarm; when they immediately discharged a flight of arrows into the ship, which wounded four of the crew. Mr. Nicholson seeing his danger, attempted to regain the long boat, but unfortunately could not effect it; for receiving a violent blow from a club, he fell into the water, and, the barbarians piercing him with a spear, which forced him under, he was seen no more. The great guns and small arms were now discharged, which soon dispersed these savages; and a consultation was held on the propriety of landing to demand justice from the inhabitants of the village from whence the canoes had come; but as this measure would have involved the innocent with the guilty, not to mention the risk of lives in the execution, it was deemed adviseable to give up all thoughts of revenge, and to proceed on the voyage. Such has been the humane conduct not only of an individual ship, but of the people of England at large; who have always shown themselves more studious to pacify animosities than to increase or revenge them; never wishing to unsheath the sword, except in such cases as have deeply affected immediate security, or the honour and prosperity of the nation. On this unfriendly and savage coast they continued till Wednesday the 21st December, when having completed their survey, they stood away for the coast of New Holland, and from thence to the island of Timoor, where they were most hospitably received. That this was not the first instance of hospitality towards our countrymen, their conduct towards captains Bligh and Edwards, with the people that remained of the Bounty and Pandora, will sufficiently testify. The season being sickly, all the kind assistance experienced from the friendly Dutchmen could not arrest the hand of death; they buried an officer, and one of their Pelew passengers.

"From Timoor the vessels sailed in the afternoon of Saturday the 24th March, for Bencoolen, where they arrived on Wednesday the 27th April. During this passage another of the Pelew passengers died, the youth Pimmoo. The ships remained at Bencoolen till Friday the 17th of August, when they again sailed for the Pelew islands, stopping in their route at the islands of Sooloo, where they took in as much seed, grain, and cattle as the vessels could receive; and on Monday the 20th January 1793, they arrived at Pelew. No sooner were they anchored within the reef, than they were crowded with the natives, who brought the melancholy tidings of the death of the humane and beneficent Abba Thulle. This sorrowful event took place about three months after the vessels left the islands; the surviving brother, or the Clow Arra Kooker, whose name,

or

or family, is Angusswangaa, being now the king or Abba Thulle.

"Here, I trust, the reader will give me his attention for a few moments, and with feelings of gratitude unite with me in contemplating the ways of Providence. A distressed and shipwrecked people are cast away upon a distant and unknown coast; they are there succoured and cherished by the natives with a liberality if not unknown, yet not surpassed in any civilised country; nay, in some instances, far exceeding any thing before experienced; for in relieving the wants of these strangers, they frequently gave up their own usual and accustomed portions of food. We have in the course of this narrative had abundant testimonies of the hospitality of these people. And even in their primitive state we have found humanity and charity shining forth in all their actions. The blessings of superior knowledge conveyed to them by the English, were most gladly and thankfully received and acknowledged. Behold then these generous islanders in all their actions; no lapse of time, nor even the untoward circumstances of delay or apparent neglect, could wean their affections from their friends and instructors, whom they considered not as being of a superior order, but as men of more enlightened minds."

PICTURESQUE DESCRIPTION of SWITZERLAND.

[From N. KARAMSIN'S TRAVELS, Translated from the German.]

"I LEFT Grindelwald this morning at five o'clock, and passed by the upper Glacier, which afforded me far more pleasure than the lower, for its pyramids are of a much purer, and more beautiful azure colour. Above four hours I kept ascending, and was as much fatigued to-day as yesterday. The mountain-swallows flew around me, and twittered their melancholy notes. I heard the distant sound of bleating flocks; and the grass and flowers diffused around me odours that renewed my sinking strength; the pyramidal Schreckhorn, the loftiest of the Alps, being, according to Pfyffer's measurement, two thousand four hundred fathoms in height, was on one side; and before me rose the terrific Wetterhorn, which often attracts thunder-clouds, and is enveloped in livid lightnings. Two drifts of snow, which the sun had loosened, fell from its summit before my eyes. At first I heard a tremendous report, which made me tremble, and instantly saw two prodigious masses of snow rolling along from one declivity of the mountain to another, and at length falling with a faint noise, like distant thunder, succeeded by an immense white cloud of snow-dust.

"On the mountain Scheideck I found more herdsmen, who treated me with cheese and milk. After this light and wholesome repast, I am now sitting on a knoll of the mountain, and viewing the eternal masses of snow, in which I discover the springs of those streams which water our vallies.

"This snow is the great reservoir of nature, from which, in times of

of drought, she revives the parched world; and, were it possible for this snow to be melted all at once, the earth would be inundated by a second deluge.

"It is impossible to behold, without a certain shivering, these limits of the earthly creation, where even not the least vestige of life presents itself—not a tree nor shrub—all around is a melancholy desert. Nothing interrupts the death-like silence of these rugged rocks, but the king of birds, the Alpine eagle, which now and then carries off a poor shamoy, as his prey. The shamoys endeavour to save themselves through their agility, but in vain!—in vain they bound from rock to rock! the cruel enemy does not leave his prey till he has driven it to the edge of a precipice, where the unfortunate victim can find no path to escape. With a powerful stroke of his wings, he then precipitates it into the abyss; where, notwithstanding their agility, they are infallibly lost. He then draws them out with his sharp claws, and bears off his prize in triumph. However, this bird is not the only enemy of the defenceless shamoys. The hunters are still more destructive to them. These hunters climb, fearless of all dangers, up the steepest rocks. However, many find their graves in the cliffs and precipices, or are overwhelmed in the snow. Many dreadful accidents of this kind are related. For instance: a shamoy-hunter, from Grindelwald, was hunting on the Schreckhorn. He pursued his prey from rock to rock. His foot suddenly slipped, when on the very summit of a steep eminence. The abyss yawned beneath him, and, already, the sharp rock threatened to impale him—he only hung by his feet from the rock, and thus sustained himself above the horrid precipice. Only imagine the horrors of such a situation!—None of his companions were able to assist him—none durst leap on the edge of the rock. Thus he hung, between heaven and earth—between life and death, till he was able to place his hands against the rock, and, in this manner, to raise himself upon his feet, upon which he crept down again by degrees."

Valley of Hassley.

"After resting about two hours with the shepherds, I continued my route down the mountain. The first remarkable object which now presented itself, was the Glacier of Rosenlawin, indisputably the finest of all the Glaciers. It consists of the purest sapphire-blue pyramids, which proudly elevate their jagged summits. I walked now in the shade of ancient fir-trees, which screened me from the rays of the sun. Around me no vestige of human creatures was to be seen.—Wherever I turned my eyes, I beheld nothing but a desert wilderness. From grey, moss-clad rocks foaming rivulets precipitated themselves, whose noise was augmented by the echo of the woods.—When I came into the valley, I found the most delightful odoriferous meadows that it is possible to conceive. I cannot describe the pleasure I felt at the sight of these verdant fields, after having so long seen nothing but sterile rocks and masses of snow. In every meadow I rested a few minutes; and, in thought, kissed every blade of grass. I at length arrived at a small village, whose inhabitants live in the genuine simplicity of the pastoral state. They understand nothing but breeding of cattle; and milk is

their

their only nourishment. Their large cheeses are chiefly exported to Italy. The dairies, in which they make the cheese, rest on high pillars, or props; and are constructed of thin boards, to admit a free circulation of air. As I was extremely thirsty, I requested a young shepherd, who was seated at the door of a cottage, situated on the bank of a limpid streamlet, to bring me a glass. He did not understand me immediately, but as soon as he comprehended what I wanted, he instantly ran into the house, and brought a cup. 'It is clean,' said he, in bad German, showing it to me. He then ran to the rivulet, filled the cup several times with water, which he poured out again; at the same time looking at me with a smile. He at last filled it, and brought it me, saying, 'drink, my friend,—drink our water.' I was about to press the good-natured obliging man to my heart as my brother. Oh! my friends, why were we not born in those times when all men were shepherds and brethren? I would willingly renounce most of the comforts of life, for which we are indebted to superior knowledge and illumination, if I could return to that state of nature in which mankind originally existed.

"The true pleasures of life—those delights of the soul which render us truly happy, were enjoyed by mankind in those times—and even more than at present. What delights did they not derive from love, which no law prevented, when the gifts of nature were of far more value than those of blind chance, which are incapable of imparting true worth;—How happy were they through friendship, and the contemplation of the beauties of nature!—It is true, our present habitations and clothing are more convenient; but, are our hearts more tranquil? Ah! no!—a thousand troubles, a thousand cares, to which man, in a state of nature, was a perfect stranger, now distract our minds; and every enjoyment is followed by its shadow, disgust.—Ruminating in this manner, I left the shepherd. I looked back, and perceived that he followed me with his eyes, in which the wish was clearly to be read—'Go, and be happy!' God knows, that I also wished him all possible happiness; but he had already found it. A violent noise broke the thread of my ideas. 'What is that?' I asked my guide, and stood to listen. 'We are approaching,' answered he, 'the most celebrated cataract of the Alps, the Reichenbach.' Though in a tour in Switzerland cascades are so common, and the traveller is so often wet by the drizzling rain arising from them, that he at last becomes indifferent to those objects, yet I was very curious to see the chief and principal of the Swiss cataracts. The distant noise promised me something grand and sublime, and my imagination was anticipating the beauties of this spectacle, when I suddenly discovered another magnificent prospect; which, for a time, made me forget Reichenbach. Alas! that I am not a painter!—that I cannot instantly transfer to my paper the beautiful and fertile vale of Hassly, which appeared like a garden in the highest state of cultivation, between rugged rocks, whose summits are enveloped in clouds! Groves of fruit-trees, between which are small wooden houses, forming the village Meyringen; the river Aar traversing the valley in a longitudinal direction—numerous small streams

precipitating

precipitating themselves from steep rocks, and propelling their silver current through delicious verdure—altogether formed such a romantic and imposing picture, as I never saw before. Ought I not, my friends, to thank heaven, for all the grand and exquisite scenes which present themselves to my eyes in Switzerland?

"At length my conductor reminded me of Reichenbach. In order to have a near view of it, I was obliged, notwithstanding my fatigue, to cross another considerable eminence; however, the road was fortunately not stony; but consisted of a green turf wet with a continual drizzling shower, proceeding from the cataract. Fifty paces from the cascade I was enveloped by it, as by a fog. However, I approached the cavity into which the Reichenbach precipitates itself, with a dreadful bellowing and thundering noise, hurrying along prodigious stones and trees of great magnitude. O! that I could but describe the inexpressible rapidity with which wave after wave darts into the unfathomable abyss; again rises aloft, and is swallowed up in the foaming vortex, which spreads around a humid cloud of white vapour!—But my imagination, in vain, seeks for comparisons, simlies, and pictures!—Every sensible mind must admire those grand objects, the fall of the Rhine and the Reichenbach; but what pencil, what pen, can represent them? Deafened by the thunder that burst around me, I sank, almost senseless, on the ground.

"I was involved in clouds of fine watery particles; and whirlwinds, caused by the force of the fall of such a mass of water, whistled around me, till I was obliged to retire, for fear of taking a cold that might be productive of serious consequences. If any person had seen me in that condition, he must have thought that I had just been drawn out of the river, for I had not a dry thread upon me, and the water poured from me in streams.

"We were only three wersts from Meyringen, and the road was by far not so disagreeable as the ascent to the Scheideck; but these three wersts increased my fatigue to the highest pitch, for the heat in the valleys was quite intolerable; the beams of the sun, reflected by the bare rocks, heated the atmosphere the more, as a cooling breeze seldom blows here. Some women, who met me, said pitifully, 'how hot it is, young stranger!'

"The village of Meyringen consists of small wooden houses, dispersed at great distances throughout the valley. In general stone buildings are very rare in the villages of the Alps. The inhabitants of the valley of Hassly are within hearing of the incessant noise arising from the fall of the Reichenbach, and other cataracts. These brooks, formed by the melting of the snow, frequently swell so dreadfully, that they inundate the whole valley, together with the houses, gardens, and meadows. A few years since, an inundation of this kind caused great devastation, and entirely covered this charming valley with sand and stones. But the inhabitants could not think of abandoning their beloved birthplace, where they and their ancestors had enjoyed such numberless blessings. The ground was soon cleared, and again covered with grass and flowers. The charms of nature in this happy valley are rivalled by those of its inhabitants; particularly of the women, almost all

all of whom, without exception, are beauties, with a colour like the rose of the Alps; any of them might serve as a model of Flora. Will you now wonder if I stay here a few days? Perhaps there is no where else in the world another Meyringen. It is, however, a pity that the girls disfigure themselves so extremely by their dress. They for instance were such very short waists, that their clothes have the appearance of sacks. I found an excellent inn at this place.

Eleven o'clock at night.

"I passed the evening very agreeably; I rambled about the valley among the groves and meadows, and, upon my return to the village, I found a great number of young people of both sexes engaged in playing, running, and all kinds of sport. They were celebrating a wedding. I easily distinguished the bridegroom and bride from among the rest; they were the handsomest pair that can be imagined; the most charming carnation played upon their cheeks, and their eyes swam in tears; they tried to be as gay as the rest, but a mild melancholy, expressed in all their motions, distinguished them from all the other swains and shepherdesses. I stepped up to the bridegroom, and, tapping him in a friendly manner on the shoulder, said to him, 'You are very happy, my friend!' The bride looked at me, and I perceived in her expressive looks her modest thanks for my praise. What delicate sensibility these daughters of the Alps possess! how well they understand the language of the heart. The swain regarded his mistress with a smile; their looks met.—What eloquence! A singular thought entered my mind. I wished [illegible] the happy couple a token of remembrance, that in the future periods of their union they might recollect that a stranger from a remote northern region had been present on their wedding-day, and had participated in their joy. I considered and sought, but could find nothing, excepting a copper medal, with the head of a Grecian youth, given me by my friend B. 'Accept of this,' I said to the bride, 'as a token of my good wishes for you and your bridegroom.' She stared by turns at the medal, at her lover, and at me, and was embarrassed how to behave. 'I am a native of a country,' I added, 'where it is customary to make some present or other to a bride; and I beg of you to accept of this trifle, with the same good-will that I give it.' 'And of what country are you a native?' asked a venerable old man, seated on a log of wood. 'Russia,' I replied. 'Russia! Yes, I have heard of that country. Where does it lie?' 'Far, far from hence, my friend! behind yon mountain; direct north.' 'True, true, I recollect.' Meantime the young couple whispered each other, and the bride took the medal and thanked me for it. She held the medal to her husband, who turned it round in his hands, and gave it her again. I rejoiced at their happiness, and thought on the verses of Haller, in his poem, The Alps, to the following effect.

"Soon as a youthful swain feels the gentle fire, which is easily kindled by a languishing eye in the breast of sensibility—unrestrained by fear, he discloses his pain to the object of his passion. She listens to him; and, if his flame deserves the reward of her heart, she expresses her sentiments without

out reserve, and follows the inclination of her heart. For no fair one need be ashamed of the tender passion, when it arises from reciprocal regard, and is maintained by virtue.

"Their desires are not checked by empty forms of ceremony;—the reciprocity of their affection constitutes the marriage contract, which, confirmed only by the plighted faith of both, serves for an oath, and a kiss for the seal.

"The lovely nightingale salutes them from the nearest branches, and delight makes their bed of soft elastic moss—a tree is their curtain, and Solitude the witness of their bliss—when Love leads the blushing bride to the arms of her swain. Oh! thrice happy pair! whom a prince might justly envy!

"Meantime the sun had set, and the young people had departed. I took leave of the young couple; and, if the maidens of the Alps had not been so timid, I should have wished to beg something of them—What do you suppose I mean? Nothing but an innocent kiss."

Tracht, eight o'clock in the evening.

"This place is the termination of my ramble. My feet are very sore, and my face quite sun-burnt; for the rest, I am cheerful and in good spirits.

"The road from Meyringen to Tracht leads through a valley, and is rather pleasant, but not interesting. I have arrived here just at a moment of general festivity; the inhabitants of the village are assembled in a large meadow, drinking and singing; the youths are wrestling, and the victor is rewarded by a loud Bravo! from the spectators. I am sitting at the window, and looking alternately at these gay mortals and at the sky, which begins to be overcast on all sides. It is fortunate, that I am not still among the mountains. Meantime my hostess is preparing a dish of fish, which have just been caught in the lake. To-morrow morning early I set off by water for Unterseen, and proceed from thence to Thun.

"Where are you, my friends? how do you pass your time? Certainly very different from your wandering friend, who, whether on mountains or in valleys, thinks incessantly on you.

"Health and happiness."

Unterseen.

"I have just arrived here; the boat in which I left Tracht, set me ashore two versts from this place; a heavy rain has soaked me through; but, during the passage, I witnessed an interesting spectacle;—the mountains, enveloped in clouds, appeared to smoke, and I imagined I saw Vesuvius and Ætna. I am now drying myself, while dinner is getting ready, and am preparing to continue my journey. It has not quite ceased raining."

Thun, eight o'clock in the evening.

"I arrived in safety, though the lake was very stormy. The waves tossed the boat about like a ball. Some ladies who accompanied me shrieked incessantly, and one of them even fainted; it was with some difficulty that she was brought to herself. For my own part, I felt not the least terror; but the sight of the waves, recoiling from the craggy shore, afforded me the

highest pleasure. At length the rain ceased, and the cheering sun dried our drenched clothes. On my arrival at Thun I felt a slight attack of fever; however, it left me entirely after I had taken a few cups of tea. To-morrow morning, at four o'clock, I set out on my return to Berne, where I had left my things."

Berne, the 10th of September.

"After my return from the Alps, I have spent a very agreeable week at Berne: sometimes I visited my acquaintance, who conduct themselves in the most friendly manner towards me: sometimes I traverse the adjacent country—now I employ myself in reading, and then in writing.

"A few days ago the rev. Mr. Stapfer introduced me to Mr. Sprengli, who possesses a complete collection of Swiss birds, a cabinet of coins, and many other curiosities. This gentleman's mode of life is as remarkable as his cabinet. He inhabits a charming villa, near the town, which is situated on an eminence, and commands a view of the surrounding country, and of the snow-clad mountains. He is unmarried, and upwards of seventy years of age. I saw no other male inhabitant in his house besides himself: an old female domestic performs the office of porter. The rooms are furnished with great taste, and the utmost cleanliness is observed. Thus, this opulent old man lives in the bosom of nature, abundance, and tranquillity. He was very poor till within these few years, when considerable property was bequeathed him by a distant relation. In his youth, when studying ornithology, he bought a number of birds, dissected them, and had them stuffed. This laid the foundation of the admirable collection, which now attracts every traveller to his house, and for which he would not take 50,000 dollars. Yesterday I was at Hindelbank, a village situated two French miles from Berne. In the church of that place is the 'Monument of the beautiful Lady,' as it is called. The history of this monument is remarkable. Erlach, one of the principal inhabitants of Berne, and proprietor of the village of Hindelbank, employed the German artist, Nahl, to execute a marble monument to the memory of his deceased father. Nahl undertook the work, and lodged at the house of the rev. Mr. Langhanns, the pastor of the village. When the work was finished, Erlach, who was fond of splendor, insisted that it should be gilt over. Nahl endeavoured to convince him that the monument would be spoiled by such a measure: but, in vain. His reasons were not listened to, and the proud artist was obliged to conceal his indignation, and gild the monument. About this time, the pastor's young and beautiful wife died in childbed. Nahl had entertained the highest regard for her, and his affliction was equal to that of the distressed spouse. The thought at once occurred to his mind: 'Why should not my art transmit her memory to posterity?' He embraced his friend, and exclaimed, 'Our tears mix with dust, and dry up; but a noble monument of art remains for ages. My hand, guided by my heart, shall produce a representation of thy spouse in marble; and the inhabitants of the most distant countries shall admire her monument, while they look with contempt at Erlach's.' And this design he executed. The mo-

ther,

ther, an exq[illegible]ian figure, is represented wi[illegible] child at the moment of [illegible]on. The tombstone is br[illegible]d she is in the act of rising. [illegible]olds in one arm her child, and with the other appears to be rolling the stone entirely away; her countenance clearly denotes attention to the sound of the trumpet, which wakens the dead. The execution is as masterly, as the idea is excellent and truly poetical. Haller placed an inscription on this monument nearly to the following effect: the words are supposed to be spoken by the mother. 'I hear the sound of the trumpet; it penetrates the graves! Awake, my son! Awake, son of grief, and lay aside thy mortal part! Hasten to see thy Saviour, the ruler of Time, and the conqueror of Death! All grief is now changed to eternal joy.' Though these verses of Haller may be very good, still the inscription is undeniably too prolix for the moment in which the mother is represented. Perhaps, the following would be better: 'Hark! the sound of the trumpet! Awake, my son! behold the Saviour!' Some believe, that the fracture of the stone is not the work of art, but that, after the inscription was engraven, he actually broke it; and the zealous amateurs of this art loudly express their disapprobation of this petty contrivance. Above the verses of Haller is the passage from the Bible—'Here I am, Lord! and the child whom thou hast given me!' It is to be lamented, that this admirable production of art is so badly placed. It is hid in the choir of the church, and several boards must be removed in order to obtain a sight of it. I say nothing of the magnificent monument of Erlach. The artist did not wish it to be spoken of.

"Nahl would perhaps have scarcely agreed so well with the present minister of Hindelbank, as with Langhanus, as he has in his physiognomy not the least trait of a pastoral disposition or of sensibility. How he tends his flock, I know not.

"I believe I have said nothing yet of the famous arsenal at this place. It contains, besides a great quantity of weapons, and instruments of war, of all kinds, likewise the armour and accoutrements of the ancient Bernese heroes, who acquired great renown by their great and valiant achievements. The most distinguished of them was the duke of Zahringen, the founder of the city of Berne. He must have been a giant; and though he might not have been able to storm heaven, must have struck terror into his enemies. I cannot express, my friends, what a shiver thrilled through my veins at the sight of the remains of the times of chivalry,—of those times when they trusted only to their swords and providence,—when merit consisted in deeds of hardihood,—and valour was the quintessence of every virtue! The pistols of Charles the Bold likewise attracted my notice; they are handsomely decorated with silver and ivory, and I viewed them with silent attention some minutes; at the same time calling to mind the hand which had used them. The manners of the inhabitants of Berne are not so severe as those of Zurich. Both men and women meet promiscuously. They commonly assemble at four o'clock in the afternoon. In these companies the ladies converse and jest without reserve, and

are, as in other places, the soul of the company. Many of them also afford delight by singing and playing on the harpsichord. My acquaintance has several times introduced me into these societies, which were numerously attended. But cards are unknown here, as well as at Zurich. They usually address foreigners in French, which language they speak incomparably better than in the other towns of Switzerland. The German spoken here is extremely corrupted, and highly disagreeable to the ear.

"The aristocratic system is carried to a greater height in Berne, than in any other part of Switzerland. A few families have the whole power in their own hands; they compose the council and the senate, and the grand bailiffs are chosen from among them. None of the other inhabitants of Berne have any share in the government. The number of these aristocratic families diminishes from time to time: they may, however, transfer their rights to other families; but this is seldom done.

"I have commonly spent some hours every evening on the terrace, and resigned myself to pleasing chimeras, seated by moon-light beneath the branches of the ancient chesnut-trees. Ah! my friends, only on the mountains my heart felt not quite forlorn! There I seemed to be nearer to you.

"To-morrow I set off for Lausanne. I have already taken leave of all my acquaintance here, excepting the minister Stapfer. I have a great regard for this worthy Swiss, and he for me. I have every day spent several hours in his closet. He has a very amiable family. I shall not tell him when I intend leaving Berne. He has requested it hi[illegible] out my [illegible]s to be spared the pain [illegible] I wrote [illegible]ave— What sensibility [illegible] leave behind me the German language, and not without regret.

"Farewel, my friends! I shall now carry my packet to the post-office. Would to heaven that you may read my letters with the same pleasure that I write them."

Lausanne.

"The road from Berne to Lausanne leads through a continued garden, and one of the finest that ever my eyes beheld. The trees on both sides of the road appear ready to break down under the ponderous burthen of full-grown fruits, and the harvest waved with resplendent lustre.

"It was Sunday; the country people, in their best clothes, were enjoying themselves in the public-houses, and indulging in copious draughts of the grape's cheering beverage, amidst shouts of 'Switzerland for ever!' As we passed the village of Murten, the coachman stopped, and said to me, 'Do you wish to see the remains of our enemies?' 'Where?' 'Here, on the right side of the road.' I jumped out of the carriage; and, inclosed within an iron railing, I discovered a large heap of human bones.

"The duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold, was one of the most powerful princes of his age; he possessed heroic courage, but was the scourge of mankind, and the terror of the neighbouring nations. He resolved, in the year 1476, to make war upon Helvetia, and to subdue the pride of its independent inhabitants by the iron sceptre of tyranny. His troops advanced; his many-

heart susceptible [illegible]andards waved aloft for a faithful groaned under the burthen of his artillery. The Burgundian troops, covering a larger space than the eye could embrace, were already ranged on the banks of Murten's lake, and Charles, with envious look, beholding Helvetia's tranquil valleys, already called them in imagination his own; when at once, by means of signals, the report was spread through all Switzerland, that 'the enemy was at hand!' The peaceful shepherds instantly left their cottages and their flocks, armed themselves with battle-axes and lances, assembled, at the sound of the trumpet, and the call of patriotism, which was reverberated by every heart, and like impetuous Alpine torrents rushed from their native mountains upon their numerous foes. Charles's thunders roared; but the valiant, the invincible Swiss, enveloped in smoke and darkness, broke the ranks of his warriors. His thunder ceased, and the menacing phalanx fell beneath their irresistible arms. The duke himself plunged in despair into the lake, and his horse, being strong, carried him to the opposite shore. Only one faithful servant escaped with the duke. But Charles, in a fit of fury, shot him with his own hand, when he turned his eyes to the field of battle, and beheld the complete discomfiture of his army, at the same time exclaiming, 'Should you alone be left!' The victors afterwards collected the bones of the slain, and deposited them in the charnel-house by the road-side, where they still remain.

"I started at the melancholy sight of these proofs of our perishable nature. And, ye Swiss, can ye exult over these lamentable trophies? Were not the Burgundians, as men, your brethren? Had you bathed with your tears the remains of these thirty thousand unfortunate fellow-creatures, and committed them to the earth, accompanied by your benediction;—had you erected in the field of triumph a sable monument, with this inscription,—'Here the Swiss fought for their country. They conquered, but tears mingle with their songs of triumph!'—Then should I have bestowed the tribute of unreserved praise! Hide this monument of barbarism; and, if ye pride yourselves in the name of Swiss, forget not that you have the still nobler appellation of men.

"On the walls of this open grave are several inscriptions. You know that by Haller.

"'Stop, Helvetian! Here lies the adventurous host, before which Liege fell, and the throne of France itself trembled. It was not the numbers of our ancestors, it was not the superiority of weapons, but unanimity, invigorating their arm, destroyed the foe!'

"'Know, brethren, your own power. It lies in your fidelity. O! may it even in these times animate the breast of every reader!'

"Besides these inscriptions here are found thousands of names and observations. In how many ways man strives to acquire distinction! That desire incites him to discover new worlds, and causes the traveller to write his name on the tomb of the Burgundians. Many strangers, in memory of having visited this spot, take a bone with them. I, however, did not follow their example. You may guess why; for the rest the bones are all so dry, that they have not the least disagreeable smell.

"Beyond Murten I saw the remains of the ancient Roman town,

Aventicum. These ruins consist of colonnades, walls, aqueducts, &c. Where is the splendor of this town, once the capital of Helvetia? where are its inhabitants? Empires, cities, and nations disappear; we also shall once be no more, my friends. What earth shall cover us? It is night, and the moon shines on the graves of those who once rejoiced at her gentle light."

Lausanne.

"I arrived here at night; the whole city was buried in sleep, except the watchman, who was just calling the hour. I went to the Golden Lion; but, when I had knocked, I received for answer,—*Tout est plein, Monsieur;—tout est plein!* We are quite full! I knocked at another inn, called, *A la couronne.* But here also I was told, *Tout est plein, Monsieur!* Imagine my situation! At night, in the street, in a strange place, without lodging, without acquaintance! At last the watchman took pity on me. He went to the door of the inn, and assured the person in the house, who had refused me admittance, that *Monsieur est un voyageur de qualité;*—the gentleman was a traveller of distinction. But even this was to no purpose; the voice repeated, 'we are quite full; I wish the foreign gentleman a good night.' '*C'est impertinent ça,*' said the watchman. 'Come with me to the Stag,' added he, 'there you will certainly not be refused a lodging.' And he proved to be right; I obtained a decent apartment in that house. The good-natured watchman wished me a good night, with a smile of heart-felt satisfaction, and positively refused to accept the trifle which I offered him. He went about his business, and I took out my pocket-book, in which I wrote the following words—'On such a day I found at Lausanne a good man, who performs a service to his fellow-creature, without any motive of self-interest.'

"The following morning I rambled about the town, which I do not like at all. It is partly situated in a hollow, partly on the declivity of a mountain, so that you constantly go up or down hill. The streets are narrow, and badly paved; but you are compensated by the most delightful picturesque views. The pellucid and ample bosom of the lake of Geneva; the range of the mountains of Savoy; pleasant towns and villages, as Morges, Rolle, and Nyon, scattered along the shores of the lake, all together form a charming and a varied picture. If heaven should ever conduct you to Lausanne, my friends, ascend the terrace of the cathedral, and recollect, that on the same spot I passed several hours in tranquil joy and serene composure.

"If you were now to ask me, of what we never become tired? I should reply, 'beautiful prospects.' How many charming countries have I seen! and yet, what delight I continue to receive from every new beautiful view.

"I was recommended to Mr. Lebad, of this place, a natural philosopher, and author of various essays in the transactions of the Literary Society of Lausanne. He has a pretty house, and a charming garden; in which are several Latin, English, and French poetical inscriptions. Among others, I was struck by a passage from an ode by Addison; in which the poet thanks God for all the good gifts of his providence—for a sensible heart

heart susceptible of enjoyment—and for a faithful and amiable friend. Happy is Mr. Lebad if he can join in the thanks of Addison! This ode is in the Spectator. I once spent a whole night on translating this ode; and in the moment while I was writing the two concluding lines, the first rays of the morning-sun darted into my apartment. That morning was one of the happiest of my life. Mr. Lebad has conducted me to the *Caffé Literaire*, where you find several English, French, and German journals. During my residence in Lausanne, I shall frequently pay a visit to this coffee-house. To-day, alas! I cannot go out, for it has rained incessantly ever since day-break.

"Lausanne is always full of young Englishmen, who come hither to learn French, and play all kinds of childish and wanton tricks. Our countrymen often associate with them; and, instead of advancing in the sciences, they rather perfect themselves in all kinds of debaucheries. I would therefore advise nobody to send their children to Lausanne, especially as they teach scarcely any thing there but French. The sciences, on the contrary, are far better taught at the German universities; and even young Swiss, eager after solid information, go to Leipzig, or preferably to Gottingen. In fact, the means of obtaining instruction have been no where brought to such perfection as in Germany; and the youth who is not inspired with a love of the sciences by the precepts of a Platner or a Heyne, has certainly no disposition whatever for them.

"The young foreigners live here in boarding schools, where they pay for instruction and board six or seven louis-d'ors per month. Yet one of our countrymen has settled at Lausanne. This is count Gregor Kyrillowitsch Rasumowsky, a man of letters, and a celebrated naturalist. Out of love to the sciences, he has refused all the dignities and honourable situations to which his high rank entitled him; and removed to a distant country where nature has so plentifully lavished her bounties and her charms; and where there is so much food for his favourite inclination. He lives here in tranquillity, continually occupied with bringing to perfection the system of natural philosophy, and is, certainly, an honour to his country. If I am not mistaken, he is the first Russian who has made himself known in Europe as a really learned man. His writings are in French. He went, a few weeks ago, to Russia, but not for good. He returns again to Lausanne. I have just come from the cathedral, where I have seen the monument of the princess Orloff, who died here in the prime of life, and in the arms of her tender and disconsolate husband. She is said to have been very handsome, and to have possessed an excellent heart. I blessed her memory!—Above the tomb of the duchess of Courland stands an urn of white marble. This princess was respected and beloved by all the inhabitants. She loved nature and poetry; and the British and German muses, together with nature, had formed her mind and heart."

Customs and Character of the Moors of Zaara.

[From M. Golberry's Travels in Africa, translated from the French by F. Blagdon, Esq.]

"ALL the southern parts of the Zahara, in the vicinity of the Senegal, from the mouth of this river, to even far below the cataract of Felow, are either frequented or inhabited by that race of men whom custom has designated under the name of Moors.

"Several colonies of savages are dispersed in the oases of this Desert: others have formed kingdoms to the north of the Senegal and the Niger; and we may meet with their hordes and their establishments even near Bournou, in forty degrees thirty minutes east longitude from the isle of Ferro. These dispersed and expatriated Moors, therefore, extend to the very extremities of the Desert, and between the sixteenth and twenty-sixth degrees of north latitude, an extent of eight hundred and seventy-five leagues from east to west.

"The natural desire of elucidating every thing which is obscure, induces one to inquire whence these barbarous hordes have proceeded, whom we at present designate under the general denomination of Moors, who command the vast desert of Barbary, and who have established colonies, and even kingdoms, on the northern banks of the Senegal and the Niger. I have entered upon these inquiries; but they are so much enveloped in obscurity, afford such a great degree of interest, and require such a profound discussion, that I shall merely confine myself to a few of the principal points.

Conjectures relative to the origin of the Moors of the Zahara.

"The existence of the Atlantic people, the submersion of the Atlantis, and the invasion of the sea into the bosom of the Mediterranean, by which Africa is separated from Spain, are events and particulars which belong to the primitive ages of the globe. Of these events we have been informed by tradition, and although we are ignorant as to the periods at which they took place, there can be no doubt that the great desert of Barbary must have participated in them, and perhaps some unfortunate remains of the Atlantes of Africa at that time took refuge in the most elevated parts of the Atlas, near the Zahara, and that they afterwards formed establishments in the oases of this Desert.

"We are informed by Sallust, that an Hercules died in Spain; that his army, which was composed of different nations, dispersed: the Persians, Medians, and Armenians, passed over to Africa, mixed with the Getulæ, where they formed a new nation under the name of Numidians, and that the solitudes of the Great Desert also contained some hordes of these barbarians.

"In a later period, for instance, in

in the year 1926 before the Christian æra, it was known that Amenophis, who was at the head of the dynasty of Thebes, expelled from Egypt the Berberæ, who had usurped the three dynasties of Tanis, Memphis, and This, where their tyranny had existed nearly three hundred years: these savages spread themselves over the western part of Africa, and, according to Leo, the African, they formed a new dominion to the south of mount Atlas, under the thirtieth degree of north latitude, and between the tenth and twentieth degree of east longitude from the isle of Ferro: and it was from them that this part of Africa received the name of Barbary: some families of these vile shepherds may have also established themselves in the oases of the Zahara.

"During a period of thirty-five centuries, or from the time when the Berberæ established themselves in Barbary, the northern regions of Africa have incessantly been the theatre of the most sanguinary wars, and all the vicissitudes of human nature.

"To the great colonies succeeded those of the Phœnicians: the latter were subdued by the arms of the Romans, who, in their turn, were destroyed by the Arabs, the same race who, under the names of Saracens and Moors, invaded Spain, threatened all Europe, and were several times driven back into Africa.

"The horrid battles of lions and tigers are not more sanguinary than the wars which have been successively carried on by so many different nations.

"In the year 1051, which was not till rivers of human blood had been shed, Abu-Tessifin, of the tribe of the Marabethous, or Marabouths, founded the empire of Morocco, which extends as far as Tombuctoo.

"The Turks, in their turn, overwhelmed with blood these unfortunate countries, and for a long series of ages, mankind appeared to exist in Africa only for the purpose of destroying each other; at length, by the banishment, in a single day, of nine hundred thousand Moors, whom Philip III. forced to retreat from the Spanish territory, the remains of fifty different people, almost all ferocious and cruel, were at different periods obliged to disperse themselves over the vast solitudes of the Zahara.

SINGULAR MIXTURE OF DIFFERENT RACES PERCEPTIBLE AMONGST THE MOORS.

"It will not appear astonishing, after what has been said, that these Moors, dispersed in hordes, tribes, colonies, and even kingdoms, through the immense deserts of Barbary, and along the northern banks of the Niger and the Senegal, should present, when observed with attention, a mixture of races in every respect different from each other.

"We may perceive amongst them, men whose physiognomy is grave, whose look is penetrating, who have high foreheads, aquiline noses, venerable beards, well-formed muscles, a sallow skin, a serious air, a tranquil countenance, and, in short, the whole appearance of an Arabian philosopher. Others, by their superior stature, vigour, activity, and agreeableness, by their firm and noble aspect, by features of a softer cast, by their bright, though languishing eyes, their courageous and tender looks, and by their yellow, though florid complexion,

complexion, remind us of those Saracen heroes so beloved and gallant in Spain, and who were so celebrated for their courage and amours.

"There are also amongst them, men of a large size, whose propotions are fine and muscular, whose features are regular, and whose complexion, though brown, is enlivened by the finest natural carnation, like that of the Turks at Constantinople. But the majority of these people are of a vulgar and savage appearance, and by their habitual commerce with the Jolof and Foulhas negroes, with whom the Moors of the Zahara often mix, many of them acquire distinctive characters; those characters are mild and benevolent, their legs excepted, which are rather lank and bandy: their forehead is more angular, their nose round, their lips thick, their eyes soft, and their colour red, but deeply impregnated with black.

"A circumstance still more remarkable is, that one of the characters so generally observed among the Moors in the northern countries of the Great Desert, is that which universally prevails in the physiognomy and conformation of the Jews: many of these savages have a thin body, dry thighs and legs, the spine slightly curvated, the face long, cheeks hollow, eyes sunk, but lively and spirited, the nose small and pointed, the gait light and active, and their language is brief, quick, and sonorous.

"These Moors, like the Jews, are addicted to gesticulation; but it must be admitted that their countenance is more noble, and their look more collected and firm; and though their character is well known, though we are convinced that they are crafty, perfidious and cruel; that they are dangerous, on account of their propensity to turn traitors, and to become ferocious whenever it may suit their interest, and that, in general, they are unworthy of confidence; I have, nevertheless, discovered their natural character; and the majority of those whom I observed, so far confirmed my ideas of men in a state of freedom and independence, that I felt an attachment towards them, and found it difficult to refuse them my confidence. These Moors are at once graziers and merchants: they are graziers, because in the dwellings which they have formed amidst the solitudes of the Great Desert, they raise numerous herds of goats, sheep, oxen, camels, and horses: they also travel with these animals, and sell them at a great distance in the interior regions of Africa; but they possess none of the virtues, nor the gentle and interesting qualities, which are so peculiarly characteristic of a pastoral life.

"They are merchants, and, in pursuit of this profession, they undertake very long journies, crossing deserts in every direction. On the banks of the Senegal and the Niger, they make prisoners of straggling or shipwrecked individuals, whom they convey to the shores of the Mediterranean, where they sell them for slaves. They bring salt to Galam, and to the country of Bambouk, where they exchange it for gold; they frequent Tombuctoo, Tokrur, Morocco, Algiers, and Tripoli, and proceed as far as the Red Sea; many of them, once in their lives, undertake pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina. Sydy-Moktar, prince of the Trarshazians, whom we have already mentioned, and who often came to isle St. Louis, had twice performed this pilgrimage:

pilgrimage: he was a hadji, that is to say, a pilgrim, and by this distinction he gained great respect, in consequence of wearing, like his forefather Mahomet, a green turban; while his rank of prince, his fine figure, respectable behaviour, and lively imagination, procured him general esteem.

"These Moors also conduct their oxen and horses as far as the sources of the Zayra, a river in the interior of Africa, to the south of the equinoctial line, and at a distance of more than a thousand leagues from their oases. These barbarians particularly delight in bartering and trading like merchants; and they have all the vices and defects of swindlers, rogues, cheats, and thieves.

ON THEIR PERFIDIOUS CHARACTER.

"The Moors from whom we purchase the gum, and with whom, on account of this trade, we have frequent transactions, are, in general, indolent and perfidious characters; it is almost always by surprise, treachery, or superiority of number, that they gain their advantages, and after they have succeeded, they commit every sort of excess and cruelty; they possess no sense of compassion, generosity, or pity. Hilly-Koury, whose death I have mentioned, Sydy-Mokar, and some other Moors of the Trarshaz tribe, were the only individuals amongst these savages, who deserved any esteem or confidence, and, in fact, none of the rest received any; the multitude of these barbarians possessed every vice without any virtue, and were capable of the foulest crimes.

OF THEIR COLOUR, FIGURE, FORM, HAIR, &c.

"The general colour of their skin is that of a dark copper, inclining to black. The complexion of the women is more clear than that of the men, more smooth, and often bordering on a pale yellow, but almost always mixed with black. In their youth they are well formed, having a graceful and elegant appearance; they have shorter necks than the negresses, but the shape of them is more agreeable; the contours of their reins and hips are likewise more fine, light, and delicate. But it is far different with the Moors, whose physiognomy in general is stern, while the features of the young female Moors combine the charms of regularity with delicacy and mildness; and I am of opinion, that it is with them, as with all the women in the universe, who are naturally handsome and interesting on account of their marked propensity for benevolence, but whose disposition is only changed by the effect of the vicious manners which prevail in the societies amongst whom they live. The Mooreses are doubtless formed to excite the sensations of attachment and love, and these sensations they would always excite, if, from the most tender age, their minds were not corrupted by the vice and depravity of the men to whom they belong.

"By the time they have attained the age of twenty, their attractions, graces, and blooming countenance are faded: these savage and lascivious Moors are unacquainted with any restraint as far as relates to their passions: in short, these men, ignorant of the pleasures of love, do not allow the beauty

beauty of the females to attain perfection, before their innocence is violated; and the flower of grace and modesty is annihilated ere it has opened to the view. Thus it happens, that all the women who accompany the Moors on their journies, appear hideous when they have attained the age of forty, and their character is as infamous as their ugliness is disgusting.

"I have, however, been assured, that in the oases in the interior of the Zahara, there are many Moorish families whose morals are uncontaminated, because the women and girls never quit the vallies where they derive their existence; and by breathing a more wholesome air, and being accustomed to a gentle and innocent life, they retain their beauty, grace, and agreeableness for a much longer period than those of their sex who follow the Moors on their annual excursions, and reside with them for several months in camps near our factories.

"The hair of the men has something in it uncommonly fine and picturesque, and gives to their head a very extraordinary character: this hair, though of the nature of that which is long and thick, never grows lower than the nape of the neck; it is naturally abundant, and clotted, so that the head of a Moor is magnificently ornamented with a quantity of hair which forms itself into a great number of natural ringlets, the beauty and irregularity of which can never be imitated by art: its colour is that of a deep chesnut, approximating to black. Such of the women as are more confined and restricted by custom, wear their hair in tresses closely plaited, and either pendant, or carried up to the crown of the head; it is very long, its colour is blacker than that of the men, and they adorn it with different kinds of ornaments, such as light rings of gold, silver, copper, or ivory, with feathers of different colours, which ornaments they distribute with considerable taste.

OF THE COSTUME OF THE MEN AND WOMEN.

"The dresses of the men are various. The greatest part of them wear a large kind of shirt, made of cotton died blue, which covers the upper part of the body and the loins, but descends only half down their thighs. This shirt being open from the stomach upwards, exposes their neck and breast; the sleeves are very full, and open at the wrist. The generality of these people wear no other clothing, the above being the only dress of the lower classes, who are always the most numerous: others are covered with a kind of cloak, with a cowl or hood that incloses the head: the form of this cloak is square, its two upper ends join at the breast by means of a clasp, and it hangs down to their heels; it is made of the well-prepared skins of their still-born lambs, the hairy side being outwards. These skins are very fine, and collected with great industry. The kings, princes, chiefs, and rich individuals, wear fine pieces of cotton cloth, either blue, white, or striped with different colours. The kings are often wrapped up in large pieces of light and elastic stuff made of wool, or of goats' or camels' hair. These dresses completely cover them with nobleness and grace, and they are always so arranged, that the body can act without confinement: they

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are generally streaked with broad blue or purple stripes, and the bottom is left white. This dress is fastened to the right shoulder, leaving the arms at full liberty.

"The appearance of these princes and chiefs is rendered grand, noble, and striking, by their wearing red or green sashes, the ends of which hang easily behind their loins; by necklaces of gold grains, intermixed with amber and coral, by plates of gold suspended from the breast, several rings of the same metal, which surround the wrists and lower arms, and by rings of gold in the ears, from which are suspended large gold drops.

"The dress of the women is composed of two pieces of cotton, generally blue, but sometimes striped with different colours: one of these pieces reaches from the shoulders to the knees; the other descends from the upper part of the loins down to the heels. On their feet they wear slippers, or sandals of Morocco, the colour of which is always red or yellow; their ears, neck, wrists, and arms, are ornamented with rings of gold, while on their reins, and immediately upon the skin, they wear large bands of eight or ten strings of coral, glass-beads, and sometimes of cloves.

ON THE MANNERS OF THE MOORS, AND THEIR ENCAMPMENTS.

"It cannot be expected that men, who are extremely depraved, indolent, and cruel, who have no social principle, who are acquainted with no natural or political right, and who follow no impulse, except those of their interest and passion, should have any idea of morality; thus, when speaking of the customs and manner of living of the Moors of the Zahara, it may be said, that their conduct is savage, disgusting, and corrupted.

"Sydy-Moktar endeavoured to persuade me, that in the oases in the interior of the Desert, there existed families, whose customs were patriarchal, and whose manners were gentle and unsophisticated. If we were to form an idea of the inhabitants of this Great Desert, from those with whom we trade on the banks of the Senegal, and the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, we should be obliged to say that the great mass of these savages are the most wicked and abject people of any in the world.

"As the savages of the Zahara are gifted with a considerable portion of wit and information, and as some of them have given an equivocal proof of the most sublime courage, one might be induced to think that their civilization could easily be effected; but this would require many serious and well-concerted means, and could only be effected by time. Such an attempt is every way worthy of our enlightened and scientific age, and towards the execution of which, many advantages are afforded by our situation in the Senegal; in short, it might be attended, in a commercial point of view, with many important advantages.

"There are not on the face of the earth any set of men more literally free than the Moors who inhabit the southern parts of the great desert of Barbary; they are, as I before observed, divided into tribes, each tribe having one or several chiefs, who have almost always descended from a very ancient family, whose genealogy is known.

"The authority of these chiefs is maintained rather by address and

and interest, than by right; and it is because all the poorer class of Moors put themselves under the protection of the kings and princes, that the latter acquire importance and authority; but notwithstanding their rank, and the riches they may possess, they are forced to be economical, and very cautious as to their conduct; they are compelled to make continual sacrifices, and to divide a part of the presents they receive, in order to support their authority over men independent and deceitful, and who, being naturally faithless and unconscionable, are always inclined to insubordination and revolt.

"A king, prince, or chief, can neither undertake nor conclude any treaty without the permission of the other great men; nor even without that of the mass of the nation; and if he enters into any stipulation for the general good, he is forced to communicate all the circumstances of the negotiations to the people at large.

"These perfidious men are always tortured by suspicion, and continually imagine they are cheated. The only point which they never dispute with their kings and princes, is the right, when a war breaks out, of marching at the head of the tribe, and commanding on the day of battle.

"In the camps and ordinary residences, in the oases, even the kings and chiefs have no personal distinction, being equally as dirty, and as badly clothed, as the poorest Moors. Nothing indicates their superior rank; but, on extraordinary occasions, as, for instance, when they are in treaty with the Europeans relative to some object of general interest, then they are escorted by princes, chiefs, and warriors, and accompanied by a great number of pretended secretaries and interpreters. They affect to use an air of authority, and even of despotism, towards their subjects, whom they never address but in a tone of great superiority, and even with disdain; but all this appearance of authority is necessary, for supporting in the presence of the whites the importance of the chief, who, on returning amongst his tribe, is obliged to resume his ordinary dress, and to bear without a murmur the importunate and insolent familiarities of those who, a short time before, had suffered him to treat them like slaves. In their camps and oases, the most vulgar of these savages insolently seats himself by the side of a king, assumes the right of taking the pipe from his mouth and smoking it himself, of dipping his hand into the same dish, and, on every occasion, of treating him exactly like his equal.

"In the oases, as well as on the banks of the river, these Moors live in tents, made either of tanned ox-hides, or of woven camels' hair, which forms a thick kind of covering, completely water-proof. The women prepare, card, and spin the camels' hair, and manufacture this stuff in looms of a singular simplicity.

"These tents are in general either oval or round; those of the kings, princes, and chiefs, are sometimes square; they are supported by stakes, divided into partitions, and one side of the tent, according to the direction of the sun, always remains open.

"In this hovel live, all together, the father, mother, children of every age, with the horses, sheep, and goats; and such a general harmony subsists between the men and animals, that their horses, which they

they consider as a part of the family, pass and repass among the children, even in a state of infancy, whom they caress, but never do them the smallest injury.

" I am incessantly obliged to limit the number of details that I could give on the subjects of which I treat, and I am not enabled to insert all the information I possess concerning the private manners of these savages; I must, nevertheless, give a few of the most particular traits in their character.

" They have in their oases a number of palm-date-trees. It is known that this tree grows to a very great height, and delights in sandy soils, and that it is unisexual, that is to say, that the flowers and the fruits grow on different plants: the fruits, which hang from the top of the tree, form a sort of cluster, denominated *régime* (diet); a date-tree, at its full maturity, bears a dozen of these clusters, each of which contains a hundred dates. This fruit, when fresh and at maturity, is a very wholesome aliment: the Moors of the Zahara assert, that nothing is more nourishing and proper for fattening the body than fresh dates. In the oases, the women, princes, and rich people, prepare from the dates, for their only nourishment and constant use, a liquid similar to honey, which they express from the fruit by squeezing it between two boards. After confining themselves to this diet for a few months, they become enormously corpulent, which, in the opinion of the Moors, is the supreme degree of feminine beauty.

" The more fat a woman is, the more certain she is of pleasing, and she who has fifty pounds of additional flesh, always obtains the preference. The princes, in particular, are passionately fond of women of a prodigious rotundity. The lady whom Hamet-Moktar seduced from Hilly-Koury, and who in 1784 was the cause of the war between the Trarshazians and Brachknazians, was of such an enormous size, that in Europe she would have been considered a monster.

" The ordinary food of these men is afforded by oxen, goats, milch cows, the milk of mares and camels, millet, either dry, or made into *kouskou*, maize, dates, and gum; and their sobriety and abstinence would be inconceivable, if that of their camels were not far more incomprehensible.

" This animal is certainly the most precious and estimable of any which the Creator has formed for the benefit of mankind: from his large size, the burthens he is capable of carrying, and the fatigues and journies to which he is accustomed, he might seem to require a quantity of food; but, on the contrary, he is known to subsist on a very small portion of leaves, burnt up by the sun, which he only meets with at considerable intervals. He is known to suffer, for several days, a total want of food and drink, and always without seeming to complain, or appearing to be tormented by his necessities; in short, the many subjects of surprise, which are combined in this singular animal, will induce me to speak of him in a particular chapter.

" The Moors who annually establish their camps on the banks of the river, are composed of a selection from the tribes. Those who sell the gum are almost always of an advanced age, or else in the flower of youth; for, in general, we only observe men upwards of sixty, or youths under fourteen.

OF THE RELIGION OF THE MOORS.

"Their religion is Islamism, and they are very zealous Mahometans; but superstition is always the appendage of depravity and a bad conscience; and they are ridiculously superstitious.

"Their priests, whom they call Marabouths, and who form among them an important cast, keep up this weakness, which, when carried to its greatest extremities, proves, that the torch of reason is extinguished, when it is not supported by morality, virtue, and a wise and incorrupt religion.

"These men, who are in every respect vicious, corrupted, inhuman, cruel, and ferocious, cover themselves with *grisgris*, which are a sort of amulets, or talismans, manufactured by their priests, and sold at a very high price. They have these articles ready prepared for all circumstances and occasions; they consist of certain sacred sentences taken from the Koran, and written upon paper; of hairs from the tail of an elephant, or an hyppopotamus; of the claws of a lion, panther, or tiger; and of certain grains of gold, or some other metal; on which are engraved inscriptions or hieroglyphics.

"These charms, or amulets, are various, and contained in little cases of Morocco, made with considerable ingenuity; they have some for the head, others for the eyes, and, in short, for all parts of the body; as well as for all diseases, dangers, and sorceries; they hang these charms in every corner of their tents; they cover with them their oxen, camels and horses; and distribute them about their persons with profusion.

ON THEIR COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND ARTS.

"The commerce of these Moors extends to every object with which they can traffic, and to every thing that holds out a prospect of advantage: they are masters of the gum, they have salt-pits, and they raise a great number of oxen, camels, and horses, which being the principal objects of their trade, they sell at a very considerable distance from their residence. They have likewise goldsmiths, who refine the gold, silver, and iron, and manufacture them into rings, ear-rings, little bells, chains, bracelets, and other ornaments, which serve to decorate their princes, chiefs, and women, as well as the negresses on the banks of the Senegal and the Gambia; I have even seen the Moors from the Zahara sell these ornaments in the river Sierra Leone, and I have been assured that they frequently carry them to Congo: the common style of these trinkets is that of filligree, or fresco; they are a sort of pictures, which they form of little grains of gold almost imperceptible, applying and arranging them together with wonderful delicacy and art.

"They also make sabres and poniards, the handles of which are very ingeniously ornamented and inlaid; the scabbards are enriched with plates of gold.

"They completely prepare and tan the skins of their cattle, and even those of hyppopotami, leopards, panthers, and lions; they have the secret of preparing Morocco, and that of making lamb-skins almost as thin as paper, and of dyeing and polishing the surface of different colours: they employ these skins for ornaments, to cover the saddles of their horses, for the sheaths

sheaths of their arms, as well as for making harness, boots, and other articles, which are executed with much taste and propriety.

"They manufacture all their stirrups and bridles: their stirrups are in the form of a wooden shoe, and contain about one half the foot, and the iron-work of their bridles is a single piece: their sandals and slippers are internally ornamented with drawings and figures; while every article which has a double use is distinguished by being differently shaped*; so that an article intended for the right side, can never be employed on the left: indeed the pre-eminence of the right over the left is very generally observed, as well amongst the Moors as amongst the negroes.

"They have also weavers, who, with looms extremely simple and portable, and the different parts of which are far from being of a complicated construction, manufacture stuffs from goats and camels' hair, and others of wool and cotton, the width of which is never more than half an Egyptian cubit.

ON THEIR VALUABLE BREED OF HORSES.

"The Moors possess a race of horses which have originated from those of Arabia, and have preserved most of their beauties and perfections; in their oases, they devote themselves to raising and perpetuating fine races of this animal; and, like the Arabs, they record their alliances and genealogy. These horses are too well known to render it necessary for me to enter into details of their perfections and good qualities. I had some of them with me during the journey which I made by land in the year 1786, from the Senegal to Goree, when I crossed the Desert, proceeding over upwards of fifty leagues of a soil of fine and moving sand.

"A black horse, five years old, possessed so much strength and spirit, that before I could quietly mount him, I was obliged to make one of my negroes gallop him through the sands for upwards of an hour; and, after this exercise, he was, for the remainder of the day, full of activity and impatience.

"It would be easy to procure every year sixteen mares and four stallions of this race, which, when crossed with our Limosins and Norman kinds, would doubtless produce a beautiful race. I am also of opinion, that we might succeed in transporting these fine Moorish stallions to the pastures of French Guiana, where they might be propagated by crossing them with American mares; and I do not doubt that, by properly attending to them, by putting them to grass in the dry season, and keeping them on dry food, we should obtain in Guiana a race of horses as valuable as useful.

"They have thought proper to increase the price of these Moorish horses, and in Africa they frequently sell for ten or twelve slaves. It is a fact, that the negro kings, to whom this sort of money costs nothing, have frequently given for a fine horse as many as twelve captives; but we are not thus to infer that this is the

"* The meaning of the author, in this instance, being rather obscure, the translator is of opinion that the custom to which he alludes, is similar to that lately adopted in the metropolis of Britain, of making a pair of shoes upon separate lasts, &c."

necessary price for a fine Moorish horse, because the real value of these slaves is, in the trade, about four hundred livres per head: thus, in a relative proportion, the price of a horse which is purchased for twelve captives would amount to the sum of four thousand eight hundred livres.

"However, after having conversed with a number of Moors, and particularly with Sydy-Mokar, as to the price at which the finest of these horses might be purchased, in case we wished to buy a number of them at a time, for the purpose of dispersing them amongst our studs, I had an opportunity of convincing myself that I could obtain twenty choice animals at the rate of fifty pieces of Guinea per head, which would amount to a thousand pieces of Guinea at a time, and would be considered amongst the Moors in the Desert as a very valuable payment. It is therefore certain, that for twenty thousand francs we might every year receive from the oases of the Zahara twenty animals, either stallions or mares, selected from the most perfect kinds that might be offered by the Moors.

"The head and rump of these horses are not so handsome as those of the Arabian kind, but the legs are much finer, and the chest and body are more perfect in their proportions. I have seen some whose colour was uncommonly beautiful; many were of the most charming cream tint, others were of a slate colour, and had fine coats and black tails: there were also some of a most beautiful black.

"These horses are gentle and obedient; the Moors teach them a number of singular actions; they kneel down in order to be mounted, even by children six years old; and when a child falls from the back of one of these animals, it not only stops in an instant, but caresses him, and solicits him to remount, at the same time giving him every assistance that can possibly be conceived.

"These horses are taught to bow the head at the will of their master; they bend their right knee to the ground, afterwards their left, and in this manner they walk at the word of command: they also make rapid evolutions with their heads turned toward their tails, and their gallop is at least equal to that of the finest English racers.

"When a Moor has ridden his horse for some hours, the animal's mouth and flanks are always covered with blood. These barbarians are, nevertheless, perfect horsemen; they raise their legs like the Cossacks; but they are so active, that we may see them, while at full gallop, adjust, and throw behind, the sort of lance called *sagaye*. They throw these lances with so much accuracy, that they never miss their mark; and it is by the strength and rapidity of their horses, that they stupify, run down, and overcome the ostriches, with which their oases are surrounded, and which they thus expel from their desert plains.

ON THEIR NUMEROUS FLOCKS AND HERDS.

"In these interior residences of the Zahara, which are the chief places of the tribes, the Moors also raise numerous flocks and herds of sheep, goats, and oxen; none of these animals are of the kind which have large and long tails,

tails, and are known in Europe by the name of Barbary sheep; the Zahara species is much stronger than that of France; the animal has a longer body, and higher legs: it is covered with hair instead of wool, and this hair is extremely thick, but not curled. These sheep are seldom of a white colour; all those which I observed were either black, brown, red, or yellow: when they have been fed for some time, they become very fat, and their flesh is excellent.

"In their solitary residences, the Moors also raise a number of oxen, and, amongst the many which I saw, I distinguished two species; one was smaller than the common kind of European oxen, but in other respects exactly similar to this kind; these small oxen of the Desert are of the same form and colour as ours, but they are more gentle and active: the other species is large and strong, has a bunch upon its shoulders, and is in fact a degenerate species of the bison.

"These hunch-backed oxen are generally longer and higher than the French kind; they have a very extensive beard, which reaches almost to the ground; their horns are very fine, and almost come in contact at the points; but the distinctive character of this species is a large fleshy wen, which rises between the shoulders: this mass of flesh forms a projection of nearly a foot in height, and is considered a delicious morsel by epicures.

"These animals are very strong and docile: the Moors like to ride upon them, because their pace is gentle: instead of a bit, they pass a cord of camel's hair through the nostrils; to this substitute for a bit, they fix smaller cords, which serve for reins, and which pass and hang over the bunch on the back of the animal: they saddle them in the same manner as a horse; and, without requiring much excitement or irritation, they go at a very quick rate, and travel twelve or fifteen leagues without being fatigued. They are susceptible of an attachment to the person who habitually attends and rides them, and are obedient to his commands: their flesh is good, tender, and succulent, and their produce is equal to that of oxen in general.

"The Moors pass over Africa with herds of four hundred oxen at a time, which they sell at upwards of a thousand leagues from their deserts. They perform these journies under the protection of the negro princes whose estates they travel through, but more particularly by the favour of their amulets, which are profusely distributed by their marabouths.

"It is uncommonly interesting to see these savages, with their numerous herds, cross over the largest rivers in Africa: I twice enjoyed this sight; the first time at Albreda, in the river Gambra; the second at the isle of the Senegal. I shall proceed to give an account of the circumstances attending the passage of a herd of upwards of four hundred oxen, which was performed by the Moors between Albreda, situated on the right bank of the Gambra, and the village of Bahio, on the left bank: the river is upwards of three thousand five hundred fathoms wide.

"The herd was collected on the shore to the south of Albreda, where the Moors let them rest for several days, without suffering

them to graze. The conductors of this herd were a hundred and twenty in number, and were armed with muskets, sagayes, sabres, and poniards.

"When they had resolved on passing the river, they caused their oxen to be collected together, and suddenly made a great shouting: they then selected about forty animals from the herd, who were destined to form the advanced-guard, and were considered as if they possessed a charm: from this a select number were again chosen of those who were the best swimmers, and at the same time the strongest and most docile. Ten Moors were then chosen to direct this advanced-guard, and each of these conductors seemed to pay great attention in selecting the animal which was to convey him across the river.

"Nine of these leaders were from sixteen to eighteen years of age; one only was between forty and fifty. Across the horns of each ox they fixed a cord of camel's hair, about four feet in length; they then mounted their oxen in a standing posture, their feet firmly adhering to the projection on the back of the animal; they kept their bodies erect, but rather inclining backwards, and they supported themselves by means of the cord fixed to the animal's horns: on their heads they carried their arms and clothing.

"When every thing was thus arranged, the advanced-guard was conducted to the banks of the river; the leaders then made loud outcries, which were answered by the cattle of the advanced-guard, and the Moors and oxen of the main body also repeated them. Immediately afterwards, the advanced-guard entered the river, excited by the voice of their conductors: the eldest of the Moors led the van; his ox made way through the current with great resolution; the other animals followed the chief of their file, being animated by the young Moors, who incessantly excited them by their expressions.

"When they were all immerged, the scene was truly singular; only the heads of the oxen were perceptible, and the upper part of the bodies of their conductors, who, inclining backwards, held firmly by the cords, which served them for support. The chief of the file continued to lead the van, and the others followed exactly in his track: they were three hours in passing the river, during which time the main body of the troop continued on the right bank, close to the river, with their eyes attentively fixed on those who were making the passage.

"When the advanced-guard had arrived at the opposite bank, the conductors suddenly gave three great shouts, which were answered with three bellowings by the oxen, and the noise was distinctly heard by the main body on the opposite bank.

"These signals were repeated by the Moors and oxen of the principal troop, and then one might easily see the impatience of the animals, who stedfastly looked on the advanced-guard that had safely arrived, and testified, by their motions, their desire of a junction.

"The principal troop was now collected, and several other oxen were chosen to lead the way; these chiefs of the body were twenty in number, and twenty Moors mounted the predestined animals, in

in the same manner as their predecessors had mounted the advanced-guard.

"Five Moors placed themselves at the head of the troop, very near to each other, and repeated their shouts; the chiefs entered the river, all the oxen immediately followed, and were at once surrounded by the tide: the interest of this view was greater than the former, on account of the vast number of cattle.

"Several of the young Moors occasionally swam amongst the beasts, supporting themselves by their horns: this second passage lasted upwards of four hours.

"It is thus that the Moors and their oxen cross the largest rivers, and are never interrupted or impeded in the direction they are inclined to take.

"In the month of January 1787, I witnessed a similar passage, which was performed about a league above the mouth of the Senegal, and opposite the village of Babaghe, in a part of the river where its width is upwards of two thousand fathoms.

"I shall terminate the accounts which I thought it necessary to give of the Moors of the Zahara, by observing that these savages, whose existence is scarcely known in Europe, naturally enjoy a degree of information, spirit, address, and authority, which renders them capable of every exertion that they may be inclined to undertake.

"Their language is a gross kind of Arabic; it seems, however, that its rudeness is rather in consequence of their pronunciation, than of the corruption of the language itself, since several of these Moors speak it in great purity, and make themselves perfectly understood among their own countrymen."

DESCRIPTION of the INHABITANTS and COUNTRY of BAMBOUK.

[From the same Work.]

"THE celebrity of Bambouk is far beyond the knowledge which we possess of that country, and its gold-mines have been the occasion of many splendid dreams: nevertheless, Bambouk ought not, like the Eldorado of South America, to be banished from the class of chimerical descriptions; its gold-mines actually exist; they are worked imperfectly it must be admitted, but they produce a quantity of gold; and if it be reasonable not to adopt with too much enthusiasm the projects which might be conceived of examining these mines, of obtaining them by conquest, and of securing them to ourselves in full possession, it is equally reasonable that we ought not to treat these plans with too much indifference; and it would not be without some hopes of success that we might venture to acquire the greatest part of the gold which this rich country produces; for, by instructing the natives in the art of discovering and working the mines, we might obtain whatever remains hidden in the

bowels of the mountains of Tabaoura.

"It is from the country of Bambouk that a part of the gold is acquired, which is sold on the western coast of Africa, between the mouth of the Senegal and Cape Palmas. All that portion conveyed to Tombuctoo, Morocco, Fez, and Algiers, by the caravans that cross the great desert of the Zahara; almost all the gold which by way of Sennaar passes to Cairo and Alexandria; and, lastly, the prodigious quantity of this metal which is employed in the manufacture of ear-rings, bracelets, plates, and other ornaments for decking out the rich Mooresses and female negroes, and with which they also embellish their young favourite slaves, in all the countries of northern Africa, comprised between the twelfth and twentieth degree of north latitude, and between the first and twentieth degree of east longitude from the isle of Ferro, is also derived from the same source.

"Hence there is every reason to believe that different parts of this territory contain important treasures, which have hitherto been but superficially explored; yet gold is every where perceptible, either in the form of sand, spangles, grains, particles, or it is contained in ferruginous pyrites, or in pieces of emery, with which it is always more or less combined.

"Notwithstanding the numerous ablutions to which the soils of the mines are submitted, they still contain spangles of gold; in short, this metal appears with such constancy, and in such profusion, throughout the lands and waters of Bambouk, and more particularly in all the vallies of the mountains of Tabaoura, with which this territory is in a great degree covered, that the principle of these partial effusions must originate in the masses of the metal contained in heaps or veins throughout the secret caverns of these mountains.

"During my residence in Africa, I endeavoured to collect a number of accounts relative to the country of Bambouk; these I partly derived from the Moors and negroes of the Senegal and the Gambra, who had visited this rich country; from some of the English residing at the Gambra, whom I several times saw at Gilfrey, and who furnished me with notes and a number of important documents relative to this part of Africa; and I also derived some information as to Bambouk, from a work printed in England in the year 1782.

"Lastly, I received several memoirs of Messrs. Levens, David, Pelays, and Legrand; the two first of whom were directors of, and the others employed in a civil capacity under, the old India company in the Senegal. These gentlemen had visited the country of Bambouk during the years 1730, 1731, 1732, and 1744. The following is an abstract of these different accounts, notes, and memoirs, which may tend to throw some light on a very interesting country, little frequented by Europeans, as well as on the gold mines it contains.

SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY OF BAMBOUK.

"The country of Bambouk, to the south of the Senegal, at a distance of ten leagues from the banks of that river, lies between twelve degrees thirty minutes, and fourteen degrees fifteen minutes north

north latitude. This situation, in point of latitude, is rather different from that in the map of Danville; but I have taken it from the notes made by the English in the Gambra, and which agree with the map of major Rennell. The situation of this place, in point of longitude, is from seven degrees ten minutes, to eight degrees thirty minutes, east from the isle of Ferro. The river Felemeh, which empties itself into the Senegal at Tafalisga, forms the western boundary of this country.

"From the accounts I have collected, it appears, that what properly constitutes the country of Bambouk is only about thirty-six leagues in extent from north to south, and its average breadth is about twenty-eight leagues, giving a surface of rather more than a thousand square leagues.

"The country is divided into three kingdoms, or three territories, independent of each other; these are Bambouk, Satadou, and Konkoudou; each has its king or chief, but that part of the three kingdoms which particularly bears the name of Bambouk, gives to its king a certain superiority, though this is merely honorary. He is indebted for his rank to the importance of the country of Bambouk, to the rich gold-mine of Natakon, which is situated in his territory, and to the ancient prerogative of his throne. Hence the whole country has taken its name from the kingdom of Bambouk; and Satadou, and Konkoudou, though independent, yet come under this general denomination.

"The kingdom of Bambouk is situated in a direction from south-east to north-east, on the two banks of the great Colez, or Rio d'Oro; that of Satadou is situated to the south-west, and that of Konkoudou to the south-east; each of these three kingdoms contains gold-mines, but those of Bambouk are the richest, the most numerous and celebrated, and are likewise best known.

"The mountains of Tabaoura, which form a chain from thirty-eight to forty leagues in extent, occupy a considerable portion of this country: these mountains have a number of rivulets, and two principal rivers, both of which bear the name of Colez.

"One of these rivers passes through the western part of the country of Bambouk, and the other through its eastern part. The Colez of the west, which also bears the name of Rio d'Oro, which it has received from the Portuguese, takes a course of nearly thirty direct leagues, and falls into the river of Felemeh, at the village of Naye Mow; the Colez of the east, which bears the name of Guyanon Colez, empties itself into the Senegal, at Bakayakoulou.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INHABITANTS OF BAMBOUK.

"The inhabitants of the country of Bambouk are of Manding origin. A colony of these people, so well known throughout Western Africa, conquered this rich country at a very ancient period, and anterior to the modern discovery of Africa by the Portuguese.

"The natural activity of the Manding nation, their intelligence, industry, and language, are all changed amongst the Mandings of Bambouk; the latter are torpid and lazy, improvident, inconsiderate, ignorant, and superstitious; their language is a very corrupted

mixture of Manding, Jolof, Foulha, and Moorish; it is a barbarous jargon, in which one is much astonished to discover several Portuguese words. The negroes of this part of Africa admit that it is a sort of country dialect difficult to be understood, and in which the Manding tongue can scarcely be recognised.

"The negroes of Bambouk are shamefully idle. Being contiguous to a black nation of the name of Kasson, which inhabit the banks of the Senegal, above the cataract of the rock Felow, they are perpetually at war with them.

"These savages unexpectedly arrive on the country of their enemy, when they burn the villages, steal the cattle, and carry off the women and children; and few years pass in which some of these invasions do not take place. It may be imagined that the Bamboukians, who are able to raise an army of ten thousand men, would be disgusted and indignant at the attacks and violence of their ferocious neighbours; but these pusillanimous people only adopt the weakest means of resistance against such repeated irruptions.

"A short time ago they formed the resolution of watching the motions of the Kassons, and of preventing them, in some degree, from continuing their audacity, by retreating, at the time of invasion, with their cattle, gold, families, and valuable effects, into the defiles of the mountains of Tabaoura, the access to which is both difficult and dangerous for those who are unacquainted with the country.

"The Kassons, who in these incursions seldom exceed the number of seven or eight hundred men, dare not venture into these defiles, but confine themselves to ravaging and plundering all the property that could not be carried off: they also seize upon such women and children as were prevented from escaping by the effect of surprise.

"It is thus that the degenerate Mandings of Bambouk suffer themselves to be oppressed by a horde of savage and daring negroes, who, gaining fortitude from the cowardice, but particularly from the indolence of the Bamboukians, strike with dread a people who might easily destroy them, if idleness and gold had not corrupted their bodies, and enervated their minds.

"These negroes, established on a rich and fertile country, abandon themselves to the most extreme indolence; and as their country produces, to use the expression, without culture, every article necessary for an easy and agreeable life, but more particularly, as their territory affords, without labour, that corrupting metal called gold, they have no emulation, either for agriculture, for the first and most valuable of the arts, for industry, or for commerce.

OF THE BENTABA.

"In each village of Bambouk there is a place of meeting that bears the name of Bentaba; it consists of a large hall, formed by stakes placed at the distance of ten or twelve feet from each other, and fifteen feet in height, which support a thatched roof. The size of the Bentaba is always such, that all the males of the village above the age of twelve, may stand under it together.

"In this place the councils are held, and all general affairs discussed;

cussed; the chiefs and elders hear the complaints, and administer justice. It is here also, that from sunrise numbers of negroes meet, and pass whole days in smoking, playing, but particularly in conversing and reciting tales and histories; for the most absurd tales and fabricated histories form the greatest delight and amusement of these men, who arrive at old age without ever quitting a state of childhood.

"After sunset the women and young girls take their turn, and proceed to the Bentaba, where they devote themselves with ardour to the pleasure of dancing, a pleasure which consists in moving with a sort of transport, and adopting, in their violent motions, the most ridiculous and indecent attitudes. This amusement takes place amidst the tumultuous and deafening noise of men and women, with drums, instruments, and clapping of hands, by which they beat time.

"The Mandings of Bambouk are addicted to polygamy, and take as many women as their situation will enable them to keep; for in a country which affords gold and all the necessaries of life in profusion, such an establishment does not require any great expense, and a woman may be procured for a very trivial price.

OF THE MARRIAGE CEREMONIES.

"The person who courts a young girl, solicits her consent, and demands her of her parents; but this demand is a mere matter of formality. When the lover and the girl are both of a sentiment, and matters are drawing towards a crisis, he makes a present to the parents of a few pounds of salt, a little gold, and sometimes an ox or sheep: the present which he makes to the girl consists of from two to four pieces of cotton cloth, a few pair of Morocco sandals, or slippers, some glass ornaments, yellow amber, coral, cloves, some Dutch coins, and one or two baskets of millet: for this price he may obtain even the daughter of a chief or king. Amongst the lower classes, the presents are less valuable.

"When the presents have been accepted, the parents of the young woman conduct her to the house of her husband, attended by a numerous train of women, dancers, musicians, &c. who chaunt the virtue and beauty of the lady, and the power, riches, and generosity of her intended spouse.

"On the arrival of the young girl at the door of the house of him who is to receive her, she takes off her slippers, and receives from some of her attendants a little calabash full of water; she knocks at the door, and it is opened; she then finds her future husband surrounded by the elders of his family, and approaching towards him, she prostrates herself, and pours on his feet the water contained in the calabash; she afterwards wipes them with the lower part of her clothing.

"This act of submission is the only ceremony performed at marriages. After this, the husband installs his wife in a cottage on his land, which has been constructed and prepared expressly for her use, and where she finds every thing necessary for her private subsistence.

"It is the same in the country of Bambouk as in all the western countries of Africa which I have visited; the first woman espoused by

by a black is to all intents and purposes his wife, and preserves a certain degree of superiority over all those whom he afterwards espouses. The first wife resides in the house of her husband, eats with him, but without ever sitting at the same table; she takes care of his slippers in the house, and is consulted and heard on all domestic affairs.

"The other women, who are the associates of the first wife, though they are also legitimately united, are nevertheless obliged to observe a certain deference towards the former: they are never suffered to enter the house of their lord without being sent for, and they are obliged to leave their slippers at the door; they are, in fact, a sort of legitimate concubines, who are visited by the husband in rotation, each of them a week at a time. Each of these women, during the period in question, is obliged to prepare the food for her master, which she causes to be sent to his residence; or if she is patronised by the principal wife, she carries it thither herself.

"Each wife enjoys her own private property, and the most laborious is the richest. Those women who are most experienced in washing the gold, possess the greatest quantity of that metal; the richest of them, however, cannot allow herself more luxuries than the poorest, because the husband will not suffer it: hence the only use that the richer woman can make of her property is, to render her residence more commodious and agreeable, to keep her children in better order, and to regale her husband and friends.

"As the first wife has great influence, the concubines are interested in courting her favour, and they endeavour to emulate each other in gaining her friendship by presents, by which means they render their own existence more agreeable.

ON THE GALLANTRY OF THE BAMBOUK WOMEN.

"The Bamboukians are voluptuous, but not jealous: their women and girls are gallant, and surrender themselves for a trivial recompense to those who solicit them. No shame is attendant on the abandoned conduct of the girls; but the open adultery of a married woman casts a degree of ignominy on her husband.

"When the report of an adulterous intercourse is spread abroad, the husband is in some degree debased by it, unless he avenges himself, though his vengeance is not cruel. The insulted husband expels his wife, but keeps his children; he carries his complaint to the Bentaba, where he lays it before the chief and elders of the village. This tribunal condemns the seducer to pay the husband an ox, or some gold, and by the same decree, permits the husband to plunder his wife's gallant for the space of a month.

"This is the only punishment for adultery, which affixes no stigma on the women found guilty of the crime; they are expelled or repudiated, but they retain all the property they possessed, and often marry him who has seduced them, or some other husband more complaisant than the first.

"So much moderation in avenging an outrage which generally irritates the vanity of man, proves that the Bamboukians are a corrupt people, and that their manners are dissolute; for it may be

be seen that their gallant and libertine women, not content with the gentle and complaisant characters of their husbands, sometimes love, like European Messalinas, to outrage benevolence, and to give publicity to their infamous transactions.

"We have seen that the Bamboukians possess vices, but they have also virtues. One of the principles of their morality is, always to do as they would be done by: they consequently never plunder nor rob each other; they make no slaves, and a Bamboukian has never been known to capture and dispose of his own countryman.

"They mutually assist each other, faithfully keep their promises, and exercise hospitality with every possible pleasure and benevolence; and this virtue they possess in the most eminent degree; but it is particularly towards the blacks, and in preference towards those of the Mahometan persuasion, that they exercise this virtue with zeal; for they do not respect the whites, because they fear them, and the suspicion which they entertain of them renders their conduct very different from that which they shew towards the blacks.

"Throughout the whole country of Bambouk a black need never be in want of necessaries: if he arrive naked amongst these hospitable people, the men and women immediately provide him with clothes, and nobody refuses him food. A strange negro will enter the first cottage that falls in his way, and salute the master, when, if it happen to be meal-time, he places the traveller by his side, and they both eat out of the same dish: every person treats him with cordiality; and when the repast is finished, he addresses his host to the following effect:—'I thank thee, friend; may Mahomet bless thee, and God prosper thee!'—With these words in his mouth, a strange black may travel over the whole country of Bambouk, and will every where meet with the most favourable reception.

"From these principal traits in the character and manners of the inhabitants of Bambouk, we may be convinced that if the gold which they find at their feet, the fertility of their country, and the heat of the climate in which they reside, have rendered them corrupt and enervate, they nevertheless partake more of effeminacy than wickedness, and that the conquest and subjection of such a people might be easily undertaken and effected."

OXNAM'S ENTERPRISE in the SOUTH SEA.

[From CAPTAIN BURNEY'S CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY.]

"IN the Philippine Islands, the Spaniards did not remain contented with the possession of the single island of Zebu. They extended their '*pacification*' to other islands, and in 1571 established themselves in Luconia, under the direction of Miguel Lopez de

de Legaspi, who that year founded the city of Manilla, which has since been, and is at present the capital of the Spanish settlements in the Philippine Islands.

"In 1574 the pilot Juan Fernandez discovered two more islands in the neighbourhood of the American continent, which were named San Felix and San Ambor. They are described by the Spanish accounts to be small, uninhabited, and uninhabitable, being without fresh water; and that they were the resort of birds, sea-calves, and fish. Their latitude 25° 20′ south, and their distance to the west from Copiapo, 154 leagues.

The English at this time first began to project enterprises in the South Sea. England and Spain were not in a state of open war; but the circumstances and events of the reigns of Philip the Second and of queen Elizabeth were such as did not fail to produce a strong degree of animosity between the two nations, which neither would be at the pains to conceal. Acts of aggression were committed by individuals of both, and connived at, sometimes encouraged, by the sovereigns. During a great part of queen Elizabeth's reign, the two countries may be said to have been in a state of open (though not declared) enmity, and of private warfare.

"With these dispositions, a number of English adventurers entered into schemes for enriching themselves at the expense of the Spanish settlements in America; in revenge, it is said, for injuries done either to themselves, or to some of their countrymen, by the Spaniards in that part of the world. John Oxnam, or Oxenham, of Plymouth, was the first Englishman who extended these schemes to cruising against the Spaniards in the South Sea. He had accompanied captain (afterwards sir Francis) Drake, in 1572-3, on an expedition to the West Indies, in which that commander left his ship on the north side of Darien, and, being joined by the Indians who inhabited that part of the country, marched across the isthmus with the intention of intercepting the Spanish treasure that was expected to have been sent upon mules from Panama to Nombre de Dios. The drunkenness of one of the English seamen prevented this attempt from succeeding.

"In the account of captain Drake's journey across the isthmus there is the following passage:—'It gave a special encouragement unto us all, that we understood there was a great tree about the midway, from whence we might at once discern the North Sea, from whence we came, and the South Sea, whither we were going.

"'The fourth day following [this was the eighth day of their journey] we came to the height of the desired hill (lying east and west, like a ridge between the two seas) about ten of the clock, where the chiefest of the Symerons* took our captain by the hand, and prayed him to follow him. Here

"* The name by which the independent Indians who then inhabited the isthmus of Darien were called. They were people who had fled from the dominion of the Spaniards; and living, on that account, in a state of continual warfare with their former masters, they willingly joined themselves with the English. The hill up which Drake was conducted might probably be the same from whence Nunnez de Balboa first saw the South Sea.

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was that goodly and great high tree, in which they had cut and made divers steps to ascend near to the top, where they had made a convenient bower, wherein ten or twelve men might easily sit; and from thence we might see the Atlantic Ocean we came from, and the South Atlantic so much desired. South and north of this tree, they had felled certain trees, that the prospect might be the clearer.

" 'After our captain had ascended to this bower, with the chief Symeron, and having, as it pleased God at this time, by reason of the breeze, a very fair day, had seen that sea of which he had heard such golden reports, he besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea: and then calling up all the rest of our men, acquainted John Oxnam especially with this his petition and purpose, if it would please God to grant him that happiness; who, understanding it, presently protested, that unless our captain did beat him from his company, he would follow him by God's grace.'

" To both was granted the desired boon of sailing upon the South Sea; but they went by different routes, at different times, and their enterprises finished with different success.

" The following testimony is borne to the ability and fidelity with which Oxnam served under Drake. There was occasion to send a party of men on shore, for a purpose which the people would not consent that their captain (Drake) should undertake. The relation says—'John Oxnam and Thomas Sherwell were put in trust for our service, to the great content of the whole company, who conceived greatest hope of them next our captain, whom by no means they would condescend to suffer to adventure again this time.'

" Drake's return to England from the voyage just noticed was in August 1578. In 1575 Oxnam was again in the West Indies, having under his command a ship of 120 tons burden, and 70 men. The history here given of his adventure is extracted from An Account of the West Indies and the South Sea, written by Lopez Vaz, a Portuguese, which, with its author, fell into the hands of the English, in Rio de la Plata, in 1586, Portugal at that time being a part of the Spanish monarchy, and at war with England. An abridged translation of the work of Lopez Vaz is in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 778.

" Oxnam went among the Symerons (the Indians before described), who were equally well disposed to the English as on the former occasion. When he was informed that a new regulation had been made by the Spaniards, and that the treasure was now always conducted by a strong guard of soldiers, he determined on an enterprise equally bold and extraordinary.

" He landed his men in the same place where captain Drake had before landed, and laying his ship ashore, covered her with boughs of trees, and buried all his guns in the ground, except two small pieces of ordnance, which he took with him, besides muskets, and a sufficient store of provisions and necessaries. Thus furnished, without leaving one man in the ship, he departed for the other sea, accompanied by a number of the Indians.

When

When they had marched twelve leagues, they arrived at a river which ran into the South Sea. In a wood by the side of this river Oxnam cut timber, and built a pinnace, which was forty-five feet long by the keel. When the pinnace was finished, he embarked with his people, and fell down the river into the South Sea, taking six Indians with him for guides. They sailed to the Pearl Islands, and remained near them ten days, at the end of which time they captured a small bark from Quito, in Peru, in which were 60,000 pesos of gold*, and a quantity of wine and bread. Shortly after, they made prize of a vessel from Lima, with 100,000 pesos of silver in bars. These riches were all taken into the pinnace, and they went to a small town on one of the Pearl Islands, inhabited by Indians, from whom it was hoped pearls would be obtained; but the Indians had not many. From the Pearl Islands they went towards the main land, and after dismissing the two prizes, the pinnace re-entered the river from which she had sailed. Some of the Indians at the Pearl Islands, as soon as the Englishmen had departed, hastened in their canoes to Panama, to give notice of what had passed. The governor of that place, within two days after receiving the intelligence, sent four barks in search of the English, with 100 soldiers, and a number of Indians, under the command of Juan de Ortega. Ortega went first to the Pearl Islands, and was there informed what course the Englishmen had taken; and continuing his pursuit, he met the vessels that had been captured and dismissed. By them he was directed to the river. When he came to the entrance, he was at a loss which way to take, as the river fell into the sea by three different mouths. Whilst he was deliberating, a quantity of feathers of fowls were observed floating out of one of the lesser branches; and that way Ortega entered. The fourth day, according to the account, of his advancing up the river, the pinnace of the Englishmen was descried lying upon the sand, with only six men near her, one of whom was killed by the Spaniards, and the others fled. The pinnace was searched, but there was nothing in her except provisions. Leaving twenty of his people to take care of the barks, Juan de Ortega landed with 80 men, armed with musketry. When they had marched half a league from the river, they found a place that was covered with boughs of trees, where the Englishmen had hid all their booty, which the Spaniards dug up, and with it returned to their barks, well satisfied with their success, and not intending to trouble themselves further about the English. But Oxnam, with all his men, and 200 Symerons, eager to recover the treasure, followed the Spaniards to the river's side, and attacked them with more impetuosity than good management. Ortega disposed his men advantageously among the bushes, and the English were repulsed with the loss of 11 men killed, and seven taken prisoners; whilst, on the part of the Spaniards, only two were killed, and a few wounded. The prisoners were questioned, how it happened that they had not departed with their treasure, having been fifteen days unmo-

"* The peso of gold was 16 Spanish rials, nearly equal to eight shillings English: the peso of silver was half of that value."

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lested. They answered, that their captain had commanded his men to carry all the gold and silver to the place where the ship was, and had promised them a share; but the seamen demanded an immediate division; upon which the captain, being offended at their distrust, would not suffer them to carry it, but said he would get Indians to undertake the business. The delay occasioned by these disagreements gave time for the Spaniards to overtake them. Oxnam received the first notice of their approach by the men who fled from the pinnace. He then came to an agreement with his people, and got the Indians to join with him; but in the attack, having lost several of his best men, he purposed to return to his ship.

"The Spanish captain, with his prisoners and the treasure, returned to Panama, the governor of which place immediately dispatched messengers to Nombre de Dios, with intelligence where the English ship lay concealed; in consequence of which, before Oxnam arrived at the place, his ship, ordnance, and stores, were taken.

"In this destitute condition the Englishmen lived some time among the Indians; and had begun to build canoes on the north side of the isthmus, as the means by which they might escape from their present situation; but having lost all their tools, their work was advancing very slowly, when 150 Spaniards, sent by order of the viceroy of Peru, came upon them, and put an end to their occupation. Fifteen, who were sick, were at that time taken prisoners; and, in the end, they all fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and were carried to Panama. Oxnam was questioned whether he had the queen's commission, or a license from any other prince or state: to which he replied that he had no commission; but that he acted upon his own authority, and at his own risk. Upon this answer, Oxnam and his men were all condemned to death, and the whole, except five boys, were executed. Thus unfortunately did the first exploit of the English in the South Sea terminate. Of Oxnam, their leader, it has been remarked, that if the same spirit of enterprise and resolution had been exerted by him in a legal cause, he would have been entitled to lasting praise."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

DECLINE and REVIVAL of LITERATURE.

[From MR. ASTLE'S ORIGIN and PROGRESS of WRITING.]

"MANY events have contributed to deprive us of a great part of the literary treasures of antiquity. A very fatal blow was given to literature, by the destruction of the Phœnician temples, and of the Egyptian colleges, when those kingdoms, and the countries adjacent, were conquered by the Persians, about 350 years before Christ. Ochus, the Persian general, ravaged these countries without mercy, and 40,000 Sidonians burnt themselves, with their families and riches, in their own houses. The conqueror then drove Nectanebus out of Egypt, and committed the like ravages in that country; afterwards he marched into Judea, where he took Jericho, and sent a great number of Jews into captivity. The Persians had a great dislike to the religion of the Phœnicians and the Egyptians; this was one reason for destroying their books, of which Eusebius (De Preparat. Evang.) says they had a great number.

"Notwithstanding these losses, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, who reigned about 200 years before the Christian æra, collected the greatest library of all antiquity, which he deposited in his palace at Alexandria, where it was burnt by Cæsar's troops.

"Another great loss was occasioned by the destruction of the Pythagorean schools in Italy; when the Platonic or new philosophy prevailed over the former. Pythagoras went into Egypt, before the Persian conquests, where he resided 22 years: he was initiated into the sacerdotal order, and, from his spirit of inquiry, he has been justly said to have acquired a great deal of Egyptian learning, which he afterwards introduced into Italy. Polybius (lib. ii. p. 175) and Jamblichus (in vita Pythag.) mention many circumstances, relative to these facts, quoted from others now lost; as doth Porphyry, in his life of Pythagoras.

"Learning, philosophy, and arts, suffered much by the loss of liberty in Greece; whence they were transplanted into Italy, under the patronage of some of the great men of Rome; who, by their countenance and protection, not only introduced them into their own country, but even contributed to the revival of them in Greece. The love of learning and of arts amongst the Romans was too soon neglected, through the tyranny of the

the emperors, and the general corruption of manners; for in the reign of Dioclesian, towards the end of the third century, the arts had greatly declined, and in the course of the fourth, philosophy degenerated into superstition.

"Learning and the arts also received a most fatal blow by the destruction of the heathen temples, in the reign of Constantine. The devastations then committed are depicted in the strongest and most lively colours by Mr. Gibbon, in the 28th chapter of his History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. iii. p. 77, & seq.

"Many valuable libraries perished by the barbarians of the North, who invaded Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries. By those rude hands perished the library of Perseus king of Macedon, which Paulus Æmilius brought to Rome with its captive owner; as did also the noble library established for the use of the public, by Asinius Pollio, which was collected from the spoils of all the enemies he had subdued, and was greatly enriched by him at a vast expense. The libraries of Cicero and Lucullus met with the same fate, and those of Julius Cæsar, of Augustus, Vespasian, and Trajan also perished, together with the magnificent library of the younger Gordian, founded by his preceptor Simonicus, which is said by some to have contained sixty thousand, and by others eighty thousand volumes. The repository for this vast collection is reported to have been paved with marble, and ornamented with gold; the walls were covered with glass and ivory, the armories and desks were made of ebony and cedar.

"The loss of Ptolemy's library at Alexandria had been in some measure repaired, by the remains of that of Eumenes, king of Pergamus, which Mark Anthony presented to Cleopatra, and by other collections, so that a vast library remained at Alexandria, till it was taken by storm, and plundered by the Saracens in the seventh century, A. D. 642. Though the Saracens were at that time a barbarous people, yet Amrus (or Amru Ebn al As), the commander of the troops who took this city, was a man of good capacity, and greatly delighted in hearing philosophical points discussed by learned men. John the grammarian, called Philoponus, from his love of labour, lived in Alexandria at this time; he soon became acquainted with Amrus, and, having acquired some degree of his esteem, requested that the philosophical books preserved in the royal library might be restored. Amrus wrote to Omar, the caliph, to know if his request might be complied with; who returned for answer, that if the books he mentioned agreed in all points with the book of God, the Alcoran, this last would be perfect without them, and consequently they would be superfluous; but if they contained any thing repugnant to the doctrines and tenets of that book, they ought to be looked on as pernicious, and of course should be destroyed.—As soon as the caliph's letter was received, Amrus, in obedience to the command of his sovereign, dispersed the books all over the city, to heat the baths, of which there were four thousand; but the number of books was so immense, that they were not entirely consumed in less than six months.

Thus perished, by fanatical madness, the inestimable Alexandrian library, which is said to have contained at that time upwards of five hundred thousand volumes; and from this period barbarity and ignorance prevailed for several centuries. In Italy, and all over the west of Europe, learning was in a manner extinguished, except some small remains which were preserved in Constantinople.

"In this city, the emperor Constantine had deposited a considerable library, which was soon after enriched by his successor Julian, who placed the following inscription at the entrance:

'Alii quidem equos amant, alii aves, alii feras; mihi vero à puerulo,
Mirum acquirendi et possidendi libros insedit desiderium.'

"Theodosius the younger was very assiduous in augmenting this library, by whom, in the latter end of the fourth century, it was enlarged to one hundred thousand volumes; above one half of which were burnt in the fifth century by the emperor Leo the First, so famous for his hatred to images.

"The inhabitants of Constantinople had not lost their taste for literature in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when that city was sacked by the crusaders, in the year 1205: the depredations then committed are related in Mr. Harris's posthumous works, vol. ii. p. 301, from Nicetas the Choniate, who was present at the sacking of this place. His account of the statues, bustos, bronzes, manuscripts, paintings, and other exquisite remains of antiquity, which then perished, cannot be read by any lover of arts and learning without emotion.

"The ravages committed by the Turks who plundered Constantinople, in the year 1453, are related by Philelphus, who was a man of learning, and was tutor to Æneas Sylvius (afterwards pope, under the name of Pius the Second), and was an eye-witness to what passed at that time. This author says, that the persons of quality, especially the women, still preserved the Greek language uncorrupted. He observes, that though the city had been taken before, it never suffered so much as at that time; and adds, that, till that period, the remembrance of ancient wisdom remained at Constantinople, and that no one among the Latins was deemed sufficiently learned, who had not studied for some time at that place, he expressed his fear that all the works of the ancients would be destroyed.

"Still, however, there are the remains of three libraries at Constantinople; the first is called that of Constantine the Great; the second is for all ranks of people without distinction; the third is in the palace, and is called the Ottoman library, but a fire happened in 1665, which consumed a great part of the palace, and almost the whole library, when, as is supposed, Livy, and a great many valuable works of the ancients, perished. Father Possevius has given an account of the libraries at Constantinople, and in other parts of the Turkish dominions, in his excellent work intituled, Apparatus Sacer.

"Many other losses of the writings of the ancients have been attributed to the zeal of the Christians, who, at different periods, made great havock amongst the heathen authors. Not a single copy

copy of the famous work of Celsus is now to be found, and what we know of that work is from Origen, his opponent. The venerable fathers, who employed themselves in erasing the best works of the most eminent Greek or Latin authors, in order to transcribe the lives of saints or legendary tales upon the obliterated vellum, possibly mistook these lamentable depredations for works of piety. The ancient fragment of the 91st book of Livy, discovered by Mr. Bruns, in the Vatican, in 1772, was much defaced by the pious labours of some well-intentioned divine. The monks made war on books as the Goths had done before them. Great numbers of manuscripts have also been destroyed in this kingdom by its invaders, the pagan Danes, and the Normans, by the civil commotions raised by the barons, by the bloody contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, and especially by the general plunder and devastation of monasteries and religious houses in the reign of Henry the Eighth, by the ravages committed in the civil war in the time of Charles the First, and by the fire that happened in the Cottonian library, October 23, 1731.

"In all this period of time, many others may be supposed to have perished by that *Helluo librorum, tempus edax rerum.*

"Thus it appears, that more of the works of the ancients have perished than have reached us. To enumerate such as are known to have been destroyed, or lost, in the various branches of science and polite literature, would form a catalogue of considerable bulk; but the most irreparable and deplorable losses which mankind have sustained, are in the branch of history, and therefore it may be proper to lay before our readers some particulars concerning the works of ancient historians, many of which are so mutilated that the fragments which remain, serve only to increase our regret for what have been lost or destroyed.

"The History of Phenicia, by Sanconiatho, who was contemporary with Solomon, would have been entirely lost to us, had it not been for the valuable fragments preserved by Eusebius, which are mentioned in the following sheets; Manetho's History of Egypt, and the History of Chaldea, by Berosus, have nearly met with the same fate.

"The general History of Polybius originally contained forty books; but the first five only, with some extracts, or fragments, are transmitted to us.

"The historical library of Diodorus Siculus consisted likewise of forty books, but only fifteen are now extant; that is, five between the fifth and the eleventh, and the last ten, with some fragments collected out of Photius and others.

"Dionysius Halicarnassensis wrote twenty books of Roman antiquities, extending from the siege of Troy, to the first Punic war, A. U. C. 488, but only eleven of them are now remaining, which reach no further than the year of Rome 312.

"Appian is said to have written the Roman History in twenty-four books, but the greatest part of the works of that author are lost.

"Dion Cassius wrote eighty books of history, but only twenty-five are remaining, with some fragments, and an epitome of the last twenty by Xiphilinus.

"Many of the works of the

most ancient Latin historians have either perished, or are come down to us mutilated and imperfect.

"Sallust wrote a Roman History, but there are only some fragments of it preserved.

"Livy's Roman History consisted of one hundred and forty, or, as some authors say, of one hundred and forty-two books; of this excellent work one hundred and seven books must have perished, as only thirty-five remain. Though we have an epitome of one hundred and forty books, yet this is so short, that it only serves to give us a general idea of the subject, and to impress us with a more lively sense of our loss.

"The elegant compendium of the Roman History, by Velleius Paterculus, is very imperfectly transmitted to us, great part of that work having perished.

"The first and second books of Q. Curtius are entirely lost, and there are several chasms in some of those which are preserved.

"The emperor Tacitus ordered ten copies of the works of his relation the historian to be made every year, which he sent into the different provinces of the empire; and yet, notwithstanding his endeavours to perpetuate these inestimable works, they were buried in oblivion for many centuries. Since the restoration of learning, an ancient MS. was discovered in a monastery in Westphalia, which contained the most valuable part of his Annals; but in this unique manuscript, part of the fifth, seventh, ninth, and tenth books are deficient, as are part of the eleventh, and the latter part of the sixteenth. This MS. was procured by that great restorer of learning pope Leo X. under whose patronage it was printed at Rome, in 1515; he afterwards deposited it in the Vatican library, where it is still preserved. Thus posterity is probably indebted to the above magnificent pontiff for the most valuable part of the works of this inimitable historian.

"The epitome of Trogus Pompeius, by Justin, may be deemed only a mere shadow of Trogus.

"Ammianus Marcellinus wrote thirty-one books, extending from the accession of Nerva to the death of Valens; but the first thirteen are wanting.

"Many other losses are recorded in two excellent tracts, 'De Historicis Græcis et Latinis,' by the celebrated Gerard Vossius. To these might be added a great number of works in different branches of science and polite arts.

"The Justinian Code had been in a manner unknown from the sixth till the twelfth century, when *Amalfi*, a city of Calabria, being taken by the Pisans, an original MS. was discovered there by accident.

"Varro, who is styled the most learned of all the Romans, and who excelled in grammar, history, and philosophy, is said to have written near five hundred volumes, amongst which were the lives of seven hundred illustrious Romans, enriched with their portraits.

"Atticus, the great friend of Cicero, who was one of the most honourable, hospitable, and friendly men of the times in which he lived, wrote many pieces in Latin and Greek, which last language he cultivated much after his retirement to Athens. The loss of his work on the actions of the great men amongst the Romans, which he ornamented with their portraits, is much to be deplored, as he

he had a great taste for the polite arts; and we may conceive that both the portraits in Varro's work, as well as those we are now speaking of, were well executed, because we cannot doubt but those great men would employ the best artists; and that there were artists capable of producing the most excellent workmanship, appears from the Roman coins of that age, still extant, which must have been drawn before they were engraven on metals. So much the more therefore it is to be lamented that these last works are irrecoverably lost.

"It is now time to change the painful task of recording the successive disasters which have befallen the commonwealth of letters, for the pleasing office of relating the events and circumstances which have contributed to the revival and restoration of learning.

"The Arabians or Saracens, whose wild and barbarous enthusiasm had destroyed the Alexandrian library in the seventh century, were the first people who were captivated with the learning and arts of Greece; the Arabian writers translated into their own language many Greek authors, and from them the first rays of science and philosophy began to enlighten the western hemisphere, and in time dispelled the thick cloud of ignorance which for some ages had eclipsed literature.

"The caliph Almanzur was a lover of letters and learned men, and science of every kind was cultivated under his patronage. His grandson, Almamun, obtained from the Greek emperors copies of their best books, employed the ablest scholars to translate them, and took great pleasure in literary conversations. Under the patronage of the caliphs, the works of the most valuable Greek authors, in different branches of science, were translated into Arabic. In philosophy, those of Plato and Aristotle. In mathematics, those of Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, Diophantus, and others. In medicine, Hippocrates, Galen, and the best professors in this branch of science. In astronomy, Ptolemy, and other authors. The Arabian literati not only translated the works of the Greeks, but several of them composed original pieces; as, Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, Bohadin, and others. For an account of the Arabian writers and literature, see Mr. Harris's posthumous works, vol. ii. chaps. vi. vii. and viii.

"It will hereafter appear that it was from the Arabians that these western parts became first acquainted with the Greek philosophy; and from them several branches of science were introduced into Europe as early as the ninth century, and even into Britain before the end of the eleventh, in which, and in the three succeeding centuries, several Englishmen travelled into Arabia and Spain, in search of knowledge; amongst others, Adelard, a monk of Bath; Robert, a monk of Reading; Retinensis, Shelly, Morley, and others, of whom mention is made in the seventh chapter of this work.

"Several foreigners also travelled in search of science; amongst others, Gerbert, a native of France, who enriched these western parts with the knowledge which he had obtained from learned Arabians. The abilities of this great man raised him to the archiepiscopal see of Rheims, then to that of Ravenna, and at length to the papal

pal chair, which he filled from the year 998 to 1008: but such was the bigotry and superstition of those times, that these great luminaries of science, though most of them ecclesiastics, were accused of magic by the ignorant herd of their brethren. Even pope Gerbert himself, as bishop Otho gravely relates of him, obtained the pontificate by wicked means; for the bishop assures us that he had given himself up wholly to the devil, on condition he might obtain what he desired; and that it was to this circumstance, and not to the patronage of the emperor Otho III., who had been his pupil, nor to that of Robert, the French king, his great benefactor, that he owed his election. A cardinal Benno also accuses this great man of holding an intercourse with demons. Nor did superstition and bigotry cease to persecute science and genius till the end of the seventeenth century.

"Our Roger Bacon, a Franciscan monk, who flourished in the thirteenth century, was accused of magic, and was cast into a French prison, where he remained for many years.

"Franciscus Petrarch was suspected of magic; and John Faust, who was either the inventor, or amongst the first practisers of the art of printing, was obliged to reveal his art, to clear himself from the accusation of having had recourse to diabolical assistance.

"But the great Galileo met with the hardest fate, for he was not only imprisoned by the inquisition, but was also under the necessity of publicly denying those philosophical truths which he had investigated; and what is worse for posterity, superstition and ignorance persecuted his fame beyond the grave; for the confessor of his widow, taking advantage of her piety, obtained leave to peruse his manuscripts, of which he destroyed such as *in his judgement* were not fit to be allowed.

"This short digression will in some measure account for the slow progress towards the restoration of science, and therefore we must not expect to find that many libraries were formed during the dark ages of Christianity: some few manuscripts, however, escaped the general plunder of the Roman libraries by the Goths.

"Cassiodorus, the favourite minister to Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, was a lover of learning; he collected a library, and wrote a book on orthography. Pope Hilary placed a collection of books in the church of St. Hilary at Rome, about the year of Christ 465.

"Some few learned men existed in different parts of Europe, throughout these times of ignorance; our countryman Bede, who was born about 661, and died in 724, was well versed both in sacred and prophane history, as his numerous works testify.

"St. Egbert, archbishop of York, was a disciple of venerable Bede; he was a man of great learning, and founded a noble library at York about 735, which was casually burnt in the reign of king Stephen, with the cathedral, the monastery of St. Mary's, and several other religious houses.

"Alcuin, called also Albinus Flaccus, was born in Northumberland; he was the disciple of archbishop Egbert, whom he succeeded in the charge of the famous school which that prelate had

had opened at York. Alcuin was in all respects the most learned man of the age in which he lived; he was an orator, historian, poet, mathematician, and divine: the fame of his learning induced Charlemagne to invite him to his court; by his assistance, that emperor founded, enriched, and instructed the universities of Tours and Paris. In 794 he was one of the fathers of the synod of Francfort, and died at his abbey at Tours in 804. In his epistle to Charlemagne, he mentions, with great respect, his master Egbert, and the noble library which he had founded. (See bishop Tanner's Bibl. Brit.)

"Towards the latter end of the same century, flourished our great king Alfred, who engaged the learned Grimbald, and other foreigners of distinguished abilities, in his service: he founded the university of Oxford, and restored learning in England.

"There were in the times of the Saxons several valuable libraries in this island: amongst others, those at Canterbury and Durham, and in the abbies of St. Alban and Glastonbury, were the most considerable.

"About the middle of the eighth century, pope Zachary, who was a Greek of much erudition, placed a library in the church of St. Peter at Rome.

"The library at Fulda, near Hesse Cassel, was founded by Pepin, in the pontificate of pope Zachary, in which many ancient manuscripts are still preserved. Charlemagne, and his son Lewis the Pious, added much to this library; the former of these princes had a noble library at Barba, near Lyons.

"There were a few learned men in different parts of Europe from the time of Charlemagne till the general restoration of learning in the fifteenth century; but it would exceed the limits of our design to mention even all those of our own country; and therefore we must refer our readers to Cave's *Historia Literaria*, bishop Nicolson's *Historical Library*, and to bishop Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*: however, it may not be improper briefly to mention a few of them.

"Ingulphus tells us in his History, that he studied grammar at Westminster, and that he was afterward sent to Oxford, where he read the works of Aristotle, and the rhetoric of Cicero. This writer says, that the Confessor's queen Edgitha was admirable for her beauty, her literary accomplishments, and her virtue. He relates, that many a time when a boy, he met the queen as he was coming from school, who would dispute with him concerning his verses, that she had a peculiar pleasure to pass from grammar to logic, in which she had been instructed, and that she frequently ordered one of her attendants to give him two or three pieces of money, or to be carried to the royal pantry, and treated with a repast.

"John of Salisbury, who lived in the reigns of Stephen and Henry the Second, appears to have been very conversant in the Latin classics, as also in grammar and philosophy. There were other respectable writers of the eleventh century; an account of whom may be seen in lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry the Second, vol. iii. and in the Philological Inquiries of the late Mr. Harris.

"Several writers of good repute flourished in this country in the twelfth century; amongst others, William of Malmesbury is said to have been a learned man, as well as an historian; and Simeon of Durham was reckoned one of the most learned men of that age.

"Matthew Paris flourished in the thirteenth century; he was remarkable for his learning and ingenuity; he was skilled in divinity, architecture, mathematics, history, and painting; he was a good poet and orator, for the age in which he lived.

"Geoffrey Chaucer lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: he was not only an excellent scholar, but a mathematician, as well as a poet. After he had finished his studies at Oxford, he travelled into foreign parts in search of knowledge; on his return to England he became a student in the Inner Temple, and in his latter days wrote his Treatise on the Astrolabe, which was much esteemed. Many eminent writers are necessarily omitted; but it is sufficient for the present design to have shewn that the lamp of learning was prevented from being entirely extinguished by a few great men who succeeded each other.

"The taking of Constantinople, by the Turks, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as has been already related, was an event which contributed to the general restoration of learning; at that time many learned Greeks fled for protection into Italy and Germany, where they were kindly received, and where they diffused science with great success. Amongst others, were Theodore Gaza, Emanuel Chrysoloras, George Trebizonde, Lascaris, Bessarion, and John Argyropilus, appointed preceptor to Laurence de Medicis, by his father Cosmo.

"In a short time after this event, the inhabitants of the western parts of Europe made great progress in all branches of literature, and the invention or introduction of printing, which soon followed, completed the triumph of learning over barbarism and ignorance.

"Much praise is due to the sovereigns who reigned in this and the following century, whose generous patronage of letters and learned men greatly contributed to the restoration of science. Learning, like a tender plant, requires the cheering rays of royal sunshine.

"The greatest discoveries and improvements in arts, sciences, and literature, have ever owed their establishment to the encouragement and protection of princes, who participated in the honour of those discoveries, and thereby acquired more real glory than could have accrued to them by the most extensive conquests.

"Many of the advantages proceeding from the taking of Constantinople, and from the circumstances which attended it, will appear, from a short account of the principal manuscript libraries which have been formed since that event.

"The chair of St. Peter was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries filled by several pontiffs, who successively protected learning and learned men. Nicholas V., Pius II., Leo X., Clement VII., and Sixtus V., will be remembered with gratitude by posterity, for the patronage they afforded to literature.

"The first of these may be considered

considered as the founder of the Vatican library at Rome; the others were considerable benefactors to it, and by their industry and influence greatly enriched that inestimable repository; and many of the succeeding pontiffs have, with great success, followed their example.

"The Vatican library is divided into three parts. The first is public, and every one has access to it at different hours upon certain days; the second is kept with more privacy, and the third is only to be seen by persons of certain distinctions, or by those who have express permission for that purpose: this is called the sanctuary of the Vatican.

"Several libraries were formed at Rome, as that in the church of St. Peter, those of the fathers of St. Basil, and the Dominicans of Sancta Maria Sopra Minerva; and those in the palaces of Ottoboni, Chiggi, Barbarini, and Altieri.

"Libraries were also formed in other parts of Italy; in the royal palace and university of Turin; the noble library of the great-duke at Florence; and those of the Laurentian, Benedictine, and Dominican monasteries in the same city. Large collections of manuscripts were also placed in the following libraries; namely, in the convents of St. Severini, Monte Cassini, Monte Oliveto, and St. John de Carbonara, at Naples; the ducal palace at Modena; the Ambrosian college of Milan; the ducal palace at Parma; St. Mark's at Venice; the canons regular at Bologna; those in Padua, Genoa, and in other places in Italy.

"The sciences became so generally admired, that all the princes in Europe endeavoured to promote them in their respective dominions. Philip II. of Spain founded the Escurial library, in which he deposited that of Muley Cydam, king of Fez and Morocco, which contained upwards of four thousand volumes in the Arabic language; he also brought into Spain many manuscripts, which were found in several seminaries of literature in Africa, to which were added a fine collection of eastern manuscripts, as well as a great number of Greek and Latin, which are very valuable. This library suffered much by lightning in 1670, but it has since been greatly augmented by the kings of Spain.

"The library at Salamanca contains a great number of Greek manuscripts, which Ferdinanda Nonius bequeathed to that university. At Alcala is the valuable library collected by cardinal Ximenes.

"Francis the First laid the foundation of the royal library at Paris, which has been continually increasing. Cardinal Fleury, and the great Colbert, spared neither pains nor expense to enrich it. This library is inestimable, and contains a great number of manuscripts in almost every language. For particulars concerning this treasure of learning, the reader is referred to the catalogue of father Montfaucon, and to Mons. Galvis's treatise on French libraries; a new edition of which is wanted, with accounts of those that have changed places and possessors. The Jesuits had, in different parts of France, many fine libraries; some account of what is become of them would be useful. There were many noble libraries in France, but our limits will not permit

permit us to pay them the attention they deserve; therefore the reader is referred to the second volume of Montfaucon's Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum, published at Paris in 1739.

"The emperor Maximilian the First followed the example of the other princes in Europe, and in the year 1480 founded the Imperial library at Vienna, which he enriched with a vast number of manuscripts taken from the monasteries in his Austrian dominions, and with such other manuscript collections as could be made by the German literati.

"This inestimable repository of literary treasures was further increased by the acquisition of the once celebrated Buda library; it has from time to time been augmented with many other considerable libraries, and lately with a great number of valuable and curious manuscripts, which were preserved in the colleges and houses of the Jesuits within the Imperial dominions. In the latter end of the last century, M. Lambecius published at Vienna a catalogue of such manuscripts as were then deposited in the Imperial library; but an additional one, of the accessions to it since his time, would be very useful; as would a catalogue of those manuscripts that are preserved in the library at Brussels, founded by the late empress-queen, in which is deposited several of those lately belonging to the Jesuits in the Austrian Netherlands. The other principal libraries in Germany are those of the king of Prussia, the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Wolfenbuttel, the duke of Wirtemberg, the duke of Saxe-Gotha; that at Strasburgh, founded by bishop Otho in the sixteenth century; and those at Anhalt, Helmstadt, Tubingen, Jena, Lavingen, and Ratisbon. There are at Liege the libraries of St. James and St. Benedict, and some MSS. in the cathedral at Cologne.

"Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, possessed himself of the royal libraries formerly at Prague and Dresden, which his daughter, queen Christina, carried with her to Rome, and they are now preserved in the Vatican; as is likewise the noble library which was formerly at Heidelberg.

"The most considerable manuscript libraries in the Netherlands were lately those of the Carmelites at Bruges; of the Benedictines, the Dominicans, and Carmelites at Ghent; the Jesuits at Antwerp, which with the magnificent library of printed books was, on the dissolution of that order, purchased from the late emperor by the abbot of Tongerloo, near Louvain, for about two thousand four hundred pounds sterling; the public library, and those in several of the colleges at Louvain; those of Middleburgh, Tongeren, Utrecht, and Zutphen; and those at Harderwick and Leyden; in which two last are a great number of oriental manuscripts. A. Sanderus, a monk of Affligem, near Brussels, published a catalogue of the manuscripts in the different libraries of the Low-Countries, in 2 vols. 4to. Lisle 1641, 1643, to which the reader is referred.

"The northern parts of Europe are not without literary treasures. There are two considerable libraries at Copenhagen; one in the university, and the other in the city; which last was founded by Henry Rantzau, a Danish gentleman. There are still remaining some

some manuscripts in the library at Stockholm, which was founded by Christina, queen of Sweden.

"Poland has two considerable libraries, one at Wilna, enriched by several kings of Poland, as we are told by Cromer and Bozius. The other is at Cracow.

"The duke of Holstein Gottorp hath a curious manuscript library.

"There were but few valuable manuscripts in Russia till the reign of Peter the Great, who founded many universities, and settled a large fund for a library at Petersburgh, which is well furnished.

"The royal library at Petershoff is most splendid, and the late empress spared neither pains nor expense to enrich her country with ancient marbles, pictures, medals, manuscripts, and whatever is magnificent.

"There were several collections of manuscripts in England before the general restoration of science in Europe, which had at different times been brought hither by those who had travelled into foreign countries; these were chiefly preserved in the two universities, in the cathedral churches, and religious houses: but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries several valuable libraries were formed in England. In the reign of king Henry VI., Humphry, duke of Gloucester, made a collection of MSS. for his library at Oxford. King Edward IV. and Henry VII. greatly assisted the cause of learning, by the encouragement they gave to the art of printing in England, and by purchasing such books as were printed in other countries. William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, purchased many valuable Greek MSS. which had been brought hither by the prelates and others who came to this country, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. King Henry VIII. may justly be called the founder of the royal library, which was enriched with the MSS. selected from those of the religious houses, by that celebrated antiquary, John Leland. Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, enriched the college of Corpus Christi, in Cambridge, with a great number of ancient and curious MSS.

"In the reign of queen Elizabeth, sir Thomas Bodley greatly increased the public library at Oxford, which is now called by his name. This great benefactor to mankind in general, and to his country in particular, quitted the court, and applied himself wholly to the purchasing of books and MSS. both at home and abroad: by these means, he had the satisfaction of furnishing that library with one thousand two hundred and ninety-four MSS. and, by the subsequent liberality of many great and illustrious persons, has been since increased to more than eight thousand volumes, including the MSS. given by Thomas Tanner, bishop of Norwich, and the valuable library bequeathed by the will of Dr. Richard Rawlinson.

"Considerable augmentations were made to the libraries of the several colleges in the two universities, as also to those of our cathedral churches, the palace at Lambeth, the inns of court, the college of arms and others; catalogues of which were published at Oxford in 1697, under the title of *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*.

"Bodley's great contemporary, sir Robert Cotton, is also entitled to the gratitude of posterity for

for his diligence in collecting the Cottonian library; he was engaged in the pursuit of MSS. and records upwards of forty years, during which time, he spared neither trouble nor expense.

"The noble manuscript library founded by Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, and greatly enriched by his son Edward, who inherited his father's love of science, claims a distinguished place in every account which may be given of the literary treasures of antiquity in general, and of this country in particular. Posterity will ever be indebted to her grace the late duchess dowager of Portland, for securing this inestimable treasure of learning to the public, by authority of parliament, under the guardianship of the most distinguished persons of the realm, both for rank and abilities; whose excellent regulations have made this library, as also the royal, Cottonian, Sloanian, and others, now deposited in the British Museum, easy of access, and consequently of real use to the philosopher, the statesman, the historian, the scholar, as well as to the artist and the mechanic.

"It must give every one pleasure, who reflects on the improvements which have been made in most branches of science in the three last centuries, that learning and the arts will not as formerly be lost to posterity; because, by the means of printing, and the improvements in education, knowledge is diffused through most nations, and is attainable by the generality of the people in every free country; whereby many individuals are qualified to promote, in their respective stations, the arts, as well as the interests, of each community. Science has humanized the mind, has caused men in a great measure to lay aside their prejudices, and has introduced a free intercourse between the literati of most countries, who have united in promoting and improving knowledge and the arts, without entering into the religious or political opinions of each other. The true way of making others love us, will be to treat them with kindness and humanity, and to observe the rule laid down by our great Master, *of doing to others, as we would they should do unto us*; we may then, with reason, indulge a hope that every succeeding age will increase the knowledge, the virtue, and the happiness of mankind."

On the Earliest Discovery of New Holland.

[From Captain Burney's Chronological History.]

"THE first discovery of that land by Europeans has been attributed to the Hollanders, who sailed along part of the west coast in 1616. Evidences however exist, which leave very little reason to doubt that it was known at no late period of the 16th century.

"The earliest claim to the original discovery is made by M. de Brosses, in favour of the sieur de Gonneville,

Gonneville, upon the evidence of an account given in a work, entitled, *Mémoires touchant l'Etablissement d'une Mission Chrétienne dans le troisième Monde, ou Terre Australe*, printed at Paris, 1663.

"M. de Brosses has inserted this account in his *Navigations aux Terres Australes*. It states, that some French merchants, being tempted by the success of the Portuguese under Vasquez de Gama, determined upon sending a ship to the Indies by the same route which he had sailed. The ship was equipped at Honfleur. '*Le sieur de Gonneville, qui en étoit le commandant, leva l'ancre au mois du Juin, 1503, et doubla le Cap de Bonne Espérance, où il fut assailli d'une furieuse tourmente, qui lui fit perdre sa route et l'abandonna au calme ennuyeux d'une mer inconnue.*' i. e. 'The sieur de Gonneville, who commanded her, weighed anchor in the month of June 1503, and doubled the Cape of Good Hope, where he was assailed by a furious tempest, which made him lose his route, and abandoned him to the wearisome calm of an unknown sea.'—'Not knowing what course to steer, the sight of some birds coming from the south, determined them to sail in that direction, in the hope of finding land. They found what they desired; that is to say, a great country, which, in their relations, was named the Southern India, according to the custom of that time, of applying indifferently the name of the Indies to every country newly discovered.' They remained six months at this land; after which the crew of the ship refused to proceed further, and Gonneville was obliged to return to France. When near home, he was attacked by an English corsair, and plundered of every thing, so that his journals and descriptions were entirely lost. On arriving in port, he made a declaration of all that had happened in the voyage, to the Admiralty, which declaration was dated July the 19th, 1505, and was signed by the principal officers of the ship.

"In one part of the relation, this great southern land is said to be not far out of the direct route to the East Indies, '*non loin de la droite navigation des Indes Orientales.*' The land of Gonneville has been supposed to be in a high southern latitude, and nearly on the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope; and Duval and Nolin placed it on their charts to the south-west from the Cape, in 48 degrees south. M. de Brosses conjectured that it was south from the Moluccas, and that it was in fact the first discovery of the T. Australis, since named New Holland.

"Let the whole account be reconsidered without prepossession, and the idea that will immediately and most naturally occur is, that the Southern India discovered by Gonneville was Madagascar. De Gonneville having doubled (passed round) the Cape, was by tempests driven into calm latitudes, and so near to this land, that he was directed thither by the flight of birds. The refusal of the crew to proceed to the Eastern India would scarcely have happened, if they had been so far advanced to the east as New Holland.

"There are, however, claims to the Terra Australis for the 16th century, which seem much better founded than the one made by M. de Brosses. There is, in the British Museum, a manuscript map of the world (as much of

of it as was known) without date. The character of the writing is of the 16th century; and instead of the islands of Japan, a large country, with the name Zipangri, is placed to the east of China, at the distance of more than 500 leagues. With these circumstances, the other parts correspond, and Mr. Dalrymple (who has inserted in his collection a *fac-simile* of the eastern part of this curious manuscript) inferred from thence, that it was made early in the 16th century. The explanations, and those names which custom has allowed to be convertible, are in the French language, and the arms of the dauphin of France are in one corner. The projection is of the plane, and the scale 2½ inches (Eng.) to every 10 degrees. From the Strait of Magalhanes, eastward, to the eastern part of China, is made 230 degrees. A representation of some of the instruments in use at the time is affixed at one end, among which is the cross-staff with a single transverse piece.

"Since Mr. Dalrymple published the *fac-simile*, a discovery has been made in the king's library in the British Museum, which ascertains the date. A set of charts drawn on vellum, and bound together, are found to form a copy, perhaps the original, of the French chart. There is an exact agreement between the two in the most material particulars; but the names and explanations to the one in the royal library are in the English language, and it is dedicated to the king of England. At the beginning is written—'This book of Idrography is made by me Johne Rotz, sarvant to the king's most excellent majesty.' The date is 1542. The dedication is in the French language, of which country Rotz was probably a native. In it, he says, his chart was composed from his own experience, and that of his friends and fellow-navigators. The parts are extremely well filled; the general outlines of the sea-coasts are drawn with more appearance of correctness, and the whole is executed with better judgement, than the credit which is given to that date for geographical knowledge afforded reason to expect.

"The following are among the characteristic particulars which have relation to this work.

"A clear passage is given to the sea round the north of Terre du Laboureur (Labrador). The Tierra del Fuego is drawn as part of La Terre Australe. On the coast of America, in the South Sea, between the latitude of 25° south, and the Strait, no names appear; the establishment of the Spaniards in Chili being then too recent to have become generally known. South of Borneo, and the eastern Archipelagos, in latitude about 8 degrees south, begins a large country, with the name of Jave le Grand (the Great Java). From the north part, the coast, one way, is drawn to the south-west, and afterwards to the south, to the 28th degree of south latitude, where it is made to turn off towards the south-east; and thus far names are given to many different capes and bays. The other direction of the coast, from the north part, is to the south-east, where there are few names; and this part seems to have been intended for New Guinea (as that country is not otherwise laid down), on the supposition

supposition that New Guinea was a portion of the same land. The coast here, however, has nearly the same direction with the corresponding part of New Holland, but is continued far to the south; and, by a very extraordinary coincidence, immediately beyond the latitude of 30 degrees, the country is named Coste des Herbaiges, answering in climate and in name to Botany Bay. The many instances of similitude to the present charts, which are to be found in the general outline of this land, it is not easy to imagine were produced solely by chance.

"Within the outlines of the different countries, are coloured drawings of the natives and their dwellings, of various animals, and other productions. The whole is well worth description, as an excellent specimen of the geography of that early period.

"The French chart is in one entire roll, and it is probable was originally designed for Henry, the son of Francis I. of France. It became part of the collection of the earl of Oxford, but at his death was taken away by one of his servants, and remained in concealment, till it was discovered by the president of the royal society, sir Joseph Banks, who purchased and restored it to the Harleian library.

"The book, which is in some respects less perfect than the roll, contains representations of two hemispheres, where the parallels are circular, and are described through equal divisions of the right circle, and of the primitive circle; a method of projection which, notwithstanding its advantages for purposes of geography, has since been so much out of use, that when M. de la Hire revived it 150 years afterwards, he was supposed to be the original inventor.

"It is particularly observable, that the great Terra Australis of the geographers of the 16th century, in all the charts, is brought further to the north near the eastern islands, than in any other part of its progress round the Antarctic Pole. That Rotz, or some of his intimates, visited the 'Great Java,' appears probable, from the coast being delineated in his chart, with greater resemblance to that of New Holland than is to be found in the charts of many years' later date. All these circumstances justify and support the opinion, that the northern and western coasts of New Holland were known, and were the Great Java of the 16th century. There are likewise reasons for supposing that the eastern coast had been seen; but they are not sufficient to authorise the insertion of any part of it in a chart of the discoveries made previous to 1579."

Literature of Zurich.

[From M. Karamsin's Travels, translated from the German.]

"WE entered Zurich at half past eight o'clock, just as the congregation was leaving the church, and thus we lost that opportunity of hearing Lavater preach. We observed that every one in the streets was dressed in their holiday suits. The men in general wore black coats, and the women had a black woollen dress, and wore hoods or veils. The holiday dress of the senators of Zurich consists of a black coat, over which is thrown a cloak of the same colour. Round the neck they wear exceedingly large white ruffs. In this pompous attire they usually appear in the senate-house and at church.

"After dinner I visited Lavater, by whom I was very agreeably entertained. He wishes me to publish a selection of his works in the Russian language. 'When you return to Moscow,' said he, 'I shall send you the manuscript by post. You may then procure subscriptions for it, and assure the public, that in this selection, there will not be a single word which has not been maturely considered.' What think you of this proposal, my friends? Do you think such a book would find readers among us? But few, I fear. I however accepted Lavater's proposal, and gave him my hand upon it. When I left him, I went to the public promenade out of the town. This is a large meadow on the banks of the Limmatt, surrounded with avenues of ancient venerable linden trees. I found a good deal of company there, who all saluted me as if I had been an acquaintance. It is the custom in Zurich to take off your hat to every person you meet. Politeness is, doubtless, very commendable; but the hand becomes at length tired of returning so many salutations, and I therefore resolved always to go uncovered in the town. At nine o'clock I again visited Lavater, with whom I supped. The company at table consisted of several friends and all Lavater's family, except his son, who is at present in London. His eldest daughter is not very handsome, but the youngest is very beautiful and lively. The former is upwards of twenty years of age, but the latter not much more than twelve. Our host was in high spirits, and very talkative and jocose. Among other subjects our conversation turned upon one of his professed enemies. I observed him at that moment with the utmost attention; but he remained silent, and his countenance underwent not the slightest alteration. And can we, with justice, require him to commend those who censure him with such asperity? Is it not sufficient that he does not return like for like. Pfenninger informed me, that Lavater made it a constant rule never to peruse any publication which contained any thing in the shape of an opinion on himself; so that neither praise nor censure ever reaches his ears. I consider this as a proof of uncommon energy of mind: and he who constantly acts according to the dictates of his conscience, without regarding what others may think

think of him, is in my eyes a *great man*.

"This morning I drank coffee with the father of miss T. whom you know, and thus have become acquainted with his family, which is pretty numerous. It is surprising how people, whose circumstances, as far as report and observation can decide, are far from low, should have left their child in such a distant country; especially as the Swiss love their country with such enthusiasm, that they reckon it one of the greatest misfortunes to be obliged to leave it for any long period.

"I went with Mr. T—— to see the Zurich militia exercised. Almost all the inhabitants of Zurich were present, for it is to them an uncommon spectacle. A circumstance occurred here rather grating to my feelings: professor Breitinger, whom I had not yet seen since my return from Schaffhausen, met me amidst the crowd, just as the manœuvres were finished; and, after the usual compliments, asked me how I liked what I had seen? Conceiving that he alluded to the Fall of the Rhine, my imagination instantly recalled that scene, in all its magnificence; the earth trembled beneath me; the roaring was tremendous; and I replied with ecstasy and enthusiasm, 'Oh! who can ever find words to describe this magnificent spectacle! we can only gaze in silent astonishment!' 'They were our volunteers,' replied he with a bow, and left me. I now perceived, that he did not mean the Fall of the Rhine, but the manœuvres of the Zurich troops. What must he have thought of my answer? I resolved, both for his sake and my own, to run after him, in order to convince him of the mistake that so sensibly wounded my self-love, but he was already out of sight.

"Every day augments my admiration of Lavater; he has not an hour's leisure, and the door of his closet is never shut. Hither throng beggars asking charity,—the afflicted who seek consolation,—travellers who, though they want neither, at least contribute to occupy his time. Besides, he visits the sick not only of his own parish, but likewise of many others. This evening, after writing several letters, he took his hat, and requested me to accompany him. I should like to see where he is going to, thought I, and followed him. We went out of one street into another, and at length through the gate of the town. We arrived at a small village and entered a cottage. 'Is Anna yet alive,' demanded Lavater of an old woman who came to meet us. 'She scarcely breathes,' replied she, with a flood of tears; and opened the door of a chamber; where I beheld, in a bed, an aged and emaciated woman, whose wan and livid countenance bespoke the near approach of death. Two boys and two girls stood round the bed and wept. The moment they saw Lavater, they ran and kissed his hands. He approached the patient, and asked her how she did. 'I am dying! I am dying!' she replied, but was unable to say more. Her eyes were fixed on her bosom, which heaved with inward convulsion. Lavater sat down beside her, and began to prepare her for her departure. 'Thy hour is come,' said he; 'thy Saviour awaits thee. Be not afraid of the grave! Not thou, but only thy mortal body, will be deposited in it. In the moment when thy eyes are closed to the light of this life,

the glorious morning of an eternal and better life will shine upon thee. Be thankful to God that thou hast attained a good old age, and hast seen thy children and grand-children grow up, matured in honesty and virtue. They will for ever bless thy memory, and will once embrace thee with raptures in the mansion of the blessed. There, there we shall all form but one happy family.' These last words he uttered in a tremulous voice, and wiped his eyes. He then prayed, blessed the dying sinner preparatory to her exit, and took his leave. He kissed the children, told them not to weep, and at his departure gave them some money. The dejection of my heart was very great, and even the pure evening air could scarcely restore me to a free respiration.

"'Whence do you derive such strength and patience?' said I to Lavater, in admiration at his indefatigable activity. 'My dear friend,' replied he, smiling, 'it is in the power of every one to perform a great deal if he will; and the more he does, the more ability and inclination he will find for active exertion.'

"Believe not, my friends, that Lavater, who does so much good to the poor, is himself possessed of great riches. No; on the contrary, his income is very small; but from the sale of his printed works and manuscripts he acquires a considerable sum for the relief of his indigent brethren. I have myself bought two of his manuscripts; one is entitled, 'An Hundred Secret Physiognomical Rules;' with the motto, 'Never ridicule misery, or the means of alleviating it;' and the other is 'A Monument for Travellers.' For the latter he would not take the money himself, but ordered me to pay it to a poor Frenchman who had requested relief of him.

"Mr. T—— has invited me to accompany him in an excursion on the Lake of Zurich, from which I promise myself much pleasure.

"I have this day commenced an acquaintance with a very amiable man, the archdeacon Tobler, whom I before knew from his works, and particularly his translation of Thomson's Seasons, the publication of which was superintended by his friend Gessner. He came to me early this morning with Mr. T——; his simplicity and ingenuousness charmed me. In company with him, Mr. T——, and both his daughters, I to-day made an excursion upon the lake. We could not possibly have chosen a finer day for the purpose; not a cloud obscured the sky, and the surface of the water resembled a mirror. The surrounding shores of the lake are embellished with handsome villages, the villas of rich Zurich gentlemen, and an uninterrupted range of vineyards. To-day it is exactly forty years, as Mr. Tobler informs us, since the immortal Klopstock, with his youthful friends, and the loveliest nymphs of Zurich, took a trip of amusement upon this lake. 'Methinks I view him now in his red coat!' exclaimed Mr. Tobler. 'He that day showed a marked attention to miss Schinz, and Werdmüller made a cockade of her glove, and pinned it to Klopstock's hat. The divine author of the Messiah diffused joy around him, and he has chanted these celestial pleasures, which great souls only are capable of enjoying, in his ode, entitled 'Zurich's Lake,' which will be an eternal monument of his residence in this country, where the laurel

laurel and myrtle wreath decorated his brows.'

"As a proof of Klopstock's high reputation in Switzerland, Mr. Tobler related, among other things, that two young shepherdesses came from the canton of Glarus to Zurich, with no other view than to see Klopstock. One of them, seizing his hand, exclaimed, 'Ah! when I read in Clarissa, or the Messiah, I am quite transported!' While we indulged in this kind of conversation with the worthy archdeacon, the time flew so rapidly that I did not observe that we were already eight miles from the town. Here we landed at a village, the birth-place of Mr. Tobler, and of which his father had been the minister. The cottages in this village have a very comfortable appearance; and adjoining to almost every one of them is a small garden stocked with fruit trees, together with beds of flowers and culinary vegetables. Within these habitations prevails the utmost cleanliness. I saw a peasant and his family at dinner. After having placed themselves round the table, the mistress of the house said grace. They then seated themselves; the husband by the side of his wife, the brothers by their sisters. The meal consisted of soup, butter, and cheese. After dinner, grace was again said, when the males took off their hats, which they very seldom do. They may frequently be seen, even in the towns, at dinner with their hats on, for the Swiss consider this privilege as a token of liberty and independence.

"We dined at the inn, where we had some fish from the Lake of Zurich of an admirable flavour. It is generally asserted that people eat more in Switzerland than in any other country, which is ascribed to the keenness of the air; but to this I cannot accede; my appetite is certainly good, but by no means stronger than usual. After dinner we crossed the lake to the opposite shore, where we visited a relative of Mr. T——, who lives in a large mansion close to the water-side. He conducted us through his farm, and showed us his horses, cows, and extensive orchard; he also regaled us with excellent apricots and red wine, which he had grown himself. We set out again at seven o'clock for Zurich; I was gratified with the sight of the snow-clad mountains, gilded by the rays of the setting sun, and at length enveloped in the dark shade of night; the glistening windows of the town, at a distance, resembled a brilliant illumination. About ten o'clock we reached home.

"The institution called the Girls' School, particularly deserves the notice of all travellers. Here sixty young girls are instructed *gratis* in reading, writing, accounts, together with morality and housekeeping, and are educated in such a manner as to become excellent wives and mothers. The sight of so many pretty and well-dressed girls, with silent diligence profiting by the instructions of their respectable teachers, whose behaviour towards them resembles that of tender mothers, is highly pleasing. Here the daughter of a rich citizen sits beside the child of his poor neighbour, and learns that merit alone, and not wealth, deserves esteem. This benevolent institution was established in 1774, by professor Usteri, who died in the beginning of the present year, universally regretted by his fellow-citizens.

"Perhaps in no city in Europe are found such purity of manners

and such probity as in Zurich. Here the laws of conjugal fidelity are strictly respected and obeyed; and should a woman throw herself in the way of public prostitution, she would become an object of universal indignation. Mothers consider the education of their children as the best way of employing their time; and, as even the most opulent families keep only one female servant, the mistress finds, in the management of her domestic concerns, sufficient employment, and is not corrupted by idleness, the source of so many vices.

"The women seldom go into company: balls, theatres, masquerades, clubs, and magnificent festivals are totally unknown. At the same time two or three female friends occasionally meet and converse together as they sit at their work, or read Gessner, Klopstock, Thomson, or other authors, such as modesty may peruse without a blush. They rarely converse with men who are strangers to them, and are diffident of speaking before foreigners, conceiving that the Zurich dialect is not agreeable to the ear. They all dress with plainness and simplicity, and are perfect strangers to French fashions. Paint also is unknown amongst them. The men transact all their business in the morning; the merchant is then constantly found in his counting-house or shop, the literary man in his study, and the artist at his easel. At noon they dine, and towards evening they take their walk, or smoke tobacco over a cup of tea or a glass of wine with their friends. Each speaks on his particular occupation; the merchant on commerce, the learned man on literature; and thus they pass away the time. Whether cards are sold at Zurich I know not, but I am certain the inhabitants never play with them. This fashionable mode of killing time, which in other countries is grown into so strong a habit as to become almost indispensable, appears to be totally unknown here.

"The wise legislators of the republic of Zurich, convinced that luxury is the bane of morality and virtue, have excluded it from their commonwealth. The men must neither wear velvet nor silk, nor the women diamonds nor laces. It is uncommon even to see any body wear a pelisse in the most inclement season, as furs are very dear. Riding in carriages is likewise prohibited in the town, which renders sound and healthy feet of far greater value here than any where else. Rich and expensive furniture is never met with in the houses, where every thing is good, but simple. Foreign wines are imported, but they are allowed to be used only as a medicine. But this law does not appear to be very strictly enforced. I had always been informed, that living in Switzerland was very cheap, but I can now declare from experience, that this is by no means the case, every thing being much dearer here than in Germany. Bread, meat, wood, clothes, shoes, and other necessaries of life, are at a great price. The undoubted cause is the wealth of the Swiss; for where a country abounds with rich inhabitants, money is of less value, and consequently the necessaries of life are nominally dear. I pay at my lodgings eighty copecs for dinner, and I paid as much in Basle and Schaffhausen. It is true, however, that at the tables of the inns in Switzerland, we find seven or eight well-dressed dishes followed by a dessert of four or five plates.

"I go

"I go every day to Lavater, with whom I dine, and afterwards in the evening we walk out. He appears to have a regard for me, is very friendly, and questions me at times concerning the circumstances of my life: he permits me also to propose written interrogatories to him. I submit to him almost every day some enquiry; he takes my paper, puts it in his pocket, and gives me in the evening a written answer; but he always keeps a copy for himself. I imagine that he intends to publish them in his 'Monthly Journal,' which is to make its appearance in Berlin the beginning of next year under the title of, 'Answers to Questions proposed by my Friends.'

"He will likewise publish next year, his 'Collection for Friends:' this work is to contain those treatises which, for many reasons, he does not chuse to submit to the public at large. His friends only are to be supplied with this collection, which he wishes to be considered merely as a manuscript, notwithstanding its being printed.

"Lavater's works at present exceed fifty volumes; and should he live twenty years longer, they may probably increase to as many more. Besides his works intended for the public, and the treatises for his friends, he keeps a journal, which he preserves as a secret even from his most intimate friends, and which his son will, one day, inherit. In this he describes the most important circumstances of his life, his private connexions, his hopes, his joys, and sorrows. Probably many interesting things will be met with in this book, which will certainly be printed at one time or other, though we most likely shall not live to see it.

"I have been several times at the house of the venerable archdeacon Tobler, and spent many very agreeable hours in his company. He has told me many things respecting Bodmer; and the Swiss Theocritus. 'Gessner,' said he, 'embellished the spring of my life; and amid all the pleasing recollections of the agreeable scenes of youth, his image is always present to my view. Often have we shortened the tedious winter evenings by reading the poets; and almost every time that I visited him, he welcomed me with some new production of his fascinating pen. His house was such an academy of the arts and sciences, as kings are unable to create.' You know, my friends, that Gessner dedicated his Daphnis to a youthful female; but possibly you may not know, that she was the daughter of the senator Heidegger; and that the author of Daphnis soon after married her, and ever retained for her the tender affection of his first love. It grieved me exceedingly to learn, that Gessner had a great aversion to Lavater; and that he could not, with all the efforts of their mutual friends, be persuaded to a reconciliation with him. But it is the more to Lavater's honour, that on the death of Gessner, he wrote an eulogy to his memory.

"I have but once seen professor Meister, brother of the author of Natural Morality, who, on account of his writings, was banished from Zurich, and now lives in Paris. His exterior is not very attractive, but his conversation is highly agreeable: he speaks almost as well as he writes. I paid him the tribute of my gratitude for the pleasure I had received from the perusal of his 'Short Travels, and Characteristics of German Poets.'

"I this evening witnessed a magnificent spectacle. A dreadful thunder-storm continued for above two hours. You should have seen how the purple and yellow flashes of lightning entwined the summits of the mountains, and have heard the thunder's incessant roar. It appeared as if the Eternal Thunderer was about to convert these cloud-capt eminences to ashes. But unchanged they stood; the tempest ceased to rage—the thunder its roaring: and the gentle Luna again peeped through the clouds.

"A citizen of Zurich is prouder of his title, than a king of his crown. For upwards of one hundred and fifty years, no foreigner has been admitted to the privileges of a citizen. The freedom of this place was, however, offered to Klopstock, on condition of his settling at Zurich.

"On Saturday evening Lavater shuts himself in his closet, to consider of his sermon, and which he completes in an hour. In fact it cannot be a difficult task, if all his sermons are like that which I heard to-day. 'The Saviour has taken all our sins upon himself; for which he is entitled to our warmest gratitude.' These thoughts, which he enlarged upon and embellished, comprised the whole substance of his discourse, exclamations, and declamation!—nothing more! I must confess I expected something of a superior kind. You will perhaps say, 'that it is necessary to speak thus to the multitude.' But Sterne likewise spoke to the multitude, and yet touched the heart—yours as well as mine. Lavater's deliberate delivery however has my complete approbation. The ministers here appear in the pulpit in a singular dress, together with white and very stiffly-starched cravats. At other times they are dressed in common black, or dark-coloured clothes; and Lavater wears besides a black velvet cap on his head. Perhaps this may be the reason why he is suspected of being a secret catholic. The men stand uncovered in the church during the singing of the Psalms; but as soon as the sermon begins they put on their hats and sit down.

"I have to-day become acquainted with two countrymen of my friend B——, count Moltke, and the poet Baggesen. The latter is author of two grand operas, which have been received by the public in Copenhagen with great applause, but afterwards caused the author the loss both of his tranquillity and his health. You wonder at it! but this was effected by causes perfectly natural.—Envy armed against him a great number of authors, who employed their utmost exertions to convince the public, that Baggesen's operas were vile productions. The young poet however defended himself with warmth, but he found himself alone amidst a host of foes. They attacked him in the newspapers, journals, plays, and every where. For several months he stood the contest, until his strength failed, and he was at length compelled to quit the field. He then travelled to Pyrmont for the benefit of the baths; the physicians sent him from that place to Switzerland, in hopes that the mountain air would complete his recovery. The young count Moltke, who was prosecuting his studies at Gottingen, resolved to accompany him. They are both acquainted with Lavater, and he likes them both on account of their vivacity, for they are equally friends to *ahs!* and *ohs!* The count strikes his forehead and stamps with

with his feet; and Baggesen, folding his hands, fixes his eyes on heaven, when Lavater speaks with warmth upon any subject. To-day or to-morrow they go to Lucern, and B—— accompanies them."

"At length I have determined upon leaving Zurich to-morrow, after a stay of sixteen days. I dined to-day with Lavater for the last time; and he has, for the last time, dictated to me. 'Dictated!' You may depend upon it, and the complaisant Lavater even assures me, that I do not write German very ill. For the last time I have visited the banks of the Limmat; and the murmuring of the impetuous current never lulled my mind into such a melancholy mood as to-day. I seated myself upon a bench at the foot of a lofty linden tree, immediately opposite the spot where the monument of Gessner will soon be erected. I had a volume of his works in my pocket; for it affords me a pleasure which cannot be described, to read his incomparable Idylls on the spot where they were composed. I took it out of my pocket, and opened it just at the following lines:—

"'Posterity justly reveres the urn of the poet whom the Muses themselves consecrated as the teacher of virtue and innocence. His memory ever flourishes, and lives when the warrior's trophies have long sunk into decay; and the magnificent monument of an unprincipled ruler, overgrown in the midst of the wilderness with weeds, bushes, and grey moss, merely serves occasionally as a resting place to the bewildered traveller. Few, indeed, according to the laws of nature, arrive at this pre-eminence; yet, to aspire to it deserves commendation. May each of my solitary walks, and every lonely hour, be dedicated to such emulation!'

"Imagine, my friends, with what exquisite sensibility I read this passage on the spot where Nature and Poetry will weep over the urn of the immortal Gessner!

"Was he not by the Muses consecrated as the teacher of virtue and innocence? will not his ever-flourishing memory exist when the warrior's trophies have long sunk into decay? The presentiment of immortality filled his soul, when, with his enchanting pen, he wrote these lines. The hand of all-destroying Time may even at some future period annihilate the town in which the poet flourished; and, in the course of ages, Zurich may be forgotten; but the flowers of Gessner's muse will never fade; they will exhale their balmy sweets centuries hence, and refresh every heart. How many paths to renown are open to the author! What numerous crowns of immortality await him! Posterity will praise many; but not all with equal warmth. Ye, into whom bounteous Nature hath breathed a creative genius, your works shall render you immortal; but, would you obtain the love of posterity, write as Gessner wrote! devote your pens to Virtue and Innocence."

Correspondence on Polite Literature.

[From Hayley's Life of Cowper.]

TO JOHN JOHNSON, ESQ.

Weston, Nov. 20, 1792.

"My dearest Johnny,

"I GIVE you many thanks for your rhymes, and for your verses without rhyme; for your poetical dialogue between Wood and Stone; between Homer's head and the head of Samuel; kindly intended, I know well, for my amusement, and that amused me much.

"The successor of the clerk defunct, for whom I used to write mortuary verses, arrived here this morning with a recommendatory letter from Joe Rye, and an humble petition of his own, entreating me to assist him as I had assisted his predecessor. I have undertaken the service, although with no little reluctance, being involved in many arrears on other subjects, and having very little dependence at present on my ability to write at all. I proceed exactly as when you were here—a letter now and then before breakfast, and the rest of my time all holiday; if holiday it may be called, that is spent chiefly in moping and musing, and 'forecasting the fashion of uncertain evils.'

"The fever on my spirits has harassed me much, and I have never had so good a night, nor so quiet a rising, since you went, as on this very morning. A relief that I account particularly seasonable and propitious; because I had, in my intentions, devoted this morning to you, and could not have fulfilled those intentions, had I been as spiritless as I generally am.

"I am glad that Johnson is in no haste for Milton, for I seem myself not likely to address myself presently to that concern, with any prospect of success; yet something now and then, like a secret whisper, encourages and assures me that it will yet be done.

"W. C."

TO WILLIAM HAYLEY, ESQ.

Weston, Nov. 25, 1792.

"How shall I thank you enough for the interest you take in my future Miltonic labours, and the assistance you promise me in the performance of them; I will some time or other, if I live, and live a poet, acknowledge your friendship in some of my best verse; the most suitable return one poet can make to another: in the mean time, I love you, and am sensible of all your kindness. You wish me warm in my work, and I ardently wish the same; but when I shall be so, God only knows. My melancholy, which seemed a little alleviated for a few days, has gathered about me again, with as black a cloud as ever: the consequence is absolute incapacity to begin.

"I was for some years dirge-writer to the town of Northampton, being employed by the clerk of the principal parish there, to furnish him with an annual copy of verses proper to be printed at the foot of his bill of mortality. But the clerk died, and hearing nothing for

for two years from his successor, I well hoped that I was out of my office. The other morning, however, Sam announced the new clerk; he came to solicit the same service as I had rendered to his predecessor, and I reluctantly complied: doubtful, indeed, whether I was capable. I have, however, achieved that labour, and I have done nothing more. I am just sent for up to Mary, dear Mary! Adieu! She is as well as when I left you, I would I could say better. Remember us both affectionately to your sweet boy, and trust me for being most truly yours.

"W. C."

TO JOSEPH HILL, ESQ.

Weston, Dec. 16, 1792.

"My dear Friend,

"We differ so little, that it is pity we should not agree. The possibility of restoring our diseased government is, I think, the only point on which we are not of one mind. If you are right, and it cannot be touched in the medical way, without danger of absolute ruin to the constitution, keep the doctors at a distance, say I—and let us live as long as we can. But perhaps physicians might be found of skill sufficient for the purpose, were they but as willing as able. Who are they? Not those honest blunderers the mob, but our governors themselves. As it is in the power of any individual to be honest if he will, any body of men are, as it seems to me, equally possessed of the same option. For I can never persuade myself to think the world so constituted by the Author of it, and human society, which is his ordinance, so shabby a business, that the buying and selling of votes and consciences should be essential to its existence. As to multiplied representation I know not that I foresee any great advantage likely to arise from that. Provided that there be but a reasonable number of reasonable heads laid together for the good of the nation, the end may as well be answered by five hundred, as it would be by a thousand, and perhaps better. But then they should be honest as well as wise, and in order that they may be so, they should put it out of their own power to be otherwise. This they might certainly do if they would; and, would they do it, I am not convinced that any great mischief would ensue. You say 'somebody must have influence,' but I see no necessity for it. Let integrity of intention, and a due share of ability, be supposed, and the influence will be in its right place, it will all centre in the zeal and good of the nation. That will influence their debates and decisions, and nothing else ought to do it. You will say perhaps, that, wise men and honest men as they are supposed, they are yet liable to be split into almost as many differences of opinion as there are individuals; but I rather think not. It is observed of prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough, that each always approved, and seconded, the plans and views of the other; and the reason given for it is, that they were men of equal ability. The same cause that could make two unanimous, would make twenty so, and would at least secure a majority among as many hundreds.

"As to the reformation of the church, I want none, unless by a better provision for the inferior clergy

clergy; and if that could be brought about by emaciating a little some of our too corpulent dignitaries, I should be well contented.

"The dissenters, I think, catholics and others, have all a right to the privileges of all other Englishmen, because to deprive them, is persecution, and persecution, on any account, but especially on a religious one, is an abomination. But, after all, *valeat respublica*, I love my country, I love my king, and I wish peace and prosperity to Old England. Adieu.

"W. C."

TO WILLIAM HAYLEY, ESQ.

Weston, Dec. 26, 1792.

"That I may not be silent till my silence alarms you, I snatch a moment to tell you, that, although *toujours triste*, I am not worse than usual, but my opportunities of writing are *pauc!fied*, as perhaps Dr. Johnson would have dared to say, and the few that I have are shortened by company.

"Give my love to dear Tom, and thank him for his very apposite extract, which I should be happy indeed to turn to any account. How often do I wish in the course of every day, that I could be employed once more in poetry, and how often of course that this Miltonic trap had never caught me! The year ninety-two shall stand chronicled in my remembrance as the most melancholy that I have ever known, except the weeks that I spent at Eartham; and such it has been principally, because being engaged to Milton, I felt myself no longer free for any other engagement. That ill-fated work, impracticable in itself, has made every thing else impracticable.

"* * * * * I am very Pindaric, and obliged to be so by the hurry of the hour. My friends are come down to breakfast. Adieu.

"W. C."

TO WILLIAM HAYLEY, ESQ.

Weston, Jan. 20, 1793.

"My dearest Brother,

"Now I know that you are safe, I treat you, as you see, with a philosophical indifference, not acknowledging your kind and immediate answer to anxious inquiries, till it suits my own convenience. I have learned, however, from my late solicitude, that not only you, but yours, interest me to a degree, that, should any thing happen to either of you, would be very inconsistent with my peace. Sometimes I thought that you were extremely ill, and once or twice, that you were dead. As often some tragedy reached my ear concerning little Tom, 'Oh *vanæ mentes hominum!*' How liable are we to a thousand impositions, and how indebted to honest old Time, who never fails to undeceive us! Whatever you had in prospect you acted kindly by me not to make me partaker of your expectations, for I have a spirit, if not so sanguine as yours, yet that would have waited for your coming with anxious impatience, and have been dismally mortified by the disappointment. Had you come, and come without notice too, you would not have surprised us more, than (as the matter was managed) we were surprised at the arrival of your picture. It reached us in the evening, after the shutters were closed, at a time when a chaise might actually have brought you without giving us the least previous intimation. Then it was, that Samuel, with

with his cheerful countenance, appeared at the study door, and, with a voice as cheerful as his looks, exclaimed, 'Mr. Hayley is come, madam!' We both started, and in the same moment cried, 'Mr. Hayley come! And where is he?' The next moment corrected our mistake, and finding Mary's voice grow suddenly tremulous, I turned, and saw her weeping.

"I do nothing, notwithstanding all your exhortations: my idleness is proof against them all, or, to speak more truly, my difficulties are so. Something indeed I do. I play at push-pin with Homer every morning before breakfast, fingering and polishing, as Paris did his armour. I have lately had a letter from Dublin on that subject, which has pleased me.

"W. C."

TO WILLIAM HAYLEY, ESQ.

Weston, Jan. 29, 1793.

"My dearest Hayley,

"I truly sympathise with you under your weight of sorrow for the loss of our good Samaritan. But be not broken-hearted, my friend! remember the loss of those we love is the condition on which we live ourselves; and that he who chooses his friends wisely from among the excellent of the earth, has a sure ground to hope, concerning them, when they die, that a merciful God has made them far happier than they could be here; and that we shall join them soon again. This is solid comfort, could we but avail ourselves of it; but I confess the difficulty of doing so. Sorrow is like the deaf adder, 'that hears not the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely;' and I feel so much myself for the death of Austin, that my own chief consolation is, that I had never seen him. Live yourself, I beseech you, for I have seen so much of you, that I can by no means spare you; and I will live as long as it shall please God to permit me: I know you set some value on me, therefore let that promise comfort you! and give us not reason to say, like David's servants, — 'We know that it would have pleased thee more if all we had died, than this one, for whom thou art inconsolable.' You have still Romney, and Carwardine, and Guy, and me, my poor Mary, and I know not how many beside; as many, I suppose, as ever had an opportunity of spending a day with you. He who has the most friends must necessarily lose the most, and he whose friends are numerous as yours, may the better spare a part of them. It is a changing transient scene: yet a little while, and this poor dream of life will be over with all of us— the living, and they who live unhappy, they are indeed subjects of sorrow. Adieu, my beloved friend.

"Ever yours. W. C."

TO SAMUEL ROSE, ESQ.

Weston, Feb. 5, 1793.

"In this last revisal of my work (the Homer) I have made a number of small improvements, and am now more convinced than ever, having exercised a cooler judgement upon it than before I could, that the translation will make its way. There must be time for the conquest of vehement and long-rooted prejudice; but, without much self-partiality, I believe that the conquest will be made; and am certain that I should be of the same opinion were the work another man's. I shall soon have finished

finished the Odyssey, and, when I have, will send the corrected copy of both to Johnson.

"Adieu. W. C."

TO LADY HESKETH.

Weston, Feb. 10, 1793.

"My pens are all split, and my ink-glass is dry;
Neither wit, common sense, nor ideas have I.

"In vain has it been, that I have made several attempts to write, since I came from Sussex; unless more comfortable days arrive than I have the confidence to look for, there is an end of all writing with me. I have no spirits;—when the Rose came, I was obliged to prepare for his coming by a nightly dose of laudanum—twelve drops suffice; but without them I am devoured by melancholy.

"A-propos of the Rose! His wife in her political notions is the exact counterpart of yourself—loyal in the extreme. Therefore, if you find her thus inclined when you become acquainted with her, you must not place her resemblance of yourself to the account of her admiration of you, for she is your likeness ready made. In fact, we are all of one mind about government matters, and, notwithstanding your opinion, the Rose is himself a whig, and I am a whig, and you, my dear, are a tory, and all the tories now-a-days call all the whigs republicans. How the deuce you came to be a tory is best known to yourself: you have to answer for this novelty to the shades of your ancestors, who were always whigs ever since we had any. Adieu. W. C."

TO SAMUEL ROSE, ESQ.

Feb. 17, 1793.

"I have read the critique of my work in the Analytical Review, and am happy to have fallen into the hands of a critic, rigorous enough indeed, but a scholar, and a man of sense, and who does not deliberately intend me mischief. I am better pleased indeed that he censures some things than I should have been with unmixed commendation, for his censure (to use the new diplomatic term) will accredit his praises. In his particular remarks he is for the most part right, and I shall be the better for them; but in his general ones I think he asserts too largely, and more than he could prove. With respect to inversions in particular, I know that they do not abound. Once they did, and I had Milton's example for it, not disapproved by Addison. But on ——'s remonstrance against them I expunged the most, and in my new edition shall have fewer still. I know that they give dignity, and am sorry to part with them, but to parody an old proverb, he who lives in the year ninety-three, must do as in the year ninety-three is done by others. The same remark I have to make on his censure of inharmonious lines. I know them to be much fewer than he asserts, and not more in number than I accounted indispensably necessary to a due variation of cadence. I have, however, now, in conformity with modern taste (over-much delicate, in my mind) given to the far greater number of them a flow as smooth as oil. A few I retain, and will, in compliment to my own judgement. He thinks me too faithful to compound epithets in the introductory lines, and I know his

his reason. He fears lest the English reader should blame Homer, whom he idolises, though hardly more than I, for such constant repetition. But them I shall not alter. They are necessary to a just representation of the original. In the affair of Outis, I shall throw him flat on his back by an unanswerable argument, which I shall give in a note, and with which I am furnished by Mrs. Unwin. So much for hypercriticism, which has run away with all my paper. This critic by the way is ———, I know him by infallible indications.

" W. C."

TO THE REV. MR. HURDIS.

Weston, Feb. 23, 1793.

" My eyes, which have long been much inflamed, will hardly serve me for Homer, and oblige me to make all my letters short. You have obliged me much by sending me so speedily the remainder of your notes. I have begun with them again, and find them, as before, very much to the purpose. More to the purpose they could not have been, had you been poetry professor already. I rejoice sincerely in the prospect you have of that office, which, whatever may be your own thoughts of the matter, I am sure you will fill with great sufficiency. Would that my interest and power to serve you were greater. One string to my bow I have, and one only, which shall not be idle for want of my exertions. I thank you likewise for your very entertaining notices and remarks in the natural way. The hurry in which I write would not suffer me to send you many in turn, had I many to send, but only two or three present themselves.

" Frogs will feed on worms. I saw a frog gathering into his gullet an earth-worm as long as himself; it cost him time and labour, but at last he succeeded.

" Mrs. Unwin and I, crossing a brook, saw from the foot-bridge somewhat at the bottom of the water which had the appearance of a flower. Observing it attentively, we found that it consisted of a circular assemblage of minnows; their heads all met in a centre, and their tails diverging at equal distances, and being elevated above their heads, gave them the appearance of a flower half blown. One was longer than the rest, and as often as a straggler came in sight, he quitted his place to pursue him, and having driven him away, he returned to it again, no other minnow offering to take it in his absence. This we saw him do several times. The object that had attached them all, was a dead minnow, which they seemed to be devouring.

" After a very rainy day, I saw on one of the flower borders, what seemed a long hair, but it had a waving twining motion. Considering more nearly, I found it alive, and endued with spontaneity, but could not discover at the ends of it either head or tail, or any distinction of parts. I carried it into the house, when the air of a warm room dried and killed it presently.

" W. C."

Of

Of the Repute and Value of the Ass in Eastern Countries.

[From Mr. Bryant's Observations upon some Passages in Scripture.]

"As I have mentioned the contempt which was shown to this object by the Grecians, it will be proper to describe, on the other side, the repute, and even sanctity, in which it was held by other nations. Of this something has been said, and I shall now proceed further. Both the male and the female were esteemed as sacred representatives, but with a different reference. The mule was sacred to Baal-Peor, the same as Peor Apis. He was the very obscene deity Priapus of Greece to whom the ass was a constant companion. Baal-Peor was sometimes expressed Baal Phegor, and by Jerome is said to have been—Idolum Moabitarum, quem nos Priapum possumus nominare. Hieron. in Hoseam. lib. ii. cap. ix. Baal Phegor—Idolum Moab, quem Latini Priapum vocant. Isidor. Orig. lib. viii. p. 1025. Phegor is the same as Peor, only aspirated. The ram, the goat, the baboon, as well as the ass, were, for particular reasons, made emblems of the same original object. He was accordingly, in different temples, worshipped under their similitude. What analogy subsisted between the primary being and the substitute, I shall not take upon me to explain, nor say any thing of the rites and mysteries, which were base and abject, and the most obscene of any, that were ever practised. As the sacred writer has chosen to draw a veil over them, I shall not presume further to disclose them.

"Obtenta sacri suppuro silentii
Intrare noli; sed pudenter præteri.

"It may be proper to add, that in Egypt they used to stamp their sacred cakes with the figure of an ass bound. This was done in honour of Typhon. The ass was said to be like this deity, whom they esteemed the same as Seth; and they accordingly introduced him as his emblem and representative. As such, he seems to have had the same honours as the bull at Memphis, and the goat at Mendes. Epiphanius, speaking of the base worship of the Egyptians, tells us—Πη μεν τῳ Ονῳ εις το ονομα του Σηθ, δηθεν του Τυφωνος τελετας ειργαζουσιν. *In some places they perform sacred rites to the ass in the name of Seth, the same as the god Typhon.* It is from hence manifest that this animal was oftentimes esteemed sacred; and, however ridiculous it may appear, had divine honours. This, I imagine, obtained in the Sethroite name of Egypt, which was denominated from the deity Seth.

"The female was looked upon as sacred for many reasons; one of these was its sagacity, which, however, it shared in common with the male; and for which they were looked upon as inspired by Heaven. Concerning this I have spoken. But there was another cause, which arose from a benefit peculiar

peculiar to the female, that nutricious juice which it afforded: hence she was worshipped among the Midianites and Arabians upon this account, and by other people, as the cow was at Memephis, and in other parts of Egypt. It was upon this account that the preference was given to the female in this part of the world; for, as the natives had few or no cows, this brood was made a happy substitute. The cow demands a moister soil, and more succulent vegetables than can be found in a dry or parched soil, and amid rocks and sands; but asses will live upon less copious browse, and upon a more coarse and scanty herbage.

THE GREAT UTILITY OF THE FEMALE ASS FURTHER SHOWN.

"Of what use these animals were, and in what estimation, in those parts, of which I have been treating, may be further seen in the history of Job, and in the account of his wealth. It is said of this person that he lived in the land of Uz, which is rendered by the Seventy Αυσιτις; and is supposed by the learned to have been in Arabia, and in the vicinity of Kedar, Teman, Midian, and Edom. Some have not scrupled to make Job an Edomite. This was an opinion, of which Eusebius makes mention in his account of Idumæa. Ιδουμαια, χωρα Ησαυ—Εδομ εκαλειτο. Εστι δε αμφι την Πετραν Γεβαληνη καλουμενη, ἡ κατα τινας Αυσιτις, χωρα του Ιωβ. *Idumæa was the region of Esau, which had also the name of Edom. It is that part which lies about Petra, and is called Gebalene, which has been thought to have been the same as Ausitis, the country of Job.* We are told, that *his substance was seven thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses, and a very great household.* It is remarkable, that the most useful animals, the cows, are not here mentioned, unless they are included in the yokes of oxen, which can hardly be allowed. If there be an omission, the reason probably was, because, on account of the barrenness of the soil, there were but few; and the oxen were in great measure imported, for the sake of cultivating the land. It is true, that a cow can live wherever an ox can subsist; but she will not afford a due supply of milk without proper pasture: and if this portion of aliment should be wanting, she becomes in a manner useless. In the prophet Ezekiel we have an account of the great trade of Tyre; and among other regions, which afforded supplies, Arabia is mentioned, and also Kedar, which was a part of it. *Arabia, and the princes of Kedar, occupied thee* (O Tyre), *in lambs, and rams, and goats.* Chap. xxvii. ver. 21. Not a word is here said either of ox or cow, which makes me think that they were not the natural breed of Arabia, but in great measure imported from Egypt, and other places.

"It is equally remarkable, that, in the passage from Job, female asses only are enumerated: the reason is, because in them great part of their wealth consisted; the males being few, and not held in equal estimation. We find that the former were chosen for riding by the natives of these parts; and the ass of Balaam is distinguished as a female. They were probably led to this choice from

from convenience; for, where the country was so little fertile, no other animal could subsist so easily as this: and there was another superior advantage in the female, that whoever traversed these wilds upon a she-ass, if he could but find for it sufficient browse, and water, was sure to be rewarded with a more pleasing and nutricious beverage. This gave it a great advantage over the male. There were, therefore, comparatively few of the latter breed maintained, on account of the scarcity of grass and forage. The conclusion of Job's history is analogous to the former part.—*So the Lord blessed the latter end of Job more than the beginning; for he had fourteen thousand sheep, and six thousand camels, and a thousand yoke of oxen, and a thousand she-asses.*

" But we find a somewhat different account from Egypt, the land of pastures and plenty; for, among the good things afforded by Pharaoh to Abraham, during his residence in the country, mention is made of *sheep and oxen, and he-asses*, as well as *she-asses and camels*. He enjoyed a rich soil during his stay; and when he retired, he betook himself to *a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and pools, that spring out of valleys and hills. A land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig-trees*, &c. This is very different from that country where they chiefly trusted *to the moisture of heaven* for the chief preservation of their fruits and cattle: for though the soil of Edom may have been in some places fertile, yet it abounded not with water. Hence Jehovah, in his benediction to Esau, tells him, *Behold thy dwelling shall be the fatness of the earth, and the dew of heaven from above.* Genesis, chap. xxvii. ver. 39.

THE ASS A SACRED APPENDAGE TO SEVERAL DEITIES.

" It has been my endeavour to show that this animal, however contemptible it may appear, was an instrument in the hand of Heaven, by which it pleased God to rebuke a false prophet, and to prevent any foul illusions taking place among his people. I have further attempted to prove from the purport of the name, that Petor, the city of his residence, was esteemed a place of divination, in which he probably presided as chief priest, and in consequence of it was called *Balaam the Diviner. Balaam also the Diviner they slew with the sword.* It further appears, that the worship in Midian and Moab was addressed principally to Baal-Peor, the same as Peor-Apis, or Priapus of Greece, to whom the ass was particularly sacred. That in the temple at Petor this animal was represented as a type of the Deity, and, like many animals in Egypt, held sacred and prophetic. In consequence of this, the miracle exhibited was particularly proper, being well adapted to humble the false prophet, and to enlighten the eyes of God's people. It was further thought to be endowed with a divine forecast, from its sagacity in finding out water in the desert. And this was another reason why it was esteemed sacred to Baal-Peor, the same as Priapus, who was the reputed god of springs and fountains, and the director to hidden waters, as has been shown. He was also styled

Ἀλεξίκακος,

Ἁλιπλαγτος, *a wanderer upon the ocean;* and esteemed a marine god, that presided over seas and harbours.

" Εικει δ' ακαματȣ ποντȣ το βαθυῤῥοον ὑδωρ.

" *The unwearied and fathomless ocean is subject to him.*"

SEVERAL SACRED CHARACTERS, UNDER WHICH IT WAS REVERENCED.

" The regard paid to the female in Egypt, may be farther known by her being called Iö, analogous to Io Selenes, the archite moon in the heavens. She was a type of the same great object as Io Vacca, and Isis Bubula; and of Isis Phara, the sacred cow at Momemphis. The Aselli were worshipped, and had particular rites, especially in the Sethroite nome of this country. We have seen that they were placed in the original sphere, together with the φατνη, *their crib* or *manger*. So this word is generally translated; but it sometimes signifies an article of more consequence, and denotes an ark or shrine: and this, I believe, was the original purport of the word, when first introduced in their history. Many reasons are given by the Grecians for the Aselli being placed in the sphere, in which we may sometimes discover faint traces of the original history to which they allude. There is one account, among others, by which we are informed, that Dionusus was once in great peril, by being nearly lost in a vast bed of waters, which he was not able to pass over. At this time, these Aselli, or at least one of them, came to his assistance, and carried him over with safety; so that he did not so much as wet his feet. Non nulli etiam dixerunt Asino illi, quo fuerat vectus, vocem humanam dedisse. Hygini Astronom. cap. xxiii. pag. 474. *Some say, that he gave to this animal, by which he was wafted, a human voice.* A similar history was preserved in Egypt concerning Seth, or Typhon; and it was said, that when he in great danger fled, the same animal saved him. Plutarch, Is. et Osir. vol. i. p. 362.

" If it be thought a matter of wonder that the prophet should show but little respect to an animal esteemed sacred, it must be observed, that this imputed sanctity was confined merely to those that were enshrined, and did not extend to the race in general. There were animals in many countries, to which a religious regard was paid, but it was a limited observance. The Apis and Mnevis, in their respective cities, and the Goat at Mendes, were worshipped; also the Ram in Libya; but the flocks and herds in general had no such honours. In many parts of Egypt the ox and the goat were eaten, and the sheep underwent the same fate. The Serpent was reverenced and killed by the same people. They deified the bird that destroyed it—Ille colit saturam serpentibus ibim."

Observations upon the History of Jonah.

[From the same Work.]

"THE history which is transmitted to us of the prophet Jonah contains not many particulars of his life at large; but is confined for the most part to one principal event, and to the circumstances with which it was attended. This was a commission from God to preach repentance at Nineveh, in Assyria, which he evaded, and fled another way; and having betaken himself to the sea, he is said to have been swallowed by a large fish.

"This history, wonderful as it may appear, is appealed to by our blessed Saviour as a verity, and as bearing a strict analogy to one great circumstance at his death. Whoever, therefore, is a sincere Christian, ought, without any evasion, to believe the account given; and for such do I write. It is not only idle, but unnecessary, to extenuate any part of it; for all miracles, as I have elsewhere said, are alike to the Deity. He can as easily stop the revolution of the earth, as reverse the point of a magnetic needle.

"At what time the prophet Jonah lived is not quite certain. A prophecy, which he uttered, is said to have been fulfilled in the time of Jeroboam, the second of that name, and king of Israel. How much antecedent the prophecy may have been to the completion cannot be ascertained. We are told of Jeroboam, that *he restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain; according to the word of the Lord God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant Jonah, the son of Amittai the prophet, who was of Gath Hepher*, 2 Kings, chap. xiv. ver. 25. This place is said to have been in the tribe of Zebulon; and, according to Jerome, it was seated at the farthest part of the district. This province was one of the two which they called Galilee, and *Galilee of the Nations*, on account of the great mixture of people of different race and worship, who were admitted into it; for, from its vicinity to several Gentile nations, aliens without number seem very early to have settled within its borders. It was hence called also *Galilee of the Gentiles*.

"Solomon did not look upon this part of Israel in a very favourable light, for he gave away several of the cities to Hiram, king of Tyre, and consequently alienated them from Israel, and from the true worship of God. Our Saviour was supposed to have been born at Nazareth in this province, which was held in very low estimation. The Jews, therefore, of Jerusalem, who knew not the true place of his birth, and thought that all excellence centred in the city of David, would never allow that any good could proceed from this part of the world: as if God, who produced light from darkness, order from confusion, could not raise a prophet among the very outcasts of Israel. When therefore some, struck with the wisdom and sanctity of our Saviour,

viour, and likewise with his miracles, said—*Of a truth this is the Christ*; others, with a sneer, asked—*Shall Christ come out of Galilee?—Search and look, for out of Galilee ariseth no prophet.*

"In this region, however, we must look for the history of Jonah, who was, as has been shown, of Gath Hepher; a city but a few miles to the north of our Saviour's place of residence. As he came from among a mixed and unsettled people, he was probably of unsettled and corrupt principles; one of those, of whom it is said—*They feared the Lord, and served their own gods—They feared the Lord, and served their graven images.* This, I think, may be fairly inferred from his behaviour. He is indeed styled—*a servant of the Lord*: but it is well known, that the Lord had many wayward and unfaithful servants, who were disobedient to his word; whom also he forced against their will to accomplish his purpose. This refractory prophet of Galilee seems to have been one of the number of those unsettled in their principles, as Balaam had been before, and Judas afterwards. The prophet who came out of Judah, in the time of Jeroboam, to Bethel (1 Kings, chap. xiii. ver. 1, &c.), to bear witness against the altar, is styled a man of God: yet he was guilty of manifest disobedience, and of a grievous affront, in listening to the counsel of a man, after he had received the immediate commands of God to return home; as if the Deity could change. He accordingly stayed by the way. He is repeatedly called the man of God; yet he obeyed not: *and when he was gone, a lion met him by the way, and slew him.* Thus we find, that a servant of the Lord may be disobedient, and of little faith. The Jews certainly saw nothing sacred in the character of Jonah, but quite the reverse, otherwise they would never have said—*Search and see, for out of Galilee cometh no prophet.*"

OF JONAH'S APOSTACY AND FLIGHT.

"It pleased God, in his infinite goodness, that timely warning should be given to the people of Nineveh, before their city was taken, and their country ruined. He accordingly appointed Jonah for that office, and bade him go and preach repentance, that they might turn from their evil ways. But the prophet was terrified at the prospect of this journey; and had so little faith in the God of Israel, and so little of that fear, which is the beginning of wisdom, that he determined not to obey. *But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord; and went down to Joppa. And he found a ship going to Tarshish; so he paid the fare thereof: and went down into it to go with them to Tarshish, from the presence of the Lord.* There were more places than one named Tarshish. Among these was Tartessus, upon the river Bætis in Spain, as many learned persons have judged. If this then were the Tarshish mentioned, and if distance could secure him from the presence of the Lord, this was seemingly the most proper place that he could have chosen, as it was one of the most remote in the known world. But the prophet, who entertained very unworthy notions of the Deity, was soon arrested in his flight. The history

of the whole transaction, as we have it transmitted in Scripture, is well worth our attention.

" Jonah, chap. i.

" Ver. 4. ' But the Lord sent out a great wind into the sea; and there was a mighty tempest in the sea, so that the ship had like to have been broken.

" Ver. 5. ' Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man to his God, and cast forth the wares that were in the ship into the sea, to lighten it of them. But Jonah was gone down into the sides of the ship; and he lay, and was fast asleep.

" Ver. 6. ' So the ship-master came to him, and said to him: What meanest thou, O sleeper? Arise, call upon thy God: if so be that God will think upon us, that we perish not.

" Ver. 7. ' And they said every one to his fellow, Come, and let us cast lots, that we may know for whose cause this evil is come upon us. So they cast lots, and the lot came upon Jonah.

" Ver. 8. ' Then said they unto him, Tell us, we pray thee, for whose cause this evil is upon us? What is thy occupation? and whence comest thou? what is thy country? and of what people art thou?"

" From the history above, this ship seems to have been an epitome of the world, having in it people from various parts, as we may judge from the different gods, to which they applied. Among these persons was one from the land of Israel, who gives of himself the following account:—

" Ver. 9. ' And he said unto them, *I am an Hebrew, and I fear the Lord God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land.*'

" His situation brought him back to a just sense of duty; and he not only *feared the Lord* in the common acceptation, but had an additional dread from the dangers into which his want of faith had brought him. He then gave the people a full account of his disobedience, and of his vain attempt to shelter himself from the sight of the Deity.

" Ver. 10. ' Then were the men exceedingly afraid, and said unto him; Why hast thou done this? (for the men knew that he fled from the presence of the Lord, because he had told them.)

" Ver. 11. ' Then said they unto him, What shall we do unto thee, that the sea may be calm unto us? (for the sea wrought, and was tempestuous.)

" Ver. 12. ' And he said unto them, Take me up, and cast me forth into the sea; so shall the sea be calm unto you; for I know, that for my sake this great tempest is upon you.'

" ——*Unum pro multis dabitur caput.*

" He was convinced, by the nature of the calamity, and from the lot by which he had been pointed out, that all the evil proceeded from him; and he was impelled by Heaven to make this salutary proposal,

proposal, that the whole might not perish.

" Ver. 13. ' Nevertheless, the men rowed hard to bring to land, but they could not; for the sea wrought, and was tempestuous against them.

" Ver. 14. ' Wherefore they cried unto the Lord, and said, We beseech thee, O Lord, we beseech thee, let us not perish for this man's life; and lay not upon us innocent blood: for thou, O Lord, hast done as pleased thee.'

" This places the behaviour of the Jews, in respect to our Saviour, in a very unfavourable, but true light. These heathen in the ship beg of God that the death of this man may not be laid to their charge. They are afraid of the imputation of guilt, though he was a guilty person; and the whole was effected by his own counsel and permission. But when Pilate told the Jews that he was *innocent of the blood of the just person* who stood before them, the man without sin; and added—*See ye to it:* they answered, out of their great blindness and infatuation—*His blood be on us, and on our children:* which curse was most terribly fulfilled. When, therefore, the mariners in the ship had done every thing in their power to save the devoted person, and found that it *was expedient for one man to die*—that *the whole might not perish*, they at last yielded to necessity.

" Ver. 15. ' So they took up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea; and the sea ceased from its raging.

" Ver. 17. ' Now the Lord had prepared a great fish to swallow up Jonah: and Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.'

" The prophet, during his abode in the fish, offers up a prayer, or rather a hymn, to God, the whole of which is a composition of uncommon sublimity. Among other things, he compares his situation to a state of death, and his place to the hollow of hell, or hades: and he adds—' *I went down to the bottoms of the mountains; the earth with her everlasting bars was about me: yet hast thou brought up my life from corruption, O Lord, my God. When my soul fainted within me*'—or, as the Greek version expresses it—εν τῳ εκλειπειν απ' εμου την ψυχην μου, ' *When my soul was in the article of forsaking me, I remembered the Lord, and my prayer came in unto thee, into thine holy temple.*' And he concludes with saying—' *Salvation is of the Lord.*' The history of this fugitive prophet is very plain, without the least ambiguity: every event is precisely told, so that there can be no doubt about any portion of the narrative. There is no palliating nor evading any part: we must take it intire, without any qualifying or diminution, just as it is transmitted to us. The only question, therefore, in respect to those who entertain any prejudices is, whether it was consistent with the wisdom of God to exhibit this miracle; and whether there was any necessity, or any call for its being displayed. Lastly, as I have endeavoured to show, whether these miracles and judge-

ments of God had a proper tendency and meaning, and were particularly adapted to the persons, before whom, as well as upon whom, they were performed. Let us see if there is any such correspondence here, and any analogy discernible between the punishment and the crime. I am persuaded that such a correspondence does subsist, as may be very satisfactorily shown."

CONCERNING THE FLIGHT OF JONAH.

"We have seen, that Jonah was of a portion of Israel, called Galilee; which in his time was devoted to idolatry. Few, or none of the people went up to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, and to perform the rites appointed by Moses. Instead of these, they had recourse to the idols at Bethel and Dan; and were farther tinctured with the idolatry of their Gentile neighbours. These consisted of different people, who were either the remains of the ancient inhabitants, the Canaanites, or were a mixed race from Tyre, Hamath, and the cities of Syria, who had forced themselves into the country, and had brought their rites and religion with them. In the midst of these was the prophet Jonah; who in his distress gave out, that *he feared the Lord*. But it was a blind fear, attended with little reverence and duty. He did not seem to know the nature of the true God, nor to have been acquainted with his attributes. This is manifest from his thinking to free himself from his influence and power, by retiring to a distant region: as if God could not exert his might beyond the limits of Israel. He must, therefore, have been very ignorant of the doctrines of the divine psalmist, who would have given him much higher ideas of the Deity, and his omnipresence. *Whither shall I go from thy spirit, and whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up to heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in* (hades) *hell, behold thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand hold me. If I say, Surely the darkness will cover me; even the night shall be light about me:—Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee; but the night shineth as the day; the darkness and the light are both alike to thee.*

"From this ignorance of the prophet we may judge of his faith and attachment, and from his whole conduct conclude, that if he had any regard for the true God, he had at the same time no dislike to the other deities which had been introduced into his nation. If he had been thoroughly devoted to the God of his fathers, he must have known him better; and in this instance, as well as in many others, he would have shown more reverence towards him, and respect to his commands. But we find that he fled from him, and betook himself to Joppa, a sea-port of Philistim, or Palestine Proper. Every city in that region had its own peculiar deity; but many of these deities were ultimately the same, though represented under different emblems, modified according to the particular fancy of the people. When Jonah arrived at Joppa, as he had deserted the God of Israel, we may suppose that he put himself under the protection of the deity of the place. In consequence of this he must have made his oblations at the altar, and worshipped before

before the shrine. What is extraordinary, this deity was described as a whale, or large fish. Pliny speaks of Joppa as a city of the highest antiquity, and concludes with saying—Colitur istic fabulosa Ceto *. *Here the deity in the form of a fish, called Ceto, concerning which there are so many mythic histories, is worshipped.* By Ceto, or Cetus, was understood, according to Hesychius, Θαλασσιος ιχθυς μαμμεγαθης; *a sea fish of an immense size*—and it is very properly translated a whale."

TRANSLATION of one of the INSCRIPTIONS on the PILLAR at DELHI, by H. COLEBROOKE, Esq. With INTRODUCTORY REMARKS by Mr. HARRINGTON.

[From the ASIATIC RESEARCHES, Vol. VII.]

"I HAVE the pleasure of presenting to the society a book of drawings and inscriptions, prepared under the inspection of their late member, captain James Hoare, and intended by him (I have reason to believe) for the use of the society."

Two of the drawings represent elevations, taken on the spot, of the stone building near Dehlee, called the *Shikargah*, or hunting place, of Feerōz Shah; with the pillar in the centre, and above the summit of it, commonly known by the designation of Feerōz Shah's *Lāt*; and described, with an outline of the building and pillar, in the 21st paper of the 1st vol. of the society's Transactions. The copy of the inscriptions on this pillar, which was received by our reverend president and founder, from colonel Polier, enabled him to exhibit a translation of one of them, as accurate as the imperfect state of the transcript would admit; but on comparing it with a more perfect copy made for captain Hoare, it was found in several parts defective and inaccurate; and the date, instead of being 123 of the æra of *Vicramaditya*, or A. D. 67, as appeared from the former copy, was clearly ascertained from the present to be 1220 of the above æra; or A. D. 1164. An accurate translation of this inscription has therefore been furnished by Mr. Henry Colebrooke (who has distinguished himself as a Sanscrit scholar by his version of the Hindoo Law Digest, compiled under the superintendance of sir William Jones), and is now submitted to the society; with the original Sanscrit in Roman letters.

"Of the five other inscriptions contained in the accompanying book, and taken from the same pillar, but in a different character, no translation has been yet procurable. The deposit of them among the society's papers, and, if they think proper, the publication of an engraving of them in their Transactions, may lead to a future explication of them; which must be also facilitated by captain Hoare's collection of the characters.

"The same characters appear in the inscription on the pillar at Allahabad, a specimen of which, with a modern Arabick and Persian inscription in the reign of Jehangeer, and a drawing of the pillar, are also contained in the accompanying book. I have not been able to procure any information respecting

this pillar, and understand from Moonshee Mohummud Morad, who accompanied captain Hoare, that his inquiries at Allahabad were equally unsuccessful.

"The Feerōz Shah, whose name is now attached to the Dehlee pillar (though it must have been erected as some Hindoo monument at a much earlier period), appears from Ferishtuh's history to have reigned at Dehlee between the years 1351 and 1388, in the last of which he died at the age of ninety; and Ferishtuh, in the words of his translator, lieutenant-colonel Dow, gives him the following character:—

"'Though no great warrior in 'the field, he was, by his excellent 'qualities, well calculated for a 'reign of peace. His severity to 'the inhabitants of Cumaoon for 'the assassination of the governor 'of Samana, is a great blot in his 'reputation. But to this he per-'haps was prompted by a religious 'zeal and enthusiasm, for the per-'sons murdered were seids, or de-'scendants of the prophet. He 'reigned thirty-eight years and 'nine months, and left many me-'morials of his magnificence in the 'land. He built fifty great sluices, 'forty mosques, thirty schools, 'twenty caravansaries, an hundred 'palaces, five hospitals, an hundred 'tombs, ten baths, ten spires, one 'hundred and fifty wells, one hun-'dred bridges; and the pleasure-'gardens he made were without 'number.'

"The author of the Huft Akleem, Mohummud Ameen Razee, who wrote his history of the world, (or, as the title of his book imports, of the *Seven Climes* into which the Mahomedans divide the universe), in the reign of Akbur, corroborates the above character of Feerōz Shah, and adds the following passage, translated verbatim from his history:—'Among the places built 'by this king (Feerōz Shah) is a 'hunting-place, which the popu-'lace call the *Lāt* of Feerōz Shah. 'It is a house of three stories, in 'the centre of which has been 'erected a pillar of red stone, 'of one piece, and tapering up-'wards. The visible part of the 'shaft is, by measurement, twenty-'seven zirras, and it is said that 'one-third only is visible; the re-'maining two-thirds being buried 'in the earth. In this case, the to-'tal length must be eighty-one zir-'ras; and it is five zirras in cir-'cumference. Round it have been 'engraved literal characters, which 'the most intelligent of all religions 'have been unable to explain. Re-'port says, this pillar is a monu-'ment of renown to the rajuhs (or 'Hindoo princes), and that Feerōz 'Shah set it up within his hunting-'place. But on this head there are 'various traditions, which it would 'be tedious to relate.'

"The exact length of the zirra, referred to in the above description, is uncertain. But there can be no doubt but the height of the pillar, now visible above the building, is thirty-seven feet; and that its circumference, where it joins the terrace, is ten feet four inches. These dimensions I have from Moonshee Mohummud Morad, who himself measured the pillar for captain Hoare, in July 1797; and who adds, that, as far as it could be seen (which from the ruinous state of the building it cannot be, at present, below the upper terrace), it is certainly, as described in the Huft Akleem, a single stone, of reddish colour, as represented in the drawing. One of captain Hoare's drawings further represents the plans of the

the three stories of the Shikar-gah, and his moonshee informs me, the current opinion is, that they were used partly for a menagery, and partly for an aviary, which the plans appear to confirm.

"Perhaps the same misguided religious zeal, which prompted his severity towards the inhabitants of Cumaoon, may have impelled him to erect a mansion for birds and beasts, round a venerable relic of Hindoo antiquity, the age of which cannot, I conceive, be determined by the date of the inscription now communicated to the society, as the character of it is modern, and altogether different from the older inscriptions, not yet explained.

"J. H. HARINGTON."

SANSCRIT INSCRIPTION, IN ROMAN CHARACTERS.

"samvat 1220 vais'ác'ha sudí 15 s'ácambharí bhúpati s'rímad vélla dévátmaja s'rímad vísala dévasya.

"1 ávind'hyád áhimádrér virachita vijayas tírt'ha yátrá prasangád udgrívéshu praharta nrípatishu vinamat cand'haréshu prasannah áryávertam yat'hárt'ham punar api crítaván mléchch'ha vich-ch'hédanábhir dévah s'ácambharíndró jagati vijayaté vísalah cshón'ipálah

"2 brúté samprati báhujáta tilacah s'ácambharí bhúpatih s'rímad vigraha rája ésha vijayí santánaján átmanah
asmábhih caradam vyad'háyi himavad vind'hyántarálam bhuvah s'ésha swícaran'áya mástu bhavatám udyóga s'únyam manah.

"1 ambhó náma ripu priyá nayanayóh pratyart'hi dantántaré pratyacshán'i trín'áni vaibhava milat cáshtám yasás távacam
márgó lóca virudd'ha éva vijanah s'únyam manó vidwishám
s'rímad vigraha rájadéva bhavatah prapté prayán'ótsavé
lílá mandira s'ódaréshu swántéshu vámabhruvám s'atrúm'án nanu vigraha cshitipáté nyáyyás cha vásas tava s'ancá vá purushóttamasya bhavató násty éva várán nid'hérnirmat'hyápahrita s'riyah cimu bhaván cródé na nidráyitah.
samvat s'rí vícramáditya 1220 vais'ác'ha sudí 15 gurau lic'hitam idam . . . . . .
pratyacsham guà dánwaya cáyast'ha máhava putra s'rípatina atra samayé mahá—mantrí rájaputrá s'rímal lacshan'a pálah.

VERBAL TRANSLATION.

"In the year 1220, on the 15th day of the bright half of the month Vaisac'h, [this monument] of the fortunate Vísala Déva, son of the fortunate Vélla Déva, king of S'ácambharí.

"As far as Vind'hya, as far as Himádri, having achieved conquest in the course of travelling to holy places; resentful to haughty kings, and indulgent to those whose necks are humbled; making A'ryáverta once more what its name signifies, by causing the barbarians to be exterminated; Vísala Déva, supreme ruler of S'ácambharí and sovereign of the earth, is victorious in the world.

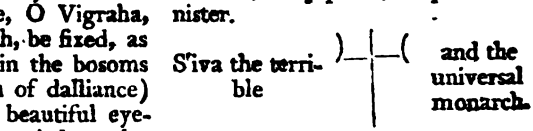
"This conqueror, the fortunate Vigraha Rája, king of S'ácambharí, most eminent of the tribe which sprang from the arms [of Brahmá,] now addresses his own descendants: 'By us the region of 'the earth between Himavat and 'Vind'hya has been made tributary; let not your minds be void 'of exertion to subdue the re-'mainder.'

"Tears are evident in the eyes of thy enemy's consort; blades of grass

grass are perceived between thy adversary's teeth; thy fame is predominant throughout space; the minds of thy foes are void [of hope]; their route is the desert where men are hindered from passing; O Vigraha Raj'a Déva, in the jubilee occasioned by thy march.

"May thy abode, O Vigraha, sovereign of the earth, be fixed, as in reason it ought, in the bosoms (akin to the mansion of dalliance) of the women with beautiful eyebrows, who were married to thy enemies. There is no doubt of thy being the highest of embodied souls. Didst thou not sleep in the lap of S'rí, whom thou didst seize from the ocean, having churned it?

"In the year from the fortunate Vicrámaditya 1220, on Thursday the 15th day of the bright half of the month Vaisác'h, this was written in the presence of . . . . by S'r'ipati, the son of Máhava, a Cáyast'ha of a family in Gaud'a; at this time the fortunate Lacshmana Pála, a rajaputra, is prime minister.



"There are on the same page, some short inscriptions, which I cannot decypher. One of them, however, is partly legible, and appears to be in the Hindustání language. It contains the name of Sultán Ibr'ahim, and wishes him a long life."

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

On the Optical Phænomenon named the Mirage.

[Translated from the French of M. Gaspard Monge, by the Author of "A Non-Military Journal made in Egypt."]

"DURING the march of the French army through the Desert, from Alexandria to Cairo, we had an opportunity of observing a phenomenon daily, that must be considered extraordinary by the greater part of the inhabitants of France. It is necessary for its production, that the spectator should be placed in an extensive plain, wholly, or at least nearly, level; that this plain should be prolonged to the limits of the horizon, and that the soil, by exposure to the sun, should have acquired a very high degree of temperature. It is supposed that these three circumstances may be united in the *flats* of Bourdeaux, for their level, like that of Lower Egypt, is nearly horizontal; they are not terminated by any mountain, at least in the direction from east to west; and it is probable that, during our long summer days, the arid soil of which they are formed may acquire a sufficient temperature. It is, therefore, not wholly improbable but that this phenomenon may be known to the inhabitants of that department; it is familiar to mariners, who observe it frequently at sea, and have given it the name of *mirage*.

"In truth, the cause which occasions the *mirage* in the ocean, may be very different from that which produces it at land; but the effect being the same in both cases, I have not deemed it proper to introduce a new word. I shall first describe the phenomenon, and afterwards endeavour to give an explanation of it.

"The country of Lower Egypt is nearly a level plain, which loses itself, like the sea, in the clouds at the extremity of the horizon: its uniformity is only interrupted by a few eminences, either natural or factitious, on which are situated the villages, thus kept out of the reach of the inundations of the Nile; and these eminences, less usual on the skirts of the desert, more frequently to be seen on the side of the Delta, and which appear like a dark line on a very transparent sky, are rendered still further visible by the date-trees and sycamores, oftener to be met with in such situations than elsewhere.

"Both morning and evening the aspect of the country is exactly as it ought to be; and between you and the last villages which present themselves, you perceive nothing but land; but when the surface of the earth is sufficiently heated by the rays of the sun, and indeed until it begins to get cold towards the evening, the land no longer seems to have the same extension, but to be terminated, to within the distance

distance of about a league, by a general inundation.

"The villages placed beyond that appear like so many islands stationed in the midst of a great lake, from which the spectator is separated by an extent of land, more or less considerable, according to circumstances. You then behold the image of each of these villages reflected exactly as if it were exhibited on a clear surface of water, with only this difference, that as the representation is at a considerable distance, the smaller objects are invisible, and the masses alone distinct; in addition to this, the edges of the reversed image are rather ill-defined, and such as they would be if the surface of the reflecting medium happened to be a little agitated.

"In proportion as one approaches a village, which appears to be placed in the midst of an inundation, the margin of the water seems to recede, and the arm of the sea, separating you as it were from the village, shrinks back by degrees: it at length disappears entirely, and the phenomenon which now ceases, in respect to the first village, is instantly reproduced by a new one, which you discover at a due distance in the rear. Thus every thing contributes to complete an illusion, which is sometimes cruel, more especially in the Desert, because it tantalises you with the appearance of water, at a time when you experience the greatest want of that element.

"The explanation which I propose to give of the *mirage*, is founded on some of the principles of optics, that, indeed, apply equally to all the elements, but which it may be, perhaps, proper to explain here.

"When a ray of light traverses a transparent and uniform medium, its direction is in a straight line. When a ray passes from a transparent medium into another, the density of which is greater, if its direction in the first be perpendicular to the surface that separates it from the two *media*, this direction will not experience any alteration; that is to say, so long as the right line which the ray forms in the second medium, is a prolongation of that followed in the first. But if the direction of the incidental ray makes an angle with the perpendicular at the surface:

1°. The ray will divide in its passage in such a manner, that the angle which it forms, with the perpendicular in the second medium, becomes smaller; and

"2°. In respect to the two *media*, whatever may be the extent of the angle which the incidental ray forms with the perpendicular, the sinus of this angle, and that of the angle of the refracted ray, are always in a correspondent *ratio*.

"But the sinus of a large angle does not increase so rapidly as that of a small one. When the angle, therefore, that is formed by the incidental ray and the perpendicular happens to increase, the sinus of the angle, formed by the broken ray, increases in the ratio of the sinus of the former, and the increase of the angle itself is less than that of the angle of the incidental ray. Thus, in proportion as the angle of incidence augments, the angle formed by the broken ray augments also, but always by little and little; so that when the angle of incidence hath arrived at its largest dimensions, that is to say, when it is within an infinitely small space of 90°, the angle which the broken ray makes with the perpendicular is less than 90°: this is a *maximum*,

or,

or, in other words, no ray of light can pass from the first medium into a second, under a greater angle.

"When the ray of light passes, on the contrary, from a denser medium into one less so, it exactly follows the same line as in the first case, but in a contrary direction; that is to say, if in the dense medium it has the same direction as the broken ray in the first case, it divides at the surface, and assumes the direction which has been also followed by the incidental ray.

"In consequence of this it may be inferred, that on the passage from a more to a less dense medium,

"1°. If the ray of light be comprehended between the perpendicular and the direction of the diverging ray which constitutes the *maximum* angle; this ray will project into the less dense medium.

"2°. If the ray of light possesses the same direction as the diverging ray, the angle of which is the *maximum*, it will again issue forth, by making an angle of 90° with the perpendicular, or by remaining in the plane, which serves as a tangent to the surface. But if the angle which the ray of light forms with the perpendicular, be greater than the *maximum* of the angle of refraction, or what amounts to the same, if the ray be compressed between the surface and the diverging ray, the angle of which is the *maximum*, it will not leave the dense medium: it will reflect itself to the surface, and re-enter the same medium, by making the angle of reflection equal to the angle of incidence, these two angles being in the same plane, perpendicular to the surface. It is on this last proposition that the explanation of the *mirage* is principally founded.

"The transparency of the atmosphere, that is to say, the faculty which it possesses of following the rays of light to pass through with rapidity, does not permit it to acquire a very high degree of temperature by its direct exposition to the sun alone; but when, after having traversed the atmosphere, the light becoming extinguished by an arid soil, that serves only in a very small degree as a conductor, hath considerably warmed the surface of this earth; it is then that the inferior *stratum* of the atmosphere, by its contact with the heated surface of the soil, contracts a very high degree of temperature.

"This *stratum* dilates itself; its specific weight diminishes; and in consequence of the laws of hydrostatics, it elevates itself, until, by becoming cool, it hath recovered a density equal to that of the surrounding element. It is then succeeded by the *stratum* immediately above it, through which it passes, and the other soon experiences a similar operation. Thence is produced a continual efflux of rarefied air, always elevating itself through a denser medium, that in its turn experiences a depression; and this efflux is rendered sensible by the *striæ*, which alter and agitate the images of fixed objects that are situated beyond them.

"In our European climates, we are acquainted with similar *striæ*, produced by the same cause; but they are not so numerous, and do not possess such an ascensional rapidity as in the Desert, where the altitude of the sun is greater, and the aridity of the soil, by depriving it of evaporation, does not permit any other employment of the *caloric*.

"Thus towards the middle of the day, and during the greatest degrees of heat, the *stratum* of the atmo

atmosphere, in contact with the soil, is of an evidently less degree of density than the *strata* immediately above it.

"The brilliancy of the sky proceeds merely from the rays of the sun being reflected in every direction by the transparent *moleculæ* of the atmosphere. Such of the rays of light as are transmitted by the more elevated part of the sky, and which descend to the earth after making a considerable angle with the horizon, take a new direction on entering the inferior dilated *stratum*, and encounter the element on which we live, by means of a much smaller angle. But those that proceed from the lower parts of the sky, and form small angles with the horizon, when they reach the surface which separates the inferior and dilated *stratum* of the atmosphere, from the more dense *stratum* above, are unable to leave the latter; in conformity, therefore, to the principle of optics already alluded to, they reflect themselves in an ascending direction, by making an angle of reflection equal to the angle of incidence, as if the surface which separates the two *strata* constituted a mirror: and they then represent to the eye placed in the dense *stratum*, the inverted image of the lower parts of the sky, which appear as if below the real horizon.

"In this case, if you were not advertised of your error, as the representation of that part of the heavens perceived by means of reflection is almost of the same brilliancy as that seen directly, you would imagine that the sky was greatly prolonged, and far nigher than it really is.

"If this phenomenon were to occur at sea, it would alter the altitude of the sun, taken by an instrument, and augment it in the *ratio* of the quantity of the apparent limit of the horizon depressed.

"But if some terrestrial objects, such as villages, trees, or little hills, give you notice that the limits of the horizon are more distant, and that the sky is not really so near, (as the surface of the water is not usually visible under a small angle, but by the image of the sky which it reflects,) you will perceive the representation of the sky, and imagine that you behold a superficies of reflecting water.

"The villages and trees that are at a proper distance, by intercepting a portion of the rays of light transmitted by the lower regions of the heavens, occasion so many voids in the image of the sky, produced by reflection. These voids are wholly occupied by the inverted images of the same objects, because such of the rays of light as are transmitted by them, and which form angles with the horizon, equal to those constituted by the intercepted rays, are reflected back in the same manner as those would have been. But as the reflecting surface which separates the two *strata* of air, of different densities, is neither perfectly level, nor perfectly motionless; the last images will, of course, appear badly defined, and agitated towards the edges, like those produced by the surface of water which may have contracted slight undulations.

"It is easily to be discovered why this phenomenon cannot take place when the horizon is terminated by an elevated chain of mountains; for those mountains intercept all the rays of light transmitted by the lower parts of the sky, and only allow those to pass above them which form sufficiently large angles with the dilated sur-

face, to prevent the reflection from taking place.

"In an uniform state, that is to say, by supposing that the density and thickness of the dilated *stratum* are constant, and the temperature of the superior *stratum* invariable, the greatest possible angle under which the rays of light could be thus reflected, would be determined with precision: for the largeness of this angle depends entirely on the immediate connection between the sinus of the angles of incidence and reflection for the two *media*. But of all the rays reflected, those which form the greatest angle with the horizon, appear to issue from the nearest point to that where the phenomenon commences.

"In an uniform state then, the point at which the phenomenon commences, is always at a certain distance from the observer: accordingly, if he should happen to advance, the spot at which the inundation seems to begin, appears to advance also in the same direction, and with the same celerity. If the line of march should, therefore, be directed towards a village, which appears to be situated in the midst of the inundation, the limits of the inundation will seem to recede insensibly from this village, and are soon after seen to stretch beyond it.

"When the sun is near the horizon at his rising, the earth cannot have been sufficiently warmed; and at his setting it has become too cold for the phenomenon of the *mirage*. It then appears to be extremely difficult to perceive both a direct and reflected image of the sun, on account of the elevated temperature of the inferior *stratum* of the atmosphere. But during the second quarter of the moon, that planet rises in the afternoon, a time when circumstances are more favourable to the *mirage*. If it then happens that the brilliancy of the sun and the clearness of the atmosphere should permit the moon to be discerned at her rising, two images of that planet will be observed, one above the other, in the same vertical line. This phenomenon is known by the name of *paraselene*.

"The transparency of the sea allows the rays of the sun to penetrate to a considerable depth; its surface, from its exposition, does not, however, become near so warm as an arid soil in the same circumstances; it cannot communicate, therefore, to the *stratum* of air that reposes upon it so elevated a temperature; and on this account the *mirage* is not so common at sea as in the Desert. But the elevation of the temperature is not the sole cause which, under a constant pressure, may dilate the inferior *stratum* of the atmosphere. In fact, the air possesses the faculty of dissolving water, so far, even as to attain the point of saturation without losing its transparency; and Saussure hath proved that the specific weight of the air decreases in proportion to the quantity of water kept in dissolution. When, therefore, any wind at sea is not impregnated with water, the inferior *stratum* of the atmosphere, which is in contact with the surface of the ocean, dissolves water anew, and thus becomes dilated. This cause, added to the slight augmentation of the temperature, may, however, produce a state of things favourable to the *mirage*, which mariners, indeed, frequently observe.

"This last cause, or, in other words, the dilatation of the inferior *stratum* of the atmosphere, occasioned

casioned by the dissolution of a large quantity of water, may take place every moment of the day, as well when the sun is near the horizon, as when he approaches the meridian. It is possible that a *parhelion* might then be produced, a phenomenon in consequence of which, either at the rising or setting of the sun, one beholds two images of that luminous body above the apparent horizon at the same time. But I never had occasion to observe this latter phenomenon, which is very unfrequent, or to remark the circumstances that accompany it. I therefore propose this latter explanation with a certain degree of reserve, and merely with an intent of furnishing the means of making useful observations.

ADDITION.

"Since reading the above memoir, I have had frequent opportunities of observing the *mirage* at land; this has occurred in various seasons, as well as under different circumstances, and the result, even including the minutest details, has always been in conformity to the explanation already given by me. Of all these observations, there is one only, the relation of which may prove useful here.

"I was along with general Bonaparte in the valley of Suez, when he discovered the canal that formerly united the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. This valley, which is some leagues in length, is bounded on the east by that chain of mountains that extends from Syria to Mount Sinai; and on the west by the mountains of Egypt. These mountains are in general sufficiently elevated to exclude the rays of light transmitted by the inferior parts of the sky, and such of the rays as are not thus intercepted, reach the earth under too large an angle to be reflected by the inferior dilated *stratum* of the atmosphere. Thus in the hottest part of the day one does not perceive the reflected surface of any portion of the sky, nor is the appearance of an inundation any where to be seen.

"Notwithstanding this, the effect of the *mirage* is not entirely lost: the visible objects placed generally on an ascent, whose position corresponds with the inferior parts of the sky, the image of which reflects itself, participates in the effect, although in a less striking manner, on account of their small extent, and also with less force, because the colour is far more obscure than that of the sky. Independently of the representation produced by the direct rays of light, the rays which have emanated from these objects, and are directed towards the earth, become reflected by the inferior *stratum* of the air, in the same manner as the rays proceeding from the inferior parts of the atmosphere, of which they occupy the place; thus producing a second image of these objects inverted, and placed vertically above the former.

"This *duplication* of images produces optical illusions, against which it is proper to be on our guard in a desert that may be occupied by an enemy, while no one is at hand to give information relative to such alarming appearances.

"I shall take advantage of this opportunity to mention another optical phenomenon, which is not sufficiently interesting to be made the subject of a particular memoir.

"During our return from Egypt, when we approached the European climates, one morning, a few minutes after sun-rise, the sky was clear towards the east; it rained at the

the same time in a western direction, and we beheld two ordinary rainbows; the one, interior, produced by a single reflection of the rays of light within the space where the rain fell; the other, exterior, occasioned by two reflections. At this moment both the sea and the atmosphere were perfectly calm, and the surface of the water, which was very smooth, reflected the image of the sun in a very discernible manner. This reflected image also gave rise to two other rainbows. The two first-mentioned, which were produced by direct and descending rays, formed segments less than half the circumference: the two others, occasioned by the reflected and ascending rays, on the contrary, presented segments greater than 180°. Of these four simultaneous rainbows, the analogous ones had the same basis, and diverged like two segments of the same circumference of a circle, which had reverted on their common chord.

"This phenomenon is only remarkable on account of the circumstances which gave rise to it; and it is sufficient to have mentioned it here."

Of the General Checks to Population.

[From Mr. Malthus's Essay on the Principle of Population.]

"THE checks to population, which are constantly operating with more or less force in every society, and keep down the number to the level of the means of subsistence, may be classed under two general heads—the preventive, and the positive checks.

"The preventive check, is peculiar to man, and arises from that distinctive superiority in his reasoning faculties, which enables him to calculate distant consequences.—Plants and animals have apparently no doubts about the future support of their offspring. The checks to their indefinite increase, therefore, are all positive. But man cannot look around him, and see the distress which frequently presses upon those who have large families—he cannot contemplate his present possessions or earnings, which he now nearly consumes himself, and calculate the amount of each share, when with very little addition they must be divided, perhaps, among seven or eight, without feeling a doubt, whether if he follow the bent of his inclinations, he may be able to support the offspring which he will probably bring into the world. In a state of equality, if such can exist, this would be the simple question. In the present state of society other considerations occur. Will he not lower his rank in life, and be obliged to give up in great measure his former society? Does any mode of employment present itself by which he may reasonably hope to maintain a family? Will he not at any rate subject himself to greater difficulties, and more severe labour than in his single state? Will he not be unable to transmit to his children the same advantages of education and improvement which he had himself possessed? Does he even feel secure that, should he have a large family, his utmost exertions can save them

rags, and squalid poverty, and their consequent degradation in the community? And may he not be reduced to the grating necessity of forfeiting his independence, and of being obliged to the sparing hand of charity for support?

"These considerations are calculated to prevent, and certainly do prevent, a great number of persons in all civilised nations from pursuing the dictate of nature in an early attachment to one woman.

"If this restraint do not produce vice, as in many instances is the case, and very generally so among the middle and higher classes of women, it is undoubtedly the least evil that can arise from the principle of population. Considered as a restraint on an inclination, otherwise innocent, and always natural, it must be allowed to produce a certain degree of temporary unhappiness; but evidently slight, compared with the evils which result from any of the other checks to population.

"When this restraint produces vice, as it does most frequently among men, and among a numerous class of females, the evils which follow are but too conspicuous. A promiscuous intercourse to such a degree as to prevent the birth of children, seems to lower in the most marked manner the dignity of human nature. It cannot be without its effect on men, and nothing can be more obvious than its tendency to degrade the female character, and to destroy all its most amiable and distinguishing characteristics. Add to which, that among those unfortunate females with which all great towns abound, more real distress and aggravated misery are perhaps to be found, than in any other department of human life.

"When a general corruption of morals, with regard to the sex, pervades all the classes of society, its effects must necessarily be, to poison the springs of domestic happiness, to weaken conjugal and parental affection, and to lessen the united exertions and ardour of parents in the care and education of their children; effects, which cannot take place without a decided diminution of the general happiness and virtue of the society; particularly, as the necessity of art in the accomplishment and conduct of intrigues, and in the concealment of their consequences, necessarily leads to many other vices.

"The positive checks to population are extremely various, and include every cause, whether arising from vice or misery, which in any degree contributes to shorten the natural duration of human life. Under this head, therefore, may be enumerated, all unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, bad nursing of children, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, pestilence, plague, and famine.

"On examining these obstacles to the increase of population, which I have classed under the heads of preventive and positive checks, it will appear that they are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery.

"Of the preventive checks, that which is not followed by irregular gratifications, may properly be termed moral restraint.

"Promiscuous intercourse, unnatural passions, violations of the marriage bed, and improper arts to conceal the consequences of irregular connexions, clearly come under the head of vice.

"Of

"Of the positive checks, those which appear to arise unavoidably from the laws of nature may be called exclusively misery; and those which we obviously bring upon ourselves, such as wars, excesses, and many others which it would be in our power to avoid, are of a mixed nature. They are brought upon us by vice, and their consequences are misery.

"In every country, some of these checks are, with more or less force, in constant operation; yet notwithstanding their general prevalence, there are few states in which there is not a constant effort in the population to increase beyond the means of subsistence. This constant effort as constantly tends to subject the lower classes of society to distress, and to prevent any great permanent amelioration of their condition.

"These effects, in the present state of society, seem to be produced in the following manner:—We will suppose the means of subsistence in any country just equal to the easy support of its inhabitants. The constant effort towards population, which is found to act even in the most vicious societies, increases the number of people before the means of subsistence are increased. The food, therefore, which before supported eleven millions, must now be divided among eleven millions and a half. The poor consequently must live much worse, and many of them be reduced to severe distress. The number of labourers, also, being above the proportion of work in the market, the price of labour must tend to fall; while the price of provisions would at the same time tend to rise. The labourer, therefore, must do more work, to earn the same as he did before. During this season of distress, the discouragements to marriage, and the difficulty of rearing a family are so great, that population is nearly at a stand. In the mean time the cheapness of labour, the plenty of labourers, and the necessity of an increased industry among them, encourage cultivators to employ more labour upon their land; to turn up fresh soil, and to manure and improve more completely what is already in tillage; till ultimately the means of subsistence may become in the same proportion to the population, as at the period from which we set out. The situation of the labourer being then again tolerably comfortable, the restraints to population are in some degree loosened; and, after a short period, the same retrograde and progressive movements, with respect to happiness, are repeated.

"This sort of oscillation will not, probably, be obvious to common view; and it may be difficult even for the most attentive observer to calculate its periods. Yet that, in the generality of old states, some such vibration does exist, though in a much less marked and in a much more irregular manner than I have described it, no reflecting man who considers the subject deeply, can well doubt.

"One principal reason why this oscillation has been less remarked, and less decidedly confirmed by experience than might naturally be expected, is, that the histories of mankind which we possess, are, in general, histories only of the higher classes. We have not many accounts that can be depended upon, of the manners and customs of that part of mankind where these retrograde and progressive movements chiefly take place. A satisfactory history of this kind, of one

people and of one period, would require the constant and minute attention of many observing minds in local and general remarks on the state of the lower classes of society, and the causes that influenced it; and to draw accurate inferences upon this subject, a succession of such historians for some centuries would be necessary. This branch of statistical knowledge has of late years been attended to in some countries, and we may promise ourselves a clearer insight into the internal structure of human society from the progress of these inquiries. But the science may be said yet to be in its infancy, and many of the objects, on which it would be desirable to have information, have been either omitted or not stated with sufficient accuracy. Among these perhaps may be reckoned, the proportion of the number of adults to the number of marriages; the extent to which vicious customs have prevailed in consequence of the restraints upon matrimony; the comparative mortality among the children of the most distressed part of the community, and of those who live rather more at their ease; the variations in the real price of labour; the observable differences in the state of the lower classes of society with respect to ease and happiness, at different times during a certain period; and very accurate registers of births, deaths, and marriages, which are of the utmost importance in this subject.

"A faithful history, including such particulars, would tend greatly to elucidate the manner in which the constant check upon population acts; and would probably prove the existence of the retrograde and progressive movements that have been mentioned; though the times of their vibration must necessarily be rendered irregular from the operation of many interrupting causes, such as the introduction of or failure of certain manufactures, a greater or less prevalent spirit of agricultural enterprise: years of plenty, or years of scarcity; wars, sickly seasons, poor laws, emigration, and other causes of a similar nature.

"A circumstance which has, perhaps, more than any other contributed to conceal this oscillation from common view is, the difference between the nominal and real price of labour. It very rarely happens that the nominal price of labour universally falls; but we well know that it frequently remains the same, while the nominal price of provisions has been gradually rising. This is, in effect, a real fall in the price of labour; and, during this period, the condition of the lower classes of the community must be gradually growing worse. But the farmers and capitalists are growing rich from the real cheapness of labour. Their increasing capitals enable them to employ a greater number of men; and, as the population had probably suffered some check from the greater difficulty of supporting a family, the demand for labour, after a certain period, would be great in proportion to the supply, and its price would of course rise, if left to find its natural level; and thus the wages of labour, and consequently the condition of the lower classes of society, might have progressive and retrograde movements, though the price of labour might never nominally fall.

"In savage life, where there is no regular price of labour, it is little to be doubted that similar oscillations take place. When population has increased nearly to the utmost limits

limits of the food, all the preventive and the positive checks will naturally operate with increased force. Vicious habits with respect to the sex will be more general, the exposing of children more frequent, and both the probability, and fatality, of wars and epidemics, will be considerably greater; and these causes will probably continue their operation till the population is sunk below the level of the food; and then the return to comparative plenty, will again produce an increase, and after a certain period, its further progress will again be checked by the same causes.

"But without attempting to establish in all cases these progressive and retrograde movements in different countries, which would evidently require more minute histories than we possess, the following propositions are proposed to be proved:

"1. Population is necessarily limited by the means of subsistence.

"2. Population invariably increases, where the means of subsistence increase, unless prevented by some very powerful and obvious checks.

"3. These checks, and the checks which repress the superior power of population, and keep its effects on a level with the means of subsistence, are all resolvable into moral restraint, vice, and misery.

"The first of these propositions scarcely needs illustration. The second and third will be sufficiently established by a review of the past and present state of society.

"This review will be the subject of the following chapters."

USEFUL and ENTERTAINING PROBLEMS in MECHANICS.

[From Dr. HUTTON'S TRANSLATION of OZANAM'S RECREATIONS.]

To construct a Dress, by Means of which it will be impossible to sink in the Water, and which shall leave the Person, who wears it, at full Freedom to make every kind of Movement.

"AS a man weighs very nearly the same as an equal volume of water, it is evident that a mass of some substance much lighter than that fluid may be added to his body, by which means both together will be lighter than water, and of course must float. It is in consequence of this principle that, in order to learn to swim, some people tie to their breast and back two pieces of cork, or affix full-blown bladders below their arms. But these methods are attended with inconveniences, which may be remedied in the following manner.

"Between the cloth and lining of a jacket, without arms, place small pieces of cork, an inch and a half square, and about half or three quarters of an inch in thickness. They must be arranged very near to each other, that as little space as possible may be lost; but yet not so close as to affect, in any degree, the flexibility of the jacket, which must be quilted to prevent their moving from their places. The jacket must be made to button round the body, by means of strong buttons, well

sewed on; and to prevent its slipping off, it ought to be furnished behind with a kind of girdle, so as to pass between the thighs and fasten before.

"By means of such a jacket, which will occasion as little embarrassment as a common dress, people may throw themselves into the water with the greatest safety; for if it be properly made the water will not rise over their shoulders. They will sink so little, that even a dead body in that situation would infallibly float. The wearers therefore need make no effort to support themselves; and while in the water they may read or write, and even load a pistol and fire it. In the year 1767 an experiment was made of all these things by the abbé de la Chapelle, fellow of the royal society of London, by whom this jacket was invented.

"It is almost needless to observe how useful this invention might be on land as well as at sea. A sufficient number of soldiers, provided with these jackets, might pass a deep and rapid river in the night time, armed with pistols and sabres, and surprise a corps of the enemy. If repulsed, they could throw themselves into the water, and escape without any fear of being pursued.

"During sea voyages, the sailors, while employed in dangerous manœuvres, often fall overboard and are lost; others perish in ports and harbours by boats oversetting in consequence of a heavy swell, or some other accident; in short, some vessel or other is daily wrecked on the coasts, and it is not without difficulty that only a part of the crew are saved. If every man, who trusts himself to this perfidious element, were furnished with such a cork jacket, to put on during the moments of danger, it is evident that many of them might escape death."

To construct a Boat which cannot be sunk, even if the Water should enter it on all Sides.

"Cause a boat to be made with a false bottom, placed at such a distance from the real one, as may be proportioned to the length of the boat, and to its burthen and the number of persons it is intended to carry. According to the most accurate calculation, this distance, in our opinion, ought to be one foot, for a boat eighteen feet in length, and five or six in breadth. The vacuity between this false bottom and the real one ought to be filled up with pieces of cork, placed as near to each other as possible: and as the false bottom will lessen the sides of the boat, they may be raised proportionally; leaving large apertures, that the water thrown into the vessel may be able to run off. It may be proper also to make the stern higher, and to furnish it with a deck, that the people may take shelter under it, in case the boat should be thrown on its side by the violence of the waves.

"Boats constructed in this manner might be of great utility for going on board a vessel lying in a harbour, perhaps several miles from the shore; or for going on shore from a ship anchored at a distance from the land. Unfortunate accidents too often happen on such occasions, when there is a heavy surf, or in consequence of some sudden gust of wind; and it even appears that sometimes the greatest danger of a voyage is to be apprehended under circumstances of this kind. But boats constructed on the above principle would prevent such accidents.

"Much

"Much we confess is to be added to this idea, presented here in all its simplicity; for some changes perhaps ought to be made in the form of the vessel; or heavy bodies ought to be added in certain places to increase its stability. This is a subject of research well worth attention, as the result of it might be the preservation of thousands of lives every year.

"For this invention we are indebted to M. de Bernieres, one of the four controllers-general of bridges and causeways; who, in 1769, constructed a boat of this kind for the king. He afterwards constructed another with improvements for the duke de Chartres; and a third for the marquis de Marigny. The latter was tried by filling it with water, or endeavouring to make it overset; but it righted as soon as left to itself; and though filled with water, was still able to carry six persons.

"By this invention the number of accidents which befal those who lead a sea-faring life, may in future be diminished; but the indifference with which the invention of M. de Bernieres was received, shews how regardless men are of the most useful discoveries, when the general interests of humanity only are concerned, and when trouble and expence are required to render them practically useful."

How to raise from the Bottom of the Sea a Vessel which has sunk.

"This difficult enterprise has been several times accomplished by means of a very simple hydrostatical principle, viz. that if a boat be loaded as much as possible, and then unloaded, it tends to raise itself with a force equal to that of the weight of the volume of water which it displaced when loaded. And hence we are furnished with the means of employing very powerful forces to raise a vessel that has been sunk.

"The number of boats employed for this purpose, must be estimated according to the size of the vessel, and by considering that the vessel weighs in water no more than the excess of its weight over an equal volume of that fluid; unless the vessel is firmly bedded in the mud; for then she must be accounted of her full weight. The boats being arranged in two rows, one on each side of the sunk vessel, the ends of cables, by means of divers, must be made fast to different parts of the vessel, so that there shall be four on each side for each boat. The ends of these cables which remain above water, are to be fastened to the head and stern of the boat for which they are intended. Thus, if there are four boats on each side, there must be thirty-two cables, being four for each boat.

"When every thing is thus arranged, the boats are to be loaded as much as they will bear without sinking, and the cables must be stretched as much as possible. The boats are then to be unloaded, two and two, and if they raise the vessel, it is a sign that there is a sufficient number of them; but, in raising the vessel, the cables affixed to the boats which remain loaded will become slack, and for this reason they must be again stretched as much as possible. The rest of the boats are then to be unloaded, by shifting their lading into the former. The vessel will thus be raised a little more, and the cables of the loaded boats will become slack; these cables being again stretched, the lading of the latter boats must be shifted back into the others, which

will raise the vessel still a little higher; and if this operation be repeated as long as necessary, she may be brought to the surface of the water, and conveyed into port, or into dock.

"An account of the manœuvres employed to raise, in this manner, the Tojo, a Spanish ship belonging to the Indian fleet, sunk in the harbour of Vigo, during the battle on the 10th of October 1702, may be seen in the 'Mémoirs des Academiciens étrangers,' vol. ii. But as this vessel had remained more than thirty-six years in that state, it was imbedded in a bank of tenacious clay, so that it required incredible labour to detach it; and when brought to be surface of the water, it contained none of the valuable articles expected. It had been one of those unloaded by the Spaniards themselves, before they were sunk, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the English.

"On the same principle is constructed the camel, a machine employed by the Dutch for carrying vessels heavily laden over the sand banks in the Zuyder-Zee. In that sea, opposite to the mouth of the river Y, about six miles from the city of Amsterdam, there are two sand banks, between which is a passage, called the Pampus, sufficiently deep for small vessels, but not for those which are large and heavily laden. On this account ships which are outward bound take in before the city only a small part of their cargo, receiving the rest when they have got through the Pampus; and those that are homeward bound must, in a great measure, unload before they enter it. For this reason the goods are put into lighters, and in these transported to the warehouses of the merchants in the city; and the large vessels are then made fast to boats, by means of ropes, and in that manner towed through the passage to their stations.

"Though measures were adopted, so early as the middle of the sixteenth century, by forbidding ballast to be thrown into the Pampus, to prevent the farther accumulation of sand in this passage, that inconvenience increased so much, from other causes, as to occasion still greater obstruction to trade; and it at length became impossible for ships of war and others heavily laden to get through it. About the year 1672, no other remedy was known, than that of making fast to the bottoms of ships large chests filled with water, which was afterwards pumped out, so that the ships were buoyed up and rendered sufficiently light to pass the shallow. By this method, which was attended with the utmost difficulty, the Dutch carried out their numerous fleet to sea in the above-mentioned year. This plan however gave rise soon after to the invention of the camel, by which the labour was rendered easier. The camel consists of two half ships, constructed in such a manner that they can be applied, below water, on each side of the hull of a large vessel. On the deck of each part of the camel are a great many horizontal windlasses; from which ropes proceed through apertures in the one half, and, being carried under the keel of the vessel, enter similar apertures in the other, from which they are conveyed to the windlasses on its deck. When they are to be used, as much water as may be necessary is suffered to run into them; all the ropes are cast loose, the vessel is conducted between them, and large beams are placed horizontally through the

port-

port-holes of the vessel, with their ends resting on the camel, on each side. When the ropes are made fast, so that the ship is secured between the two parts of the camel, the water is pumped from them, by which means they rise, and raise the ship along with them. Each half of the camel is generally one hundred and twenty-seven feet in length; the breadth at one end is twenty-two, and at the other thirteen. The hold is divided into several compartments, that the machine may be kept in equilibrio, while the water is flowing into it. An East-India ship that draws fifteen feet of water, can by the help of the camel be made to draw only eleven; and the heaviest ships of war, of ninety or one hundred guns, can be so lightened, as to pass, without obstruction, all the sand banks of the Zuyder-Zee.

"Leupold, in his *Theatrum machinarum*, says that the camel was invented by Cornelius Meyer, a Dutch engineer. But the Dutch writers, almost unanimously, ascribe this invention to a citizen of Amsterdam, called Meeuves Meindertszoon Bakker. Some make the year of the invention to have been 1688, and others 1690. However this may be, we are assured, on the testimony of Bakker himself, written in 1692, and still preserved, that in the month of June, when the water was at its usual height, he conveyed, in the course of twenty-four hours, by the help of the camel, a ship of war called the Maagt van Enkhuysen, which was one hundred and fifty-six feet in length, from Enkhuysen Hooft, to a place where there was sufficient depth; and that this could have been done much sooner had not a perfect calm prevailed at the time. In the year 1698, he raised a ship called the Unie six feet by the help of this machine, and conducted her to a place of safety.

"As ships built in the Newa cannot be conveyed into harbour, on account of the sand banks formed by the current of that river, camels are employed also by the Russians, to carry ships over these shoals: and they have them of various sizes. Bernoulli saw one, each half of which was two hundred and seventeen feet in length, and thirty-six in breadth. Camels are used likewise at Venice."

What is it that supports in an upright Position, a Top or Tetotum, while it is revolving?

"It is the centrifugal force of the parts of the top or tetotum, put in motion. For a body cannot move circularly without making an effort to fly off from the centre; so that if it be affixed to a string, made fast to that centre, it will stretch it, and in a greater degree according as the circular motion is more rapid.

"The top then being in motion, all its parts tend to recede from the axis, and with greater force the more rapidly it revolves; hence it follows that these parts are like so many powers acting in a direction perpendicular to the axis. But as they are all equal, and as they pass all round with rapidity by the rotation, the result must be that the top is in equilibrio on its point of support, or the extremity of the axis on which it turns.

How comes it that a Stick, loaded with a Weight at the upper Extremity, can be kept in Equilibrio, on the Point of the Finger, much easier than when the Weight is near the

the lower Extremity; or that a Sword, for Example, can be balanced on the Finger much better when the Hilt is uppermost?

"The reason of this phenomenon, so well known to all those who perform feats of balancing, is as follows. When the weight is at a considerable distance from the point of support, its centre of gravity, in deviating either on the one side or the other from a perpendicular direction, describes a larger circle, than when the weight is very near to the centre of rotation, or the point of support. But in a large circle an arc of a determinate magnitude, such as an inch, describes a curve which deviates much less from a horizontal direction than if the radius of the circle were less. The centre of gravity of the weight then may, in the first case, deviate from the perpendicular the quantity of an inch, for example, without having a tendency or force to deviate more, than it would in the second case; for its tendency to deviate altogether from the perpendicular is greater, according as the tangent to that point of the arc where it happens to be, approaches more to a vertical direction. The greater therefore the circle described by the centre of gravity of the weight, the less is its tendency to fall, and consequently the greater the facility with which it can be kept in equilibrio."

ANIMALCULES capable of REVIVIFICATION.

[From Mr. DALYELL'S TRANSLATION of SPALLANZANI'S TRACTS.]

"THE sand of tiles, the mud of ditches and marshes, which pass in the vulgar eye for the vilest of matter, are sources of wonder to the philosophic observer, from the rare and singular beings they contain. To the mud of ditches and marshes we owe the cluster, armed, bulb, funnel, and knotted polypus. It is there we find the fresh-water worm, the boat worm, and the dart millepede, animals that have confounded the human mind, and created a new philosophy. When the sand of tiles is not the abode of wheel animals, it is not then the less famous or remarkable. An animal which revives after death, and which, within certain limits, revives as often as we please, is a phenomenon as incredible as it seems improbable and paradoxical. It confounds the most received ideas of animality; it creates new ideas, and becomes an object no less interesting to the researches of the naturalist than the speculation of the profound metaphysician. But the celebrity of this sand will increase, by learning that it contains other animals, which, like the wheeler, possess the property of resurrection: so that we almost say, all the animals living in sand are immortal. There I have discovered two new species of animals, which I proceed to describe. I lament that their rareness has prevented me from extending my observations as far as I could have wished, or rather as far as the importance of the subject would have required.

"On wetting wheel animals' sand, I several times observed a yellowish animal three or four times larger

larger than a wheeler with six legs; but I paid no particular attention to it, supposing that it was some little terrestrial insect that had casually fallen into the watch-glass where the sand was kept. My reason for thinking so, was from always having seen it move obliquely and very slowly at the bottom of the water, as if unable to walk, and often supine, making great exertions to recover its natural position, but they were in general fruitless, as happens to many aërial and terrestrial insects casually falling into water. At the same time, with more continued and careful observation, I recognised it as an animal really aquatic, and perceived that its awkward and laborious mode of progression was from the smoothness of the glass slider on which it had been put for examination, and, when placed on sand, that it had a regular progressive motion, slow indeed, and, compared with the wheel animals' motion, like the crawling of a tortoise. Thus to design it by some descriptive name, I called it the Sloth.

"The whole body is granulated: the anterior part obtuse: and the posterior terminated by four hooked filaments, which serve for attaching it to any particular place. The limbs have small shining claws, or nails, which, as far as one can judge, are of a corneous substance, the points turned towards the body, as we see in the recurved claws of several insects. The corpulence of the sloth, rendering it opaque, prevents us from seeing the internal organization. But we can perceive a small elliptical spot in the middle of the body, which I suspect to be the reservoir of the aliments. In the anterior part is also distinguished an internal lucid spot, smaller, narrower, and longer than the other, which I have sometimes supposed the œsophagus. The figure of the whole is clumsy, and very much resembles the testicle of a cock.

"This animalcule forms no vortex in the water, which is not surprising, as it has neither the wheels nor fibrillæ of the animals that perform this operation. It appears that the wheel animal cannot advance a step without fixing the trident to some adjacent substance; it is otherwise with the sloth, for it often makes no use of its hooked filaments. It never swims; it is specifically heavier than the water; thence it always turns round on the surface of the sand, or amongst it.

"The phenomena of its death, from the want of water, and of resurrection when water is supplied, are precisely the same with those of the wheel animal. Motion gradually ceases: the limbs are contracted and drawn entirely within the body, which diminishes very much, is completely dried, and assumes a globular figure. The reverse succeeds when the sloth is revived by supplying water. As the wheel animal can only revive a certain number of times, so it is with the sloth. And, although sand is necessary for its resurrection, it does not appear so essential as for that of the wheel animal.

"The degrees of heat, fatal to revived or dead wheel animals, are also fatal to sloths; and the same may be said of odours and liquors. Cold, however intense, does them no harm, and in this they likewise coincide with wheel animals.

"Sloths are infinitely more rare than wheel animals: for five-and-twenty of these, four or five sloths are hardly found. All are of the same

same figure, but not equal in size. I have isolated many in watch-glasses, sometimes with sand and sometimes with pure water, intending to discover their mode of propagation; but, instead of multiplying, all perished; some sooner, some later, none ever attaining the sixth day.

"The third species of resurgent animals found in sand consists of certain minute eels, very like the anguillæ of vinegar. This species is much rarer, nor is it to be found on every roof. The head and adjoining part of the body are very transparent, and of a shining silver colour: the tail is the same, but the intermediate part is darkish and all granulated. The greater part of the tail is bent, and terminates in a very sharp point. The head, on the contrary, is obtuse; and a little below the extremity there is a mouth, which terminates a canal, apparently serving for an œsophagus, and traversing the whole length of the body.

"If the sand is quite dry, they are seen motionless, dried up, and generally bent into a spiral. When considerably sprinkled with water, they soon exhibit signs of life. The tail first commences a gentle motion, bending and turning in different directions; the head then moves, and afterwards the rest of the body: so that the whole animal soon becomes animated. Whence it results, that the same degree of humidity is not required to animate this species as for the wheel animal and sloth, which do not revive unless completely immersed in water. The eels do not change their place; they only extend, contract, turn, and bend. If the sand is thoroughly wet, their activity, and rapidity of course, is as great as that of the eels of vinegar. Provided they have water, they live long in watch-glasses: if there is sand at the bottom, they seldom quit it, always moving about the grains, and pushing their heads among them, which would induce us to suppose that they do so in search of food, for some more minute and delicate particles are transmitted by the mouth to the œsophagus. Notwithstanding they have been long kept in glasses, I never saw them propagate.

"When the water evaporates, they die; but they resist death longer than wheel animals and sloths. A small degree of motion remains several minutes after evaporation: when dead, the figure of the body is changed; the length is contracted, and the breadth is diminished. They insensibly resume their original size on humectation, and animation returns. There are conditions necessary for resurrection: when the eels are in sand, a quarter of an hour is sufficient for recalling them to life; but in pure water, there is a great difference, according to circumstances. If only the first or second time of revival, there is not much difference in the time required for resurrection; but, in proportion as the number of resurrections increases, the time necessary for revival always becomes greater: an hour at least, and sometimes more, is required for the fourth; for the fifth still longer, and so on for the rest. The frequency of resurrection in pure water, as in sand, is limited, like that of wheel animals and sloths. The eels die for ever at the seventh or the eighth, or, at most, the ninth resurrection; and, although moistened again, they revive no more. Part of their rapidity and activity is lost in each resurrection,

tion, so that the last is but a simple change from immobility to languid contorsions of the members.

"Here then are three species of animals, inhabiting the sand of roofs, which nature has permitted to revive after death. These three are the only inhabitants of this sand, at least I do not think I have ever seen other animated beings there, having a permanent abode. They are not the only animals, however, that enjoy the privilege of resurrection; others also possess it: among these, the celebrated eels of blighted corn deserve to be particularly mentioned. All the world knows that Mr. Needham is the author of this famous discovery. Examining the internal surface of blighted corn, he saw, with agreeable surprise, that it was composed of minute eels, which, on being wet, acquired motion, and gave certain indications of life. Their immediate resurrection, as he has observed, takes place when the ears are gathered still fresh and humid: if they have been gathered some time, and have lost their humidity, maceration is necessary; nor will this always be sufficient for resurrection; it is even requisite that the eels remain a given time in the water. When allowed to dry, they become motionless, and recover life on humectation. But what chiefly surprised the author of the discovery was, after having preserved the blighted corn for two years and more, the same phenomena were observed anew when it was wet.

"The fact was too wonderful for others not to endeavour to ascertain it. It has been corroborated by several good observers, such as the illustrious translator of Mr. Needham's work, where this discovery is spoken of; by the count Ginnani; but by Baker in particular, in his excellent treatise on the *eels of blighted corn*. Among other things, he has seen the resurrection of eels taken from grain that had been dry four years. This observation he made before Mr. Folkes, then president of the Royal Society, and other friends. But he witnessed a resurrection much more wonderful, which was effected after a far longer time. In 1771 he had some blighted corn, which he had got from Mr. Needham in 1744. In his experiments, resurrection succeeded perfectly at the end of twenty-seven years.

"In short, there is not at this day any professor, any amateur of natural history, particularly in Italy, who does not take pleasure in amusing himself, and gratifying the curiosity of his learned friends, with these admirable resurrections. For this reason, I judge it needless to stop and prove their reality by new facts, and to speak of the origin and generation of the eels; for we know that this, which is a most essential part of their history, has been amply elucidated by the learned labours of Italians. The result of some of my trivial observations only shall be related, which will both serve as proofs of their history, and are analogous to those we have given of other resurgent animalcula.

"The external colour of a grain of blighted corn, that has been kept some time, is like soot: if broken, the internal substance consists of a dry whitish matter, which, examined with the microscope, changes to a mass of long eel-shaped corpuscula. They are not only excessively dry, but lifeless, and so confused and confounded together, that it is extremely

tremely difficult to separate them without rupture.

"If the grain has been some hours infused in water, and the extremity adroitly cut off, without injuring the interior, and then pressed with pincers, a parcel of minute eels are seen passing through the hole, just like a bit of paste drawn into a thread. When dropped into water, they scatter; and, falling to the bottom, are extended as so many straight lines, or a little curved, and remain in this position until revival.

"Such variety has occurred in the time for revival, computing from the moment of humectation, that I have never seen the same thing twice. The anguillæ of some grains were re-animated in three hours, or less; and others in four or five. Some required twenty hours or more; and some complete days. All those of the same grain were not re-animated at once; sometimes two days intervened between the animation of the first and last. The whole do not revive: some are disfigured and lacerated; part are always so; but some apparently entire and unhurt remain motionless. Resurrection is affected by the state of the weather: it is accelerated by heat, and retarded by cold; but here also are irregularities.

"It may be useful to describe the symptoms which announce the revival of the eels. The first indication of returning life is a deviation from the straight lines their dead bodies formed: the head and tail begin to curve, though the rest of the body continues in a straight line. Sometimes the two extremities do not bend: the body only becomes a little arched in the middle. One will gently oscillate, while the other does not move: sometimes they approach each other until a circle is formed by the extremities touching. One extremity will rest on the other, or glide over it, or both are entwined together: sometimes the whole body is rolled into a spiral in more or fewer, in wider or narrower volutions. These bendings, arcs, oscillations, circles, twinings, glidings, volutes; these contortions are formed and destroyed, and repeated at first very languidly, then in a manner more lively and perceptible. This strange variety of motions, with others which it is unnecessary to describe, continues during all the time they live: whence it appears they have nothing that may properly be called progressive motion, which constitutes a difference between them and the other resurgent animals. They never rise in the water, nor do they crawl on the sides of the vessel; they constantly remain at the bottom, appearing like a pellicle or spot darker or lighter, according as they are more or less numerous.

"If the water fails, whether by evaporation or otherwise, the eels gradually become lifeless, and motion ceases when there is no more water. The other three kinds of resurgent animals have the prudence to fly the places where the water dries; but the eels continue in the same spot, without attempting to escape.

"In several hours, they become very dry, and adhere to the substances below so tenaciously, that it is difficult to separate them without breaking: when wet, they separate easily, especially with the point of a needle. They soon soften, and, becoming pliant, it is evident they are of a gelatinous consistence;

consistence; and an iron instrument cannot touch them without injury. This, at least, happens while alive: when dead some days, they are still very fragile, yet have more cohesion than one would think: they resist the point of a needle, and do not suffer from a drop of water let fall from a considerable height. If dry only a quarter of an hour, the contact of water re-animates them, and in a little they become as vivacious as before. Urine, salt water, and vinegar, produce similar effects, though fatal in other circumstances, as we shall see. When dry during some days, they require a full hour for revival. If one has patience to wet them, and allow them to dry, death and resurrection will be seen in an important limitation; which is, the oftener humectation is repeated, the less the number of resurgents will be, and the longer time required for revival. I had a number of lively eels in a watch-glass, the first time they were revived: one thousandth part did not revive the eleventh time, and the seventeenth there was not one. I have often repeated this important fact, and always with the same consequence, except that the reviving eels either went beyond the seventeenth time, or died before attaining it. Not only wheel animals, sloths, and the minute eels of roofs, but also those of blighted corn, enjoy the property of resurrection circumscribed within certain limits, beyond which it is lost. The body to revive must be entire. Eels, cut into two or more parts, though often wet, and remaining long in water, never exhibit any sign of motion. All sensation is lost on division in two, after a slight universal vibration or convulsion of the body.

"I have subjected the eels, as well as wheel animals, to different experiments, and first to electricity, using Franklin's battery. Those alive died instantaneously, and those dead at the time lost the property of resurrection. This did not surprise me; for almost all were broken or disfigured by the traversing shock. There was a difference in the results, if the blighted corn was subjected to the same experiment: few revived when the grains had been previously macerated; if the grains were dry, many recovered life.

"As salt water, urine, and vinegar are unfit for reviving the anguillæ, at least if they have been only a short time dry, so are they fatal to them when revived; not so instantaneously, however, as to other animalcula, for eels will move in them some hours after immersion.

"A vacuum does not prejudice their resurrection, whether the first time after proceeding from the grain, or in future: only resurrection is not so soon accomplished as in the open air.

"The heat of the sun or the fire at 140° kills them in several hours: motion and life are almost immediately destroyed at 144° or 149°. Heat is a more powerful agent on wet grains than on dry. The observer will commonly have many eels from grains that have suffered 138°: most part are killed at that degree, if the grains are wet.

"When freezing water becomes solid, the eels cease to move. Cold 8° below 0 does not destroy the resurgent property, and life returns on melting of the ice.

"Plants

"Plants are beings so analogous to animals, that he may be excused who has defined them *rooted animals*. In the works of Vallisneri, Buffon, Bonnet, and, lastly, of the abbé Corti, may be seen the numerous and various traits of analogy between these two classes of organised beings. The subject of which we treat presents a new analogy: for as different animals revive after death, so do many plants spring again after they have perished. It would be departing from my plan, was I to say as much of them as I have said of animals; and I shall be content with mentioning two, the *nostoc* and *tremella*. The nostoc, so named by Paracelsus, is a terrestrial plant, whose sudden appearance in places where there was no sign of it before was considered by the ancients rather as a prodigy of heaven or earth than as a plant. Thus they denominated it *heaven's flower and earth's flower*. It is seen in all seasons, but particularly in summer, after heavy rains. Though it springs in every soil, it prefers meadows, arid lands, and sandy valleys. The colour is a brownish green, the figure irregular, and resembling a leaf carelessly folded. When separated with the fingers, some resistance is felt, such as one feels on tearing a young leaf. If a sudden drought happens, the nostoc contracts and dries, remaining only a shrivelled, fine, thin skin. If a sudden and heavy rain falls, it again becomes green, and resumes its original size. Therefore the nostoc, as Réaumur, who has furnished me with this intelligence, observes, is a plant of a singular kind, since it recovers life after being in a state which to others would be permanent death.

"The same privilege is possessed by the tremella, which is an aquatic plant, placed by botanists in the class *conferva*. If it chance to be in a vessel where the water fails, it dries, and loses its verdure; but water being supplied, it soon recovers its original state. Nature does the same as art. I have seen, from the beginning of July till the end of October, a ditch for watering land covered fifty times with the beautiful verdure of the tremella, and seen it as often disappear, when there was no water. Colourless hairs or wool only were visible at the sides and the bottom, which the microscope shewed me consisted of the tremella, dry and dead.

"What can be the reason why these animals and plants are thus privileged, in comparison to many others which, perishing once, perish for ever?—Shall we perhaps ascribe it to the simplicity of their structure? But this opinion or conjecture does not seem well founded. There are many animals that never revive, whose structure is as simple, or even more so, than that of the resurgent animals. Are not many infusion animalcula, which are composed of a simple aggregate of vesicles, undoubtedly less complex than wheel animals, which are provided with vessels, wheels, intestines, and ovaries? Yet they do not recover life when once it is lost. Simplicity of structure would even seem an obstacle to their resurrection; for the simple membrane of several species bursts on evaporation of the water: the animal is dispersed, and reduced to an unconnected and disordered heap of fragments.

"The arm-polypus is no less simple

simple than the animalcula of infusions, being composed but of a granulated gelatinous skin. If simplicity of structure influenced the resurrection of animals, the arm-polypus would certainly be one; and it seems so much the better adapted for resurrection, as it continues alive notwithstanding every method has been taken to destroy animation. It is demonstrated that these polypi sustain no injury by being turned several times outside in, like a glove, or by being cut asunder. If the head is cut off, a sort of hydra with many heads arises, each of which receives food by a different mouth. If these new heads are cut off, new hydras spring up, and each head creates a polypus fit for the formation of more hydras: in short, every particle, even the smallest fragment of a polypus, unfolds, and becomes a new polypus. If an animal so mangled and lacerated does not die, will it not be very credible that, only being allowed to remain dry, it may still retain the faculty of resurrection? But facts prove the reverse. The arm-polypus always dies when the water evaporates; and this happens equally whether it is immediately exposed to the air, or lies concealed among its native sub-aquatic herbs. When the water is almost exhausted, the arms are retracted into the animal; it contracts within itself, and dies. It never recovers, though water is copiously supplied. I speak of the arm-polypus, for it is the only species I have been able to find, and is the smallest of Trembley's arm-polypi.

"Next to polypi and infusion animalcula, according to my description, the organization of the sloth seems to be the most simple. We may say the same of the anguillæ of tiles and blighted corn, two species of serpentuli, which may properly be classed with so great a number of the inhabitants of fluids from their organization. Under the tremella in water are often found minute eels, very like those of tiles in size, shape, and simplicity of organization. I have frequently had the curiosity to let them dry, by the water evaporating: all endeavoured to conceal themselves where the filaments of the tremella were thickest; and when evaporation was complete, they perished, remaining partly entwined among the filaments, and partly heaped above one another. If immediately wet, they revive; but never, if a few minutes elapse.

"The eels of vinegar give the strongest evidence of vigour: though they continue motionless when the fluid fails, and are apparently dead, they recover life and action, if wet, after a quarter of an hour. Sometimes I have succeeded in reviving them after half an hour. I do not call this resurrection: if it was such, I cannot see why it should not succeed anew when wet with vinegar, in even a longer time: we may rather say, they do not die so soon as the eels of the tremella, and many other insects left dry: life, though suspended, is preserved, and appears on humectation.

"I can discover no greater simplicity in the tremella and nostoc than in many plants that do not revive. Let us throw a hasty glance on the truffle. What vegetable is more simple? No roots, tendrils, or fibres, internal or external; a substance equally compact and uniform throughout,

only interrupted by veins similar to those winding on some species of marble. It has no analogous organization with other plants, either terrestrial or aquatic; yet truffles, after once drying in the air, do not revive, if put in water.

"These united facts prove the fallacy of those opinions which attribute the resurrection of animals to the simplicity of their organization. But to what other principle can we recur? for we are here constrained to proceed on conjecture, rather than evidence and the view of truth. I shall suggest an hypothesis without engaging to support it. Haller's experiments demonstrate that the vital principle of animals with a heart originally resides in the irritability of this muscle. His experiments are too well known to need repetition. In animals which have no heart, it is more than probable that the principle of life resides in the irritability of their muscles. This being admitted, if the state of the animals is such that the irritable nature of the heart and muscles is destroyed, so as to leave no hope of reparation, it is clear that the animal not only dies, but must always remain dead: if the irritability is such that it may be re-excited, either naturally or by art, it is indubitable that the animal will pass from death to life. It will not signify though it remains dead a long time, even for an age. The reader comprehends my idea. When wheel animals, sloths, and the eels of tiles are deprived of water, their irritability is evidently lost, and they die. Other animals, having once lost this irritability, never recover it; but it is awakened in wheel animals, sloths, and eels, and they return to their original life by humectation.

"From the same principle, may we explain why, in certain cases, these animals lose the resurgent property when exposed to powerful heat or penetrating odours, or when some liquids and electricity act upon them. Such agents injure the muscular structure, as appears by the rupture of the body and destruction of the irritable power residing in it. This perhaps is the reason why frequent humectations prejudice resuscitant animals; for I have really seen it; and in particular observed, that the members of the eels of blighted corn were injured and lacerated by repeated humectation.

"We must conclude, from the whole, that as irritability resides in the glutinous part of the muscle, this part of resurgent animals has qualities very different from the irritable parts of other animals, though we are profoundly ignorant of what constitutes the difference, because we are profoundly ignorant of what the gluten consists.

"I wish to be sincere. A conclusion against the hypothesis may be deduced from my experiments. Irritability is recognised by its appearance, that is, on touching the muscular fibre with any stimulant, it contracts, and becomes rigid. I have often stimulated the muscular substance of the eels of blighted corn and tiles, with an extremely fine iron point, and attentively observed the consequence. The muscular fibre always seemed to contract a little, when touched, but I must acknowledge the same thing happened to the anguillæ of vinegar, and to other analogous animalcula, which do not enjoy the

the privilege of resurrection. There are even some aquatic and terrestrial vermiculi more irritable than the eels, since, with the most gentle touch, they contract and swell, until they become many times as thick and short. The objection is therefore confined to this: there are some animalcula which do not revive, though as irritable, even more so than those that do. But it does not affect my hypothesis, for the principle of resurrection is not placed in the greatest and most perfect irritability, but in an irritability which, after cessation, may be renewed by means of certain circumstances, though it otherwise appears to be less active than in other animals.

"If this hypothesis does not seem fully applicable to plants, in what concerns their irritability, since we know only a very small number possessing that property, still it may be applied to what respects their organization. Dried plants in general do not recover life, probably because they are so much injured in drying as to become incapable of imbibing the juices provided, and converting them into their own substance. Thence do they perish, and are totally destroyed. If such disorder is not occasioned by drying, and the organic action of plants revives when they are softened, and resume their original form, it is undoubted that they will then recover their pristine verdure and natural freshness. This may be the physical cause why the tremella, nostoc, and some other vegetables revive."

MAGNETISM of the EARTH.

[From Dr. YOUNG'S ANALYSIS of the PRINCIPLES of NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.]

"61. THE earth has been supposed to be a great magnet.

"For it produces all the phenomena of a natural magnet.

"The learned Mr. Kirwan has, with great ingenuity, endeavoured to show that the earth is a great magnet, formed by the chrystallisation of its iron and magnetic ores, from a fluid state, in which it existed at its formation. And as the shoots of the chrystals would be found in that direction in which they were least disturbed, they would all lie orderly in a direction parallel to the axis of the earth, and the axis of the magnet coincide with the axis of rotation.

"Nevertheless, there appear strong objections to this hypothesis—See Æpinus, p. 300. As, 1. Iron is not found to be heavier near the poles, than towards the equator. 2. If a bar of soft iron be held vertical, it is rendered magnetic; if horizontal, it quickly loses that power: therefore in the vertical position it ought to be heavier than in the horizontal, which does not appear to be the case—See Cavallo, p. 93. 3. If a magnetic needle, lying on a piece of

cork, be floated on water, it ought always to move to the northern side of the vessel, and not continue at rest in the middle. 4. Though many stones and ores are impregnated with iron, yet they are not in that state magnetical—See Cavallo, p. 16; that is, they will not affect a magnetic needle, though they themselves may be affected by a magnet. 5. The magnetism of the earth seems incompatible with the variation of the needle.

" 62. The poles of any magnet will be directed one towards one of the magnetical poles of the earth, the other towards the other.

" This follows from art. 7 and 61. The pole which is directed towards the north pole of the world, is called the north pole of the magnet; the other the south pole.

" 63. The magnetic axis of the earth is not coincident with the axis of revolution.

" For the north pole of the magnet is not directed exactly towards the pole of the world. This is called the variation.

" 64. The magnetic needle is subject to a diurnal variation, moving in northern latitudes, generally towards the west before noon, and afterwards gradually returning.

" It has been conjectured that this may arise from the diurnal change in the heat of the earth; for the eastern parts of the earth being heated faster in the morning than the western, their attractive force on the needle will be weakened, by art. 18, and therefore the needle will move westward.

" But the magnetical nucleus, to which we attribute the direction of the magnetic needle, is certainly buried at a very considerable depth below the surface of the earth; whereas we know that the line which separates the terrestrial crust, subject to the influence of heat and cold, from that which is not subject to it, does not lie far below the surface; for in caves of even moderate depth, the thermometer preserves a permanent state.

" 65. The magnetic needle is subject to an annual variation.

" Dr. Halley endeavoured to account for this phenomenon, by supposing that the axis of the magnetic nucleus was not exactly coincident with the axis of the earth, and that this nucleus was also moveable within the body of the earth. However, it has been found that the variation is not regular in any place, as it ought to be on this hypothesis. It is however singular, that the ætites, or eagle stone, which is of the class of iron ores, contains a nucleus, which is frequently moveable in the centre of the stone. See Fourcroy's Chem. v. iii. p. 219.

" 66. The aurora borealis produces irregularities in the declination of the needle.

" For during an aurora borealis the needle is, in general, much disturbed, while a similar needle of brass is not at all agitated. Since it is unquestionable that the aurora borealis has a magnetical influence on the needle, and that the needle is subject to a daily variation, perhaps the aurora borealis exists daily in the atmosphere, so as to produce this daily variation, and the annual variation also.

" 67. If a magnet be suspended on an horizontal axis at its centre of gravity, so that it may vibrate in a vertical circle, the north pole

pole of the magnet, on the northern side of the equator, will be depressed; and the southern pole depressed in the southern latitudes.

"Because, in northern latitudes the influence of the northern magnetic pole of the earth is predominant. This is called the dipping needle. At the equator there is no dip. If a needle were placed exactly E. and W. at the equator, it would remain so; but on the slightest agitation it would traverse, and point N. and S.

"68. If a bar of soft iron be kept vertical, or rather parallel to the magnetic axis of the earth for some time, it will become magnetic, the lower end acquiring a north polarity in the northern latitudes; but in the southern parts of the earth it acquires a south polarity. On reversing the bar, the poles are immediately changed. This follows from art. 33 and 61.

"69. In northern latitudes, the south pole of a magnet is stronger than the north pole.

"70. If an iron bar made red hot, be left to cool in the magnetic line, it will acquire a degree of magnetism, which is more or less permanent according to the nature of the iron.

"For the iron, while red hot, is soft, and therefore the earth, or perhaps some atmospherical cause, can more easily render it magnetical; but when cooled, it becomes harder, and consequently more tenacious of the power it has acquired.

"71. If an iron bar held vertical be rubbed always in the same direction against an horizontal bar from one end to the other, the horizontal bar will become magnetical, that extremity which was first touched, being the north pole in the northern parts of the earth.

"For the vertical bar either by the action of the earth, or of some cause existing in the atmosphere, becomes a magnet, whose lower end therefore acquires a north polarity by art. 68; therefore, by art. 48. the extremity last touched acquires a contrary polarity, that is, a southern polarity; and of course the extremity which is first touched, acquires a northern polarity.

"72. If an horizontal bar be rubbed from both ends to the middle, it will have two north poles, one at each end, and a south pole in the middle.

"73. If the horizontal bar be rubbed both ways, from the middle to the two extremities, it will have two south poles, one at each end, and a north pole in the middle.

"74. If an iron bar be held vertical, a few smart strokes of a hammer will give it polarity.

"This shows that a certain disposition of the particles of iron is requisite, in order that it should be magnetical; which is the opinion of Van Swinden. See his Memoirs, vol. i. p. 479.

"75. If a bar, weakly magnetised, be held vertical, and struck alternately at each end, its polarity may be destroyed or reversed.

"If the polarity be destroyed, we may conclude, from art. 38, that the homogeneous poles of the component or elementary magnets are thrown into contrary positions, by the contrary vibrations produced by the strokes of the hammer at each end of the bar. If it be reversed, by parity of

reason we infer, that the greater part of the particles have the position of their poles inverted.

"76. The electric shock frequently gives polarity to iron bars through which it is transmitted.

"For in its passage through the bar it agitates the particles of the iron, and therefore produces an effect similar to that in art. 74. So that electricity, as such, does not contribute to the communication or destruction of the magnetic virtue, but merely on the principle of exciting a tremulous motion amongst its particles, so as that the earth or atmosphere may give that disposition, on which polarity seems to depend.

"77. The aurora borealis is probably a magnetic meteor.

"For, 1. the northern pole of the needle appears to follow the aurora borealis—See Van Swinden's Mem. vol. i. p. 247. 2. The rays of the aurora borealis seem to converge to the magnetic pole. See Mairan, and Encyclop. Brit. also Cavallo, p. 331, and Meteorological Observations and Essays by J. Dalton, an. 1793. 3. A magnetic needle appears much disturbed during an aurora borealis, while a similar needle of brass is not agitated."

OF THE CAUSE OF MAGNETISM.

"78. There is no direct experiment by which the existence of a magnetic fluid can be proved.

"The opinion that magnetism was occasioned by a fluid, entering in at one pole, and passing out at the other, took its rise from the following experiment: having put a small magnet among some iron filings, laid upon a piece of paper, give the table a few gentle knocks with your hand, so as to shake the filings a little, and they will dispose themselves in curves terminating at the poles, and concave towards the axis of the magnet. But this effect is occasioned merely by the action of the magnet on the filings, each particle becoming itself a magnet; so that there are formed several strings of magnets, reaching from one pole of the central and principal magnet to the other.

"79. Nevertheless, it seems that the existence of a magnetic fluid must be admitted; because we cannot conceive a body to act where it is not.

"'That gravity,' says sir Isaac Newton, 'should be innate, inherent, and essential to matter, so that one body may act upon another at a distance, through a vacuum, without the mediation of any thing else, by and through which their action and force may be conveyed from one to another, is to me so great an absurdity, that I believe no man, who has in philosophical matters a competent faculty of thinking, can ever fall into it.' See bishop Horseley's Newton, vol. iv. p. 438.

"80. It seems probable that magnetic phenomena arise from causes existing in the atmosphere.

"The magnetic needle is certainly affected by atmospherical causes; and therefore all its phenomena, perhaps, depend on the same causes. The magnetism of the earth is an hypothesis, but the influence of atmospherical causes on the needle is a fact.

"81.

" 81. Magnetic phenomena depend on a medium more subtle than air.

" For the magnet attracts iron with the same force in vacuo as in the open air.

" 82. Electricity and magnetism do not interrupt each other's operation.

" For an electrified magnet attracts light bodies of all kinds by its electric power; at the same time that it attracts iron by its magnetic virtue.

" 83. The causes of electricity and magnetism are different.

" Because, 1. Electricity acts on all bodies, magnetism on iron only. 2. Electricity affects the senses, magnetism does not. 3. Points neither supply nor absorb the magnetic fluid more abundantly than blunt bodies, as they do in electricity. 4. Moisture diminishes electrical action, but has no influence on magnetism. 5. The whole of any substance may acquire one kind of electricity throughout; but every magnetic body has both kinds of magnetism. 6. The aurora borealis is not an electrical meteor, yet it influences the magnetic needle.

" 84. Though the electric and magnetic powers are different, yet there subsists a strong analogy between them.

" As, 1. Electricity is of two kinds; so is magnetism. 2. Bodies similarly electrified, or similarly magnetised, repel each other; if dissimilarly, they attract each other. 3. There is no electrical or magnetical attraction except between bodies differently electrified or magnetised. 4. If a body be brought near another which is electrified, its end next the electrified body acquires the contrary electricity, and the remote end of it the same kind of electricity; so in magnetism, and in this case, the neutral point is analogous to the magnetic centre. 5. The different kinds of electricity and magnetism sometimes succeed each other alternately, for several times, in the same body; so also in magnetism. 6. One kind of electricity or magnetism cannot be produced without the other. 7. A body more powerfully electrified or magnetised than another which is in the contrary state, when applied to it, will change its electricity or magnetism. 8. If an excited electric be broke transversely, the parts which were before in contact will be found diversely electrified; so in magnetism. 9. The electric and magnetic powers are proportional to the surfaces, not to the solid contents of the electrified and magnetic bodies. 10. A considerable degree of heat destroys both electricity and magnetism.

" 85. Animal magnetism appears to be a mere figment; and all the effects ascribed to it have been produced either by the imagination, or by drugs secretly applied.

" 86. Medical effects have been produced on the human body by the external application of magnets.

" It appears that the magnet acts as a sedative or antispasmodic. Brimstone and camphor, applied externally to the body, have been found to act in the same manner. Hence we may derive another argument in favour of

the existence of a magnetic fluid; for we can scarcely suppose that the magnet produces this effect by its merely attracting or repelling the particles of iron which are in the blood. But this seems to be put beyond all doubt by observing, that the magnet does not act upon the particles of blood until they have been calcined; and therefore can have no influence on the animal body merely by its attractive power."

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR.

By HENRY JAMES PYE, Esq. POET-LAUREAT.

I.

WHEN, at the Despot's dread command,
Bridg'd Hellespont his myriads bore
From servile Asia's peopled strand
To Græcia's and to Freedom's shore—
While hostile fleets, terrific, sweep,
With threat'ning oar, th' Ionian deep,
Clear Dirce's bending reeds among,
The Theban Swan no longer sung:
No more, by Isthmus' wave-worn glade,
Or Nemæa's rocks, or Delphi's shade,
Or Pisa's olive-rooted grove,
The temple of Olympian Jove,
The Muses twin'd the sacred bough,
To crown th' athletic victor's brow;
Till on the rough Ægean main,
Till on Platea's trophied plain,
Was crush'd the Persian tyrant's boast,
O'erwhelm'd his fleet, o'erthrown his host;
Then the bold Theban seiz'd again the lyre,
And struck the chords with renovated fire:
"On human life's delusive state,
"Tho' woes unseen, uncertain, wait,
"Heal'd in the gen'rous breast is every pain,
"With undiminish'd force, if Freedom's rights remain."

II.

Not so the British muse—Tho' rude
Her voice, to Græcia's tuneful choir,
By dread, by danger unsubdu'd,
Dauntless she wakes the lyric wire:
So when the awful thunder roars,
When round the livid lightnings play,
The imperial eagle proudly soars,
And wings aloft her daring way.

And,

And, hark! with animating note,
Aloud her strains exulting float,
While, pointing to th' inveterate host
Who threat destruction to this envied coast:
"Go forth, my sons!—As nobler rights ye claim,
"Than ever fann'd the Grecian patriot's flame;
"So let your breasts a fiercer ardour feel,
"Led by your Patriot King, to guard your country's weal."

III.

Her voice is heard—from wood, from vale, from down,
The thatch-roof'd village, and the busy town,
Eager th' indignant country swarms,
And pours a people, clad in arms,
Num'rous as those which Xerxes led
To crush devoted Freedom's head,
Firm as the band for Freedom's cause who stood,
And stain'd Thermopylæ with Spartan blood:
Hear o'er their heads the exulting goddess sing—
"These are my favourite sons, and *mine* their warrior KING!"

IV.

Thro' Albion's plains while wide and far
Swells the tumultuous din of war;
While, from the loom, the forge, the flail,
From Labour's plough, from Commerce' sail,
All ranks to martial impulse yield,
And grasp the spear, and brave the field;
Do weeds our plains uncultur'd hide?
Does drooping Commerce quit the tide?
Do languid Art and Industry
Their useful cares no longer ply?—
Never did Agriculture's toil
With richer harvests clothe the soil;
Ne'er were our barks more amply fraught;
Ne'er were with happier skill our ores, our fleeces, wrought.

V.

While the proud foe, to swell Invasion's host,
His bleeding country's countless millions drains,
And GALLIA mourns, thro' her embattl'd coast,
Unpeopled cities, and unlabour'd plains;
To guard and to avenge this favour'd land,
Tho' gleams the sword in ev'ry Briton's hand,
Still o'er our fields waves Concord's silken wing,
Still the Arts flourish, and the Muses sing;
While, moral truth and Faith's celestial ray,
Adorn, illume, and bless, a GEORGE's prosp'rous sway.

To

To Mary.

[By Mr. Cowper, from Mr. Hayley's Life of him.]

THE twentieth year is well nigh past,
Since first our sky was overcast,
Ah would that this might be the last!
My Mary!

Thy spirits have a fainter flow,
I see thee daily weaker grow—
'Twas my distress that brought thee low,
My Mary!

Thy needles, once a shining store!
For my sake restless heretofore;
Now rust disus'd, and shine no more,
My Mary!

For though thou gladly would'st fulfil
The same kind office for me still,
Thy sight now seconds not thy will,
My Mary!

But well thou play'd'st the huswife's part;
And all thy threads with magic art,
Have wound themselves about this heart,
My Mary!

Thy indistinct expressions seem
Like language utter'd in a dream;
Yet me they charm, whate'er the theme,
My Mary!

Thy silver locks, once auburn bright!
Are still more lovely in my sight
Than golden beams of orient light,
My Mary!

For could I view nor them nor thee,
What sight worth seeing could I see?
The sun would rise in vain for me,
My Mary!

Partakers of thy sad decline,
Thy hands their little force resign;
Yet, gently prest, press gently mine,
My Mary!

Such

Such feebleness of limbs thou prov'st
That now, at every step thou mov'st
Upheld by two, yet still thou lov'st,
My Mary!

And still to love, though prest with ill;
In wint'ry age to feel no chill,
With me, is to be lovely still,
My Mary!

But ah! by constant heed I know,
How oft the sadness that I show,
Transforms thy smiles to looks of woe,
My Mary!

And should my future lot be cast
With much resemblance of the past,
Thy worn-out heart will break at last,
My Mary!

GRATITUDE.

Addressed to Lady HESKETH.

[From the Same.]

THIS cap, that so stately appears,
With ribon-bound tassel on high,
Which seems by the crest that it rears,
Ambitious of brushing the sky;
This cap to my cousin I owe,
She gave it, and gave me beside
Wreath'd into an elegant bow
The ribon with which it is tied.

This wheel-footed studying chair,
Contrived both for toil and repose,
Wide-elbow'd, and wadded with hair,
In which I both scribble and doze,
Bright-studded to dazzle the eyes,
And rival in lustre of that,
In which, or Astronomy lies,
Fair Cassiopeia sat.

These carpets, so soft to the foot,
Caledonia's traffic and pride!
Oh spare them, ye Knights of the Boot!
Escaped from a cross-country ride!

This

This table and mirror within,
Secure from collision and dust,
At which I oft shave cheek and chin,
And periwig nicely adjust.

This moveable structure of shelves,
For its beauty admired and its use,
And charged with octavos and twelves
The gayest I had to produce,
Where, flaming in scarlet and gold,
My Poems enchanted I view,
And hope, in due time, to behold
My Iliad and Odyssey too.

This China, that decks the alcove,
Which here people call a beaufette,
But what the gods call it above,
Has ne'er been reveal'd to us yet:
These curtains, that keep the room warm,
Or cool, as the season demands;
Those stoves, that for pattern and form,
Seem the labour of Mulciber's hands.

All these are not half that I owe
To one from our earliest youth,
To me ever ready to show
Benignity, friendship, and truth;
For Time, the destroyer declared,
And foe of our perishing kind,
If even her face he has spared,
Much less could he alter her mind.

Thus compass'd about with the goods
And chattels of leisure and ease,
I indulge my poetical moods
In many such fancies as these;
And fancies I fear they will seem,
Poet's goods are not often so fine;
The poets will swear that I dream,
When I sing of the splendor of mine.

Love Abused.

[From the Same.]

WHAT is there in the vale of life,
Half so delightful as a wife,
When friendship, love, and peace combine
To stamp the marriage bond divine?

The

The stream of pure and genuine love
Derives its current from above;
And earth a second Eden shows,
Where'er the healing water flows:
But ah, if from the dykes and drains
Of sensual nature's fev'rish veins,
Lust like a lawless headstrong flood,
Impregnated with ooze and mud,
Descending fast on ev'ry side
Once mingles with the sacred tide,
Farewell the soul-enliv'ning scene!
The banks that wore a smiling green,
With rank defilement overspread,
Bewail their flow'ry beauties dead.
The stream polluted, dark, and dull,
Diffused into a Stygian pool,
Through life's last melancholy years
Is fed with ever flowing tears:

Complaints supply the zephyr's part,
And sighs that heave a breaking heart.

ELEGY on the LATE MR. WAKEFIELD.

[Translated by MR. GOOD, from the LATIN of DR. GEDDES.]

THEE too, the boast of every critic tongue,
Has fate severe snatched headlong from our eyes;
Snatched from a weeping wife, an offspring young,
Friends dearly loved, and all the good and wise.

How hard the doom!—In dungeons long enthralled,
Scarce flies thy joyous foot their dreary bourn,
When lo! to Death's dark mansions art thou called,
Whence man returns not—nor can e'er return.

True—good and bad, wise, simple, rich and poor,
Whoe'er has drank th' ethereal flood of day,
Kings, courtiers, beggars, must alike explore,
Soon, or more late, th' irremeable way:

But who laments not that, while fools survive,
While guilt grows old in infamy and crime,
Worth, wisdom, piety, that chief should thrive,
Fall like the rose-bud weltering in its prime?

But though too short the date to thee assigned,
Not short the genuine fame just heaven imparts:
Yes! thou hast lived—and long shall live, behind,
Thy splendid image, WAKEFIELD! in our hearts.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile betake thee to the fields of bliss,
Th' Elysian plains no cloud can e'er eclipse;
For not for thee yawns Ereb's dread abyss,
Nor pitchy Phlegeton shall soil thy lips.

No grey-beard judge shall now thy cause decide;
Impartial Minos here the balance holds:
Hark! as he sees thy spirit onward glide,
His tongue the ready plaudit thus unfolds:

"Fear not, pure shade! thy sufferings all, we know;
"These Hermes long has hastened to reveal:
"Though right and wrong be oft misnamed below,
"Substantial justice, here, alone we deal.

"Here rank is nought, and nought imperious power;
"'Tis VIRTUE, VIRTUE only can avail.
"Go—choose thy lot—command each future hour,
"All, all is thine, plain, woodland, hill and dale.

"Wouldst thou with Wisdom's sons divide the scene?
"Lo! PHERECYDES, SOLON at thy will;
"The SAMIAN, THALES, EPICURUS keen,
STAGIRA's sage, and PLATO sager still.

"There, pride of Rome! th' illustrious Catos shine;
"BRUTUS and PLINY, TULLY sweet of sound;
"There SENECA and MARCUS named *divine*
"By rank imperial less than virtue crowned.

"Compatriot with thyself, amid the throng,
"See LOCKE, see BACON, of coequal boast;
"See NEWTON, first the sapient train among,
"The fame and glory of the British coast.

"Or does thine ear sweet oratory please,
"With soothing sound, and soul-compelling power;
"Lo! where ÆOLIDES suspends the breeze;—
"The honeyed stream from NESTOR's lip devour:

"Feast on the tones that PERICLES of old,
"Like thunder, threw o'er deep-distracted Greece;
"The torrent of DEMOSTHENES behold;
"The golden periods, none would wish to cease:

"Drink from the CICERONIAN fount that flows
"Copious and calm: there Fox, in future time,
"Not meanly seated, mid them shall repose,
"Or break in tones as cogent and sublime.

"Or

" Or wouldst thou mid thy favorite bards retreat,
" And hear them still their melodies resume?
" Lo! LINUS, HESIOD, MOSCHUS, BION sweet,
" HOMER divine, and PINDAR bold of plume.

" EURIPEDES, the drama's perfect type,
" ÆSCHYLUS there, and SOPHOCLES resort;
" The swain SICILIAN tunes his oaten pipe,
" And, mid his snows, ANACREON still would sport.

" There MARO, FLACCUS, and the bard who fell
" Victim to love—to love the art he taught;
" Sublime LUCRETIUS whom thy toils, so well
" Spent while on earth, with splendor new have fraught.

" There roam they all consociate; and with these
" The British bards, ethereal MILTON, POPE,
" DRYDEN, and he, who most the soul could seize
" With mimic terror, or celestial hope.

" Immortal SHAKESPERE: nor remotely roves
" Pale COWPER, still by many a friend bewailed;
" Whom melancholy to th' infernal groves
" Sent immature, e'er nature half had failed.

" Bards, sages, patriots—go, attend at will;
" For thee the train of heroes boasts no charm:
" Spurn them—a race whom basest passions fill,
" Vain, proud, perverse, intent on human harm."

He ceased. And straight thy favored shade, I thought,
Thus, GILBERT! to the righteous judge replied:
" Since mine the boon to choose my future lot,
" Oh! mid the sages let me e'er reside:

" Mid genuine sages, not the sophist race,
" Whom now, as ever, from my heart I hate;
" Nor give me oft mid orators a place,
" Vain, senseless wranglers, full of fume and prate.

" Such, mid the senate, seemed loquacious PITT;
" To pour the wordy torrent never loth:
" Such WINDHAM, when, by passion roused, he spit
" His bursting vomica of bilious froth.

" O! let me oftener mid the bards renowned
" My station take and join their dulcet lay:
" O! let the bards, with soft melodious sound,
" Soothe me, revive, and all my bosom sway.

" But

" But from your heroes ever let me fly—
" Arms, impious arms, their hands barbarian wield;
" Unawed by all the terrors of the sky,
" To all the charities of Nature steeled.

" Struck by their spear, lo! heavenly freedom falls,
" And countless burdens crush the crowds around:
" Hence, ye prophane! your sight my soul appals;
" Let never tyrant near my paths be found."

Most wise thy choice, dear WAKEFIELD! Such to me
Should fate vouchsafe, thy harpings I will join;
Yes, to thy heavenly harpings will I flee,
And strike, with trembling hand, the strings divine.

Loud will I strike them if the Muses smile,
Sweet Terpsicore, Erato sweeter still:
The Muses—every grief that best beguile,
To me an antidote for every ill.

Hear them, my friend! and with them oft unite;
Soon shall I join thee, as these tremors tell;
Faint are my limbs—already Death's in sight—
But, 'tis enough—respected shade, farewell!

SOLILOQUY of the ROYAL BRIDE.

[From Mr. GOOD'S TRANSLATION of the SONG of SONGS.]

'TWAS my beloved's voice.—With rapture new,
Light as a hart, o'er heights and hills he flew.
Lo! through the window, through the lattice green,
Hard by the door, right early was he seen.
" Arise, my love!" 'twas thus I heard him say,
" Arise, my love! my fair one, come away!
" Gone is the winter, and the rains are o'er,
" And the fresh fields their yearly blossoms pour;
" The birds their songs resume through every grove,
" The glossy turtle wakes his voice to love;
" Her figs the fig-tree sweetens—o'er the vine,
" Fragrant and fresh, the lucid clusters shine,—
" Woods, hills, and valleys, all their charms display,
" Arise, my love! my fair one, come away.
" O! from thy clefts, thy fastnesses appear;
" Here bend thy voice, my dove! thy visage here:
" Look through the lattice, bid my heart rejoice,
" For dear to me thy visage, and thy voice.—
" And you, companions! haste—the way prepare,—
" Root out the foxes from each felon lair;

"Save the young vines, the vineyards, from their spoil,
"And to my love present a fertile soil."
I am my love's, and my beloved mine:
The sweets of lilies on his lips combine;
Till breathe the morning, and the shadows fly,
Blest in my beating bosom shall he lie.
Return! return! let eve thy love bestow!
Haste as, o'er Bether's hill, the bounding roe!

COLLOQUY between KING SOLOMAN and his ROYAL BRIDE.

[From the same.]

KING SOLOMAN.

LET dreams or dangers menace as they may,
Still shall these arms, my love! the tempest stay.
Look down from Amana, from Shenir's height,
Where savage howls disturb the drowsy night;
From tangled Lebanon, from Hermon come,
From pards, from lions---here behold thy home.
My heart is thine, my sister-spouse! my dove!
My panting heart is ravished by thy love!
Thine eye but glances, and my spirit burns;
Thy graceful neck subdues me as it turns.
How dear to me the thought that thou art mine!
How more delicious than the choicest wine!
How sweet thy fragrance; to my soul that yields
A balm beyond the spices of the fields.
Thy lips with dropping honey-combs are hung,
Milk, milk and honey dwell beneath thy tongue;
And Lebanon, in luscious odours drest,
Pours all his incense o'er thy bridal vest.
My bride! my love! in thee perfection meets;
A garden art thou, filled with matchless sweets;
A garden walled, those matchless sweets to shield;
A spring inclosed, a fountain fresh and sealed;
A paradise of plants---where all unite,
Dear to the smell, the palate, or the sight:
Of rich pomegranates, that at random blow;
Cyprus and nard, in fragrant gales that flow;
Nard, saffron, cinnamon, the dulcet airs,
Deep through its canes, the calamus prepares;
The scented aloes, and each shrub that showers
Gums from its veins, and spices from its flowers;—
O pride of gardens! fount of endless sweets!
Well-spring of all in Lebanon that meets!

ROYAL BRIDE.

Awake, O North-wind! come, thou southern breeze!
Blow on my garden, and refresh its trees;

That

That my beloved through its bowers may roam,
Feast on its fruits, and here elect his home.

KING SOLOMAN.

Into thy garden am I come, my love!
And gather balsams from each spicy grove:
On milk I banquet, on the honied comb,
Rills of rich wine, and here I fix my home.

ROYAL BRIDE.

Eat, O my friend! O drink with ample draught,
Deep be the bowl by my beloved quaffed.

To an UNKNOWN FAIR.

(Translated by Mr. GOOD, from the Persian of KHAKANI.)

[From the same Work.]

WHO art thou?—say:—with cypress shape,
Soft, jasmine neck, but flinty heart:
Tyrant! from whom 'tis vain to escape—
O tell me who thou art?

I've seen thy bright narcissus-eye,
Thy form no cypress can impart:
Queen of my soul!—I've heard thee sigh—
O tell me who thou art?

Through vales with hyacinths bespread
I've sought thee, trembling as the hart:
O rose-bud-lip'd! thy sweets were fled—
Tell, tell me who thou art?

Wine lights thy cheeks—thy steps are snares;
Thy glance a sure destructive dart:
Say, as its despot-aim it bears,
What fatal bow thou art?

Thy new-moon brow the full moon robs,
And bids its fading beams depart:—
Tell, thou for whom each bosom throbs,
What torturer thou art?

Drunk with the wine thy charms display,
Thy slave Khakani hails his smart:
I'd die to know thy name!—then say
What deity thou art?

Ode for his Majesty's Birth-day.

[By H. J. Pye, Esq. P. L.]

I.

As the blest guardian of the British Isles,
Immortal Liberty, triumphant stood,
And view'd her gallant sons with favouring smiles,
Undaunted heroes of the field or flood;
From Inverary's rocky shores,
Where loud the Hyperborean billow roars,
To where the surges of th' Atlantic wave
Around Cornubia's western borders rave;
While Erin's valiant warriors glow
With kindred fire to crush th' injurious foe;
From her bright lance the flames of vengeance stream,
And in her eagle-eyes shines Glory's radiant beam.

II.

Why sink those smiles in Sorrow's sigh?
Why Sorrow's tears suffuse that eye?
Alas! while weeping Britain sees
The baleful fiends of pale Disease
Malignant hovering near her throne,
And threat a monarch all her own—
No more from Anglia's fertile land,
No more from Caledonia's strand,
From Erin's breezy hills no more
The panting legions crowd the shore:
The buoyant barks, the vaunting host,
That swarm on Gallia's hostile coast,
The anxious thought no longer share;
Lost in a nearer, dearer care,
And Britain breathe's alone for George's life her prayer.

III.

Her prayer is heard—The Almighty Power,
Potent to punish or to save,
Bids Health resume again her happier hour
And, as across the misty wave
The fresh'ning breezes sweep the clouds away
That hid awhile the golden orb of day,
So from Hygiea's balmy breath
Fly the drear shadows of disease and death.
Again the manly breast beats high,
And flames again the indignant eye;
While, from the cottage to the throne,
This generous sentiment alone

Lives

Lives in each heart, with patriot ardour warm,
Points ev'ry sword, nerves ev'ry Briton's arm,
" Rush to the field—where GEORGE and Freedom lead,
Glory and Fame alike the warriors' meed,
Brave in their country's cause—who conquer or who bleed."

ORIGIN of VEGETABLE and ANIMAL LIFE.

[From DR. DARWIN'S TEMPLE of NATURE.]

" FIRST, if you can, celestial Guide! disclose
From what fair fountain mortal life arose,
Whence the fine nerve to move and feel assign'd,
Contractile fibre, and ethereal mind:

" How Love and Sympathy the bosom warm,
Allure with pleasure, and with pain alarm,
With soft affections weave the social plan,
And charm the listening savage into man."

GOD THE FIRST CAUSE!—in this terrene abode
Young Nature lisps, she is the child of GOD.
From embryon births her changeful forms improve,
Grow, as they live, and strengthen as they move.

" Ere Time began, from flaming Chaos hurl'd,
Rose the bright spheres, which form the circling world;
Earths from each sun with quick explosions burst,
And second planets issu'd from the first.
Then, whilst the sea at their coeval birth,
Surge over surge, involv'd the shoreless earth;
Nurs'd by warm sun-beams in primeval caves
Organic Life began beneath the waves.

" First HEAT from chemic dissolution springs,
And gives to matter its eccentric wings;
With strong REPULSION parts the exploding mass,
Melts into lymph, or kindles into gas.
ATTRACTION next, as earth or air subsides,
The pond'rous atoms from the light divides,
Approaching parts with quick embrace combines,
Swells into spheres, and lengthens into lines.
Last, as fine goads the gluten-threads excite,
Cords grapple cords, and webs with webs unite;
And quick CONTRACTION, with ethereal flame
Lights into life the fibre-woven frame.—
Hence without parent, by spontaneous birth,
Rise the first specks of animated earth;

From Nature's womb the plant or insect swims,
And buds or breathes, with microscopic limbs.

" In earth, sea, air, around, below, above,
Life's subtle woof in Nature's loom is wove;
Points glued to points a living line extends,
Touch'd by some goad approach the bending ends;
Rings join to rings, and irritated tubes
Clasp with young lips the nutrient globes or cubes;
And urg'd by appetencies new select,
Imbibe, retain, digest, secrete, eject.
In branching cones the living web expands,
Lymphatic ducts, and convoluted glands;
Aortal tubes propel the nascent blood,
And length'ning veins absorb the refluent flood;
Leaves, lungs, and gills, the vital ether breathe
On earth's green surface, or the waves beneath.
So Life's first powers arrest the winds and floods,
To bones convert them, or to shells, or woods;
Stretch the vast beds of argil, lime, and sand,
And from diminish'd oceans form the land!

" Next the long nerves unite their silver train,
And young SENSATION permeates the brain;
Through each new sense the keen emotions dart,
Flush the young cheek, and swell the throbbing heart,
From pain and pleasure quick VOLITIONS rise,
Lift the strong arm, or point the inquiring eyes;
With Reason's light bewilder'd man direct,
And right and wrong with balance nice detect.
Last in thick swarms ASSOCIATIONS spring,
Thoughts join to thoughts, to motions motions cling;
Whence in long trains of catenation flow
Imagined joy, and voluntary woe.

" So, view'd through crystal spheres in drops saline,
Quick-shooting salts in chemic forms combine;
Or mucor-stems, a vegetative tribe,
Spread their fine roots, the tremulous wave imbibe.
Next to our wond'ring eyes the focus brings
Self-moving lines, and animated rings;
First Monas moves, an unconnected point,
Plays round the drop without a limb or joint;
Then Vibrio waves, with capillary eels,
And Vorticella whirls her living wheels;
While insect Proteus sports, with changeful form,
Through the bright tide, a globe, a cube, a worm.
Last o'er the field the mite enormous swims,
Swells his red heart, and writhes his giant limbs.

" ORGASIC

"ORGANIC LIFE beneath the shoreless waves
Was born and nurs'd in Ocean's pearly caves;
First forms minute, unseen by spheric glass,
Move on the mud, or pierce the wat'ry mass;
These, as successive generations bloom,
New powers acquire, and larger limbs assume;
Whence countless groups of vegetation spring,
And breathing realms of fin, and feet, and wing.

"Thus the tall oak, the giant of the wood,
Which bears Britannia's thunders on the flood;
The whale, unmeasur'd monster of the main,
The lordly lion, monarch of the plain,
The eagle soaring in the realms of air,
Whose eye undazzled drinks the solar glare,
Imperious man, who rules the bestial crowd,
Of language, reason, and reflection proud,
With brow erect, who scorns this earthy sod,
And styles himself the image of his God;
Arose from rudiments of form and sense,
An embryon point, or microscopic ens!

"Now in vast shoals beneath the brineless tide,
On earth's firm crust testaceous tribes reside;
Age after age expands the peopled plain,
The tenants perish, but their cells remain;
Whence coral walls and sparry hills ascend
From pole to pole, and round the line extend.

"Next, when imprison'd fires in central caves
Burst the firm earth, and drank the headlong waves;
And, as new airs with dread explosion swell,
Form'd lava-isles, and continents of shell;
Pil'd rocks on rocks, on mountains mountains raised,
And high in heaven the first volcanoes blazed;
In countless swarms an insect-myriad moves
From sea-fan gardens, and from coral groves;
Leaves the cold caverns of the deep, and creeps
On shelving shores, or climbs on rocky steeps.
As in dry air the sea-born stranger roves,
Each muscle quickens, and each sense improves;
Cold gills aquatic form respiring lungs,
And sounds aerial flow from slimy tongues.

"So trapa rooted in pellucid tides,
In countless threads her breathing leaves divides,
Waves her bright tresses in the wat'ry mass,
And drinks with gelid gills the vital gas;
Then broader leaves in shadowy files advance,
Spread o'er the crystal flood their green expanse;

And, as in air the adherent dew exhales,
Court the warm sun, and breathe ethereal gales.

" So still the tadpole cleaves the wat'ry vale
With balanc'd fins, and undulating tail;
New lungs and limbs proclaim his second birth,
Breathe the dry air, and bound upon the earth.
So from deep lakes the dread musquito springs,
Drinks the soft breeze, and dries his tender wings,
In twinkling squadrons cuts his airy way,
Dips his red trunk in blood, and man his prey.

" So still the diodons, amphibious tribe,
With two-fold lungs the sea or air imbibe;
Allied to fish, the lizard cleaves the flood
With one-cell'd heart, and dark frigescent blood;
Half-reasoning beavers long-unbreathing dart
Thro' Erie's waves with perforated heart;
With gills and lungs respiring lampreys steer,
Kiss the rude rocks, and suck till they adhere;
The lazy remora's inhaling lips,
Hung on the keel, retard the struggling ships;
With gills pulmonic breathes the enormous whale,
And spouts aquatic columns to the gale;
Sports on the shining wave at noontide hours,
And shifting rainbows crest the rising showers.

" So erst, ere rose the science to record
In letter'd syllables the volant word;
Whence chemic arts, disclos'd in pictur'd lines,
Liv'd to mankind by hieroglyphic signs;
And clustering stars, pourtray'd on mimic spheres,
Assumed the forms of lions, bulls, and bears;
—So erst, as Egypt's rude designs explain,
Rose young DIONE from the shoreless main;
Type of organic Nature! source of bliss!
Emerging Beauty from the vast abyss!
Sublime on Chaos borne, the Goddess stood,
And smil'd enchantment on the troubled flood;
The warring elements to peace restor'd,
And young Reflection wonder'd and ador'd."

EXTENT of MORAL EVIL.

[From the same.]

HOW few," the Muse in plaintive accents cries,
And mingles with her words pathetic sighs.—

" How

"How few, alas! in Nature's wide domains
The sacred charm of SYMPATHY restrains!
Uncheck'd desires from appetite commence,
And pure reflection yields to selfish sense!
—Blest is the sage, who, learn'd in Nature's laws,
With nice distinction marks effect and cause;
Who views the insatiate grave with eye sedate,
Nor fears thy voice, inexorable Fate!

"When War, the demon, lifts his banner high,
And loud artillery rends the affrighted sky;
Swords clash with swords, on horses horses rush,
Man tramples man, and nations nations crush;
Death his vast sithe with sweep enormous wields,
And shudd'ring Pity quits the sanguine fields.

"The wolf, escorted by his milk-drawn dam,
Unknown to mercy, tears the guiltless lamb;
The tow'ring eagle, darting from above,
Unfeeling rends the inoffensive dove;
The lamb and dove on living nature feed,
Crop the young herb, or crush the embryon seed.
Nor spares the loud owl in her dusky flight,
Smit with sweet notes, the minstrel of the night;
Nor spares, enamour'd of his radiant form,
The hungry nightingale the glowing worm;
Who with bright lamp alarms the midnight hour,
Climbs the green stem, and slays the sleeping flower.

"Fell œstrus buries, in her rapid course,
Her countless brood in stag, or bull, or horse;
Whose hungry larva eats its living way,
Hatch'd by the warmth, and issues into day.
The wing'd ichneumon for her embryon young
Gores with sharp horn the caterpillar throng.
The cruel larva mines its silky course,
And tears the vitals of its fost'ring nurse.
While fierce libellula, with jaws of steel
Ingulfs an insect-province at a meal;
Contending bee-swarms rise on rustling wings,
And slay their thousands with envenom'd stings.

"Yes! smiling Flora drives her armed car
Thro' the thick ranks of vegetable war;
Herb, shrub, and tree, with strong emotions rise
For light and air, and battle in the skies;
Whose roots diverging with opposing toil
Contend below for moisture and for soil;
Round the tall elm the flatt'ring ivies bend,
And strangle, as they clasp, their struggling friend;

Envenom'd

Envenom'd dews from mancinella flow,
And scald with caustic touch the tribes below;
Dense shadowy leaves on stems aspiring borne
With blight and mildew thin the realms of corn;
And insect hordes with restless tooth devour
The unfolded bud, and pierce the ravell'd flower.

"In ocean's pearly haunts, the waves beneath
Sits the grim monarch of insatiate Death;
The shark rapacious with descending blow
Darts on the scaly brood, that swims below;
The crawling crocodiles, beneath that move,
Arrest with rising jaw the tribes above;
With monstrous gape sepulchral whales devour
Shoals at a gulp, a million in an hour.
—Air, earth, and ocean, to astonish'd day
One scene of blood, one mighty tomb display!
From Hunger's arm the shafts of Death are hurl'd,
And one great slaughter-house the warring world!

"The brow of man erect, with thought elate,
Ducks to the mandate of resistless fate;
Nor Love retains him, nor can Virtue save
Her sages, saints, or heroes from the grave.
While cold and hunger by defect oppress,
Repletion, heat, and labour by excess,
The whip, the sting, the spur, the fiery brand,
And, cursed Slavery! thy iron hand;
And led by Luxury Disease's trains,
Load human life with unextinguish'd pains.

"Here laughs Ebriety more fell than arms,
And thins the nations with her fatal charms,
With Gout, and Hydrops groaning in her train,
And cold Debility, and grinning Pain,
With harlot's smiles deluded man salutes,
Revenging all his cruelties to brutes!
There the curst spells of Superstition blind,
And fix her fetters on the tortured mind;
She bids in dreams tormenting shapes appear,
With shrieks that shock Imagination's ear,
E'en o'er the grave a deeper shadow flings,
And maddening Conscience darts a thousand stings.

"There writhing Mania sits on Reason's throne,
Or Melancholy marks it for her own,
Sheds o'er the scene a voluntary gloom,
Requests oblivion, and demands the tomb.
And last Association's train suggest
Ideal ills, that harrow up the breast,

Call

Call for the dead from Time's o'erwhelming main,
And bid departed Sorrow live again.

" Here ragged Avarice guards with bolted door
His useless treasures from the starving poor;
Loads the lorn hours with misery and care,
And lives a beggar to enrich his heir.
Unthinking crowds thy forms, Imposture, gull,
A saint in sackcloth, or a wolf in wool.
While mad with foolish fame, or drunk with power,
Ambition slays his thousands in an hour;
Demoniac Envy scowls with haggard mien,
And blights the bloom of other's joys, unseen;
Or wrathful Jealousy invades the grove,
And turns to night meridian beams of Love!

" Here wide o'er earth impetuous waters sweep,
And fields and forests rush into the deep;
Or dread Volcano with explosion dire
Involves the mountains in a flood of fire;
Or yawning Earth with closing jaws inhumes
Unwarned nations, living in their tombs;
Or Famine seizes with her tiger-paw,
And swallows millions with unsated maw.

" There livid Pestilence in league with Dearth
Walks forth malignant o'er the shuddering earth,
Her rapid shafts with airs volcanic wings,
Or steeps in putrid vaults her venom'd stings.
Arrests the young in Beauty's vernal bloom,
And bears the innocuous strangers to the tomb!—

" And now, e'en I, whose verse reluctant sings
The changeful state of sublunary things,
Bend o'er Mortality with silent sighs,
And wipe the secret tear-drops from my eyes,
Hear through the night one universal groan,
And mourn unseen for evils not my own,
With restless limbs and throbbing heart complain,
Stretch'd on the rack of sentimental pain!
—Ah, where can Sympathy reflecting find
One bright idea to console the mind?
One ray of light in this terrene abode
To prove to man the goodness of his God?"

" Hear, O ye Sons of Time!" the nymph replies,
Quick indignation darting from her eyes;
" When in soft tones the Muse lamenting sings,
And weighs with tremulous hand the sum of things;

She

She loads the scale in melancholy mood,
Presents the evil, but forgets the good.
But if the beam some firmer hand suspends,
And good and evil load the adverse ends;
With strong libration, where the good abides,
Quick nods the beam, the ponderous gold subsides.

A Vernal Ode.

[From Poems by the Rev. Henry Moore.]

ON his car of light on high
Flaming down the gladden'd sky,
Which the new-born Zephyrs bear
Thro' the azure waste of air,
Dropping verdure, dropping joy,
As they wave the dewy wing,
Moves on, the smiling majesty of Spring.
His floating robe each splendid charm displays
Of colour, varied in a thousand ways;
Gay dance behind the Graces wreath'd with flowers,
Young Loves, and blooming Hopes, and bright-ey'd Hours;
The hills and vales their green array renew,
And all Elizium rises to the view;
O'er ev'ry mead the breath of fragrance flows;
O'er ev'ry grove the blush of beauty glows.

Maya's rosy fingers now
Cull the fairest flowers that blow,
And ev'ry balmy sweet combine
To form the wreath divine,
And consecrate the gift at Nature's sacred shrine.
The mighty Mother, bending from her throne,
Receives the fragrant boon,
And bids it her refulgent brows infold,
And breathe perfume around her locks of gold.

Hence, Sadness then, with sullen brow,
And gloomy thoughts that feed on woe!
Hence Discontent's corroded breast,
With all Heav'ns blessings still unblest!
While hill, and dale, and stream supply,
Whate'er can charm the ear, or eye,
Scenes where enthusiast Fancy strays,
Lost in wild Rapture's magic maze,
Indulge the genial hour, and taste
The thousand sweets of Nature's feast.

Let

Let Cheerfulness with golden ray
Beam ev'ry cloud of care away;
Let warm Benevolence expand the mind,
And Nature's kindness teach us to be kind.

The Fairy-tribes, as village legends say,
From silent haunts of dale, and hill,
And pebbled fount, and rush-clad rill,
And tangled copse, and forest hoar,
Where Winter winds have ceas'd to roar,
Now hold their yearly holy-day.
Featly o'er the hallow'd ground
On the nimble toe they bound,
Ever in a magic round,
With rites and honours due to celebrate the May.
Corydon will shew the place,
And their tiny footsteps trace,
Where the grassy circle's seen,
Springing with a fresher green.

There in the secret shadowy glade,
When from yon mountain's azure head
The ling'ring gleams of parting day
Glimmer, faint, and fade away,
Sweet Philomel! thou bid'st to flow
Thy musical, thy melting woe.
Suspended o'er the sparkling stream,
Where plays the pale Moon's ever-trembling beam,
Attention stands with mute surprise,
With folded arms, and half-clos'd eyes,
And listens into ecstacies.
The sylvan Genius seems to guard the ground,
And all is soft enchantment round.

Hush'd is the hollow gale,
That lately whistled thro' the rustling woods;
The shrill wild warblings dying down the dale,
With the rude murmur mix'd of falling floods,
At that still solemn hour
Seize on the sense, and with mysterious pow'r
Of artless plaintive modulation, lull
In sweet and silent ravishment the Soul.
Charm'd are the passions, harmoniz'd the mind,
Calm as the glassy seas, while sleeps the wind.
O'er-wearied Labour feels no more his toils:
Dew-ey'd Sorrow, rous'd to hear,
Wipes away the starting tear:
Woe-worn Melancholy smiles,
And grim Despair, that beat her madding breast,
Forgets awhile that she was e'er unblest.

But

But when of dawn the rosy dyes
Brighten o'er the blushing skies,
And the gray clouds their robes unfold,
Streak'd with purple, edg'd with gold,
And their blended colours throw
On the glitt'ring lake below,
See! Health, the blooming village Maid,
Her cheek in native red array'd,
Her tresses gracefully untied,
Which shame the artful hand of Pride,
Sprightly o'er the spangled lawn
Comes tripping like the nimble fawn!
Then at her work, the streams along,
Rudely trills the rural song!
Content, that lightens ev'ry care,
Sits smiling in her chearful eye;
While Luxury with languid air
Leans on pale Envy pining by.

See Earth her Maker's milder image wear,
Profusely good, and exquisitely fair,
Spontaneous Graces catch the ravish'd view,
Scenes ever varying, beauties ever new.
The hills rejoice around, the vallies sing,
And e'en rough mountains gratulate the Spring,
While the gay quires, that haunt the shelt'ring shade,
Their untaught music mix, to glad the groves,
Where Contemplation, sweetly-pensive Maid,
With Peace and Rapture roves.

Rejoicing in the good, his hands bestow,
Th' Almighty Father looks well-pleas'd below;
But chief, his favourite work to see,
The pious, grateful, social Soul,
Where turned to Nature's harmony
The softest, sweetest passions roll;
That throbs in sympathy with woe,
That flames with friendship's holy glow,
That swells with wishes unconfin'd
To scatter blessings o'er Mankind,
And, in divine resembling lines imprest,
Loves his own image on the gen'rous breast.

PEACE of MIND.

An Ode.

[From the same Work.]

SWEET Peace, divinely mild!
Fair Innocence's child!
With looks of rapture such as Seraphs wear,
Come, graceful in thy hand
Waving thine olive wand,
And speaking melody, that charms Despair!
Come, and my passions' busy strife controul,
Breathe thy soft airs, and smooth my ruffled soul!

Here, while at Contemplation's fav'rite hour,
The meek-ey'd Eve, what time the ling'ring light
Yet glimmers o'er the sable of the night,
I feel thy soothing pow'r,
Be ev'ry blast, that shakes the rocking wood,
Howls o'er the hill, and plows the furrow'd flood,
Hush'd into rest; let Cynthia's sober beam
Shed o'er the calm expanse a silver gleam,
And o'er the groves, and meads, and slumb'ring main,
Deep solemn silence reign:
Save let the Zephyrs breathe,
Among the rushes whispering beneath;
Save let the wild notes of the rippling rill
In melancholy music tremble still;
And in hoarse murmur roar, the vales around,
The distant cataract's incessant sound.

Thou shunn'st Ambition's proud tumultuous heart,
Plotting to counteract some rival's art,
From project still to project tost,
'Till in the wild confusion lost;
Or tottering on the pinnacle of pow'r
On Fortune's airy steep,
While the rude storms, and thunders round him roar,
And trembling, lest the swelling blast should sweep
His glories to the foaming deep.

While Avarice, immur'd, alone
With midnight watches worn to bone,
Starting at ev'ry sound he hears,
And turning pale with fancied fears;
Wan Jealousy with squinting eyes,
And list'ning ears, and louring brow,
That in each nook, and corner pries,
Exploring, what he dreads to know;

And

And Envy, that with anguish keen
Feels the dire vulture gnaw within;
Dog-ey'd Resentment's boiling breast,
And pining Discontent, unblest
In full fruition, ask thy aid in vain,
For thou art still of Virtue's train.

To thee in vain the Tyrant prays,
To give his anxious bosom ease.
Invoking sleep's averted pow'r
On the gilt couch he lays his aching head,
But black Suspicion haunts the midnight hour,
And frowning demons flit around the bed.
Now music's tuneful charm he tries
To close his rest-forsaken eyes,
In all her modes of varied harmony,
And bids the plaintive lute conspire
With the full-resounding lyre,
To chear his madding mind with temper'd melody.

Borne aloft on rapture's tide
With sounding vigour now the numbers roll;
Tender tones now gently glide,
And melt, and sooth the soften'd soul.
"Peace! peace! perturbed breast!
"Let this sweet descant lull thee to thy rest."
It will not be—then strike a bolder sound
Let the horn's mellow note
In air wildly float,
And wake the shrill echos around:
Or call the gay Graces, and laughing-eyed Pleasures
To trip hand in hand to the pipe's merry measures.
But, ah! each master-hand in vain
Raises, swells, or sinks the strain;
All is jarring joyless din
To the mind untun'd within;
Still gnawing cares, and guilty fears forbid
Lethean dew to light upon his lid.

"Vengeance!" stern-eyed Conscience calls—
How the sound his heart appals!
See he starts, and stares around!
Ghastly forms of guilt arise,
Gory ghosts with piteous cries,
Pointing to the bleeding wound.
"What's that face of anguish there,
"Pale as its surrounding shroud?
"What that dagger, shap'd in air,
"Crimson'd with a Brother's blood?"

Wild

Wild his bursting eye-balls roll;
Upright stands his bristled hair;
Horror shakes his inmost soul,
Keen Remorse, and grim Despair.
Again he strives his leaden eye to close,
And care-worn nature fain wou'd seek repose;
"Vengeance!" the stern Tormentor howls again,
And a new horror thrills thro' ev'ry vein.

Where then may Peace erect her stedfast throne?
Within the pure, the pious breast alone,
Whose gentle passions, harmonis'd by love,
Are link'd to Man below, to God above:
Spite of the boast of Luxury, and Pride,
Within that narrow round—
And only there—her Paradise is found,
'Tis all a waste and desert world beside.
There smiling bands of watchful angels wait
To guard her tranquil bow'rs and blissful state,
And from the hallow'd limits drive afar
The furies of the soul, and busy fiends of Care.

O blest the man! whose aims and ardors rise
On Faith's strong pinions soaring to the skies;
Yet, while conversing here with want and woe,
Acts the good minister of Heav'n below.
The poor reliev'd, the widow's wrongs redrest,
The darken'd mind illum'd with heav'nly day,
The sympathies, that sooth the burden'd breast,
And wipe Affliction's tear away,
These shall like fragrant incense rise,
Heav'n's sweet accepted sacrifice.
These on the friendly gen'rous mind
Will draw God's choicest blessings down;
He'll mercy show for mercies shown,
And still be kindest to the kind.

Love's Triumph.

[From Poems by Nathaniel Bloomfield.]

1.

COME, let us seek the woodland shade,
And leave this view of towns and towers:
Sweeter far the verdant mead,
And lonely dell's sequester'd bowers.

2.

Why does my Love this walk prefer;
This hill, so near the public way?
Why is this prospect dear to her?
Where Villas proud their pomp display?

3.

Ah! why does Mary sometimes sigh,
Surveying this magnific scene;
The seats of Grandeur tow'ring high,
With Rivers, Groves, and Lawns between?

4.

On splendid Cars, that smoothly move,
With high-born Youths gay Damsels ride;
By the encircling arm of Love
Press'd to the wealthy Lover's side.

5.

Why turn to view their easy state,
As the long glittering train moves by?
And when they reach the pompous gate,
Ah! why does youthful Mary sigh?

6.

Doth Envy that fond bosom heave?
Repining at her humble lot—
Alas! does Mary long to leave
The lonely Dale and lowly Cot?

7.

Pure and sincere is Mary's Love:
Words were superfluous to tell;
thousand tenderneſſes prove
That Mary loves her Stephen well.

8.

When list'ning to the Stockdove's moan,
Far in the deep sequester'd grove,
The blush that whisper'd, 'We're alone,'
Sweetly confest the power of Love.

9.

Exalted Love concealment mocks,
This feign'd indifference does but prove
That was I Lord of Fields and Flocks,
My Mary's Lips would own her Love.

10. Doth

10.

Doth Poverty create the fears
That o'er your love their shadows fling?
The silence of those falling tears
Confesses all the truth I sing.

11.

O! Mary, let not empty shew,
Let not the pride of gaudy dress,
Thus cloud thy morn of Life with woe,
And blight its future happiness.

12.

Trust the monition Baldwin gave,
Our future bliss its truth shall prove:
'Life's cares the Lovers who dare brave,
'Shall find their rich reward in Love.'

13.

Baldwin, the hoary-headed Bard,
I still consult when cares annoy:
He own'd for me a fond regard;
And calls me still his darling Boy.

14.

His mind is fraught with spoils of Time;
He's wise and good, though known to few:
He gave me this advice in rhyme,
And here I'll read the Song to you:—

15.

'Though envious Age affects to deem thee Boy,
'Lose not one day, one hour, of proffer'd bliss;
'In youth grasp every unoffending joy,
'And wing'd with rapture snatch the bridal kiss.

16.

'Let not this chief of blessings be defer'd,
'Till you your humble fortunes can improve;
'None's poor but he, by sordid fears deterr'd,
'Who dares not claim the matchless wealth of Love.

17.

'Virtue can make most rich thy little store;
'Virtue can make most bright thy lowly state:
'Murmur not then that virtuous thou art poor,
'While prosperous Vice can make men rich and great.

18.

'The bad man may, his every sense to please,
'Each soft indulging luxury employ:
'The plenitude of elegance and ease
'He may possess;—but never can enjoy.

19.

'No—though his goods, and flocks, and herds abound;
'His wide demesne to fair profusion grown;
'Though proud his lofty mansion looks around,
'On hills, and fields, and forests, all his own:

20.

'Tho' this may tempt thee, murmuring to complain,
'With conscience clear, and life void of offence,
"Verily, then, I've cleans'd my heart in vain;
"In vain have wash'd my hands in Innocence."

21.

'Yet could'st thou closely mark the envied Man,
'See how desires ungovern'd mar his peace;
'Or had'st thou pow'r his inward mind to scan,
'How soon in pity would thy envy cease!

22.

'Envenom'd Passions all his thoughts unhinge!
'The Slave of Vice must thy compassion move;
'If still he burns with thirst of dire Revenge,
'Lawless Ambition, or unhallow'd Love.

23.

'Midst gayest scenes he wears a gloomy frown:
'Vain is the splendour that his dome adorns;
'While he reclines on silky heaps of down,
'His tortur'd mind is weltering on thorns.

24.

'To prove that man opprest with mental pain,
'The goods of Fortune have no power to please,
'Even Suicide has oft been known to stain
'The downy couch of most luxurious ease.

25.

'The active life of Labour gives no room
'To that dull spleen the Indolent endure;
'Generous cares dispel our mental gloom,
'And Industry is Melancholy's cure.

26. 'Repine

26.

'Repine not then, that low thy lot is cast;
'Health gives to life or high or low it's zest;
'Tis Appetite that seasons our repast,
'And Weariness still finds the softest rest.

27.

'For all thy blessings thankfulness to wake,
'Think of less cultur'd lands—less peaceful times,—
'Our coarest fare, when sparingly we take,
'Tis luxury, compar'd with other climes.

28.

'Think of the poor Greenlander's dismal caves,
'Where thro' their long, long night they buried lie;
'Or the more wretched lands, where hapless slaves
'Hopelessly toil beneath the fervid sky.

29.

In Britain—blest with peace and competence,
'Rich Fortune's favours could impart no more—
'Heaven's blessings equal happiness dispense;
'Believe my words, for I am old and poor.

30.

'Many who drudge in Labor's roughest ways,
'By whom Life's simplest, lowliest walks are trod,
'Happily live, to honor'd length of days,
'Blessing kind Nature, and kind Nature's God.'

31.

What think you, is sage Baldwin right?
Should spring-tide love endure delay?
And shall our bliss be seal'd ere night?
Say, lovely Mary, softly say?

32.

Why starts my love?—why rise to go?
Will Mary then my suit deny?
Sweet is the smile that answers, No!
By Heaven, there's rapture in her eye!

The Traveller and Sexton.

[From Poems by Herbert and Brayley.]

A TRAVELLER, at the close of day,
Just as the sun went down,
With riding tir'd, pursu'd his way
Towards where, involv'd in clouds so grey,
Dim gleam'd the distant town.

Chill gloomy mists the heav'ns o'ercast,
The clouds look'd big with rain:—
He wrapp'd his cloak, and ey'd the blast,
And spurr'd his steed, and gallop'd fast
O'er the wide dreary plain.

Thus, hast'ning on—the night grows dark,
Black frowns the lonely dell!
No road appears, nor house, nor mark,
To guide his doubtful way;—but, hark!
Deep tolls a funeral bell!

Loud and more loud, upon the breeze,
The mournful murmurs spread,
When, turning quick, alarm'd he sees
A village spire o'ertop the trees,
Where rest the lowly dead.

What shall he do?—where shelter seek,
To screen him from the shower?—
The rising winds blow cold and bleak,
Blue lightnings flash, and thunders break,
And rattling torrents pour.

Perplex'd, he throws his head around,
Wild with a thousand fears;—
And, while his thoughts with cares abound,
Bright glitt'ring o'er the flooded ground,
Sudden—a *light* appears!—

He turns to view—the tinted rays
Bespeak it from the church;—
'Tis gone!—but now a lantern's blaze
Its pale yet social beam displays,
Dim glimmering in the porch.——

It

It chanc'd the squire, that afternoon,
Had buried been, in state;—
The rites were o'er, the people gone,
Yet, ere the Sexton's task was done,
The evening had grown late.

The Traveller asks with eager haste,
"Friend, is the village nigh?"——
"'Tis two or three good miles at least,
And all across a dreary waste,"——
The Sexton made reply.

"Is there no inn, nor house a-near?"
"None!—you had best alight,
Tie up your horse, take shelter here,
And when the stormy clouds shall clear,
I then will set you right.

"'Tis a long, dark, and dangerous way,
And there are pits beside,
That would the stoutest heart betray,
And ten to one you go astray,
Unless you have a guide."

No choice remains—for now again
The bellowing thunders roll,
Down rush deep-whelming floods of rain,
And, wildly o'er the neighbouring plain,
Impetuous whirlwinds howl.

The Traveller quits his smoking steed,
And ties him to the porch;
And with the Sexton then agreed,
That, while the angry storms proceed,
He'd shelter in the church.

The Sexton turns the creaking key,
The doors wide open fly;
And, by the partial gleam, they see,
Involv'd in deep obscurity,
A fabric rude and high.

Banners and 'scutcheons, round the pile,
With gloomy grandeur rose,
And down the dark and "long-drawn" aisle,
Where sculptur'd forms the thoughts beguile,
The silent dead repose.

Deep shadows o'er the pathway glide,
The Traveller shrinks with fear;—
And now upon the tomb-stone's side,
Fierce warriors, arm'd in martial pride
And trophied pomp, appear.

The moon's pale beam, the aisles between,
Play'd feebly o'er the wall;—
And, though no forms distinct are seen,
Loud, dismal shrieks from birds obscene,
The Traveller's soul appal.

"*Advance!*" the Sexton cries; "*advance!*"—
Sounds from the hollow walls.—
The Traveller starts! when, dire mischance,
As if to mock his fearful glance,
Adown the lantern falls!

"Good God!" exclaims the luckless wight,
Now what is to be done!"—
"Done!—why, I'll go and strike a light:
Stay here, you have no cause for fright,
I shall be back anon."

"Be quick, for heav'n's sake," cries the man;
"This is a dreadful place!"—
The stumbling Sexton slow went on,
While hollow echoes solemn ran
Around the vaulted space.——

His rallied spirits now dispel
The Traveller's former fears,
Compos'd he sits, when, dread to tell!—
Alarming thoughts again impel,
As something strikes his ears!

The Sexton's step!—It was not that!
'Twas a deep rattling sound,
That, with a thund'ring pit-a-pat,
Advanc'd near where the Traveller sat,
And shook the hollow ground.

Aghast, and terror-struck, he rose
Speechless with wild surprise;—
When, as the rapid lightning glows,
Through the stain'd windows, they disclose,
A flaming pair of eyes!

In

In chilly currents moves his blood,
No power is left to fly;
When, lo! as air-form'd shadows scud,
Before his glance a Phantom stood,
Dread, monstrous, dark, and high.

With scream prolong'd, it shook its head—
The Traveller at the sound
Thinks he hears roused the sheeted dead,
And, soon with quaking limbs outspread,
Drops fainting to the ground.—

The noise, alarm'd, the Sexton hears,
And hastily returns;
For well he wot the Traveller's fears
Would vanish when the light appears,
Which once more dimly burns.

"What, ho!" he cries, "how goes the night?"—
The traveller, like a corse,
With fearful glance beholds the light
Display the cause of all his fright,
In one grim form—HIS HORSE!——

'Brutes have no souls,' the Schoolmen say—
And yet our Traveller's pad,
Had from the tempest run away—
Thus making of his wits display,
As much as if he had.

Left to himself, he quickly tore
The fast'ning from the porch,
And, ent'ring the wide-open door,
Slow pacing o'er the marble floor,
Sought refuge in the Church.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE

Of the Year 1803.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism, Theological Criticism, Sermons, single Sermons, controversial Divinity.

THE misfortunes sustained by Dr. Stock, the learned bishop of Killala; during the late Irish troubles, are known to most of our readers, yet few men who have met with such misfortunes, and been driven by the iron hand of war from their homes and familiar connexions, have improved their calamities so pleasantly to themselves, or so beneficially to the public. The leisure into which he was thus compelled, with an eye still permanently fixed on the duties of his sacred vocation, he devoted to biblical literature; and the result has been a presentation to the public of "The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, in Hebrew and English. The Hebrew text metrically arranged. The Translation altered from that of Bishop Lowth; with Notes critical and explanatory." To few scholars is sacred literature indebted more than to bishop Lowth, yet such is the difficulty attendant upon many passages in the sublime and abrupt prophecy before us, that it is no degradation to this excellent prelate to affirm, that though in his new version he accomplished much, he still left much to be accomplished. A few emendations were shortly afterwards attempted by Dr. Green, and another new and very elegant, as well as accurate, version was given by the late learned Michael Dodson, esq. which introduced a short literary correspondence between the bishop and himself, conducted with a politeness and liberality that reflect an equal degree of credit on both the parties. We must regret that this very valuable translation does not appear to have fallen into Dr. Stock's hands, for we are confident he would frequently have referred to it if it had done so, and we have little doubt that he would on several occasions have adopted its interpretation in preference to his own; we are also astonished that as little attention appears to have been paid to De Rossi. Bishop Lowth, however, is the basis on which he builds his edifice; and the corrections which he has chiefly introduced, independently of his own, are from Rosenmüller,

müller, who is nevertheless, in our opinion, often too forced, and very frequently too fanciful. He is unquestionably an able and ingenious critic, but requires to be studied with no small degree of circumspection and reserve: and hence should rather be perused by the cool and judicious master, than by the warm and incautious student. The style of Dr. Stock is plain and easy;—we have observed but few inversions for the purpose of preserving the metre, and the diction of our standard translation is adhered to as closely as possible. The metre, however, is, in our opinion, often unnecessarily infringed upon by the supposition and consequent introduction of hemistichs, which, to us, do not exist in the original. We admit that in the Hebrew they are occasionally resorted to, and at times with an abruptness peculiarly emphatic and beautiful, but the frequency with which they are reiterated in the version before us destroys half their poetic effect, and unmercifully ploughs up the general symmetry of the metre. We have, moreover, a still stronger objection to the re-introduction of the Masoretic points with which the present edition of the original is encumbered. Their perplexity, want of authority, and the general inaccuracy with which they are copied from book to book, have long induced us to hope that they never would have re-issued from a British press. We are extremely desirous of promoting the study of the Hebrew language, and feel peculiarly earnest, therefore, in removing from it every difficulty which might unnecessarily embarrass the student, and give him a distaste for it at the very commencement of his application. With these few exceptions, we have been highly pleased with the version before us, and have only to hope, that a scholar so competent to the task will persevere in the path of biblical literature. The volume is a thin quarto of 184 pages.

From the classical pen of Mr. Good we have received a new translation, both in prosaic metre and rhyme, of the Song of Songs. In no qualification requisite for this valuable and elegant undertaking does this gentleman appear deficient. His knowledge of the oriental languages, both ancient and modern, is extensive: with the love-songs of the Arabians he seems to be intimately acquainted; whatever could be derived from Asiatic verse has been carefully selected and pertinently applied; and to a true taste for poetry he unites the character of no mean poet. They who may differ from him with respect to the propriety of every part of the arrangement he has adopted, or not admit the justness of all his renderings, must still regard this as by far the most elegant, and at the same time the most faithful, translation which has yet been given of this beautiful poem. The whole composition is divided into twelve idyls: the first consists of the first eight verses of the first chapter; the second idyl advances to the seventh verse inclusive of the second chapter; the third proceeds to its end: the fourth, beginning with the third chapter, contains the first five verses: the fifth closes with the seventh verse of the fourth chapter; and the sixth, thence commencing, includes the first verse of chapter the fifth: the seventh begins with the second verse of the fifth chapter, and proceeds to the eleventh verse of chapter the sixth: the eighth idyl contains only the three remaining verses: idyl the ninth consists of the seventh chapter to the tenth verse: the tenth idyl includes the rest of

that

that chapter and four verses of the eighth: idyl the eleventh contains only the three verses that next follow;—and the last idyl takes in the rest. The name of the fair bride in whose honour these amatory idyls were composed has not descended to us; nor is it agreed among the commentators who she was. She has generally been regarded as the daughter of Pharaoh; but, as Mr. Good very justly observes, "the few circumstances that incidentally relate to her history in these poetical effusions completely oppose such an idea." Our author also, with great probability, conjectures that the marriage between Solomon and the Egyptian princess was a match of interest and policy; whereas, on the contrary, the matrimonial connexion here celebrated, was one formed upon the tenderest reciprocal affection. From the bride's own words we learn that she was of Sharon, a canton of Palestine; and from the respectful attention paid to her by her attendants, and the appellation with which they address her, we have reason to believe that, "though not of royal, yet she was of noble birth." The mystic import of this book is admitted by Mr. Good, though he supposes it to have been literally founded on fact; he offers a brief explanation of the former, and endeavours to develope the latter. To sum up in a few words an opinion of the work before us: the arrangement is new and ingenious; the poetical part is for the most part correct and beautiful; the notes are full of profound learning and good taste. It is a work which every scholar will peruse with pleasure, and from which the divine may reap improvement. Our limits will not permit us to furnish our readers with quotations which would furnish abundant evidence of acuteness and elegance; but for these we must refer to the work. Mr. Good will accept our thanks for much gratification.

In Mr. Bryant's "Observations upon some Passages in Scripture which the Enemies to Religion have thought most obnoxious and attended with Difficulties not to be surmounted," we hail the appearance of a scholar venerable by his years, and oracular as well by the extent of his learning as by the uniform purity and rectitude of his intention. The passages selected in the volume before us, which is a thin quarto, are four in number, and refer to the history of Balaam, and the reproof given to him by his ass; that of Sampson, who is well known to have defeated the Philistines with the jaw-bone of a similar animal; that of the arrestation of the sun and moon, at the command of Joshua; and that of the prophet Jonah, who was swallowed by a large fish, commonly supposed to have been a whale. The explanation generally attempted to be given to these portions of holy writ, is derived from an idea, that, in every instance, some part of the popular religion or superstition of the country to which they relate is implicated in the narration; and our author is hence led into a relation of the peculiar tenets and idolatry of the places referred to. Those who, by a perusal of his prior works, are apprised of Mr. Bryant's extensive acquaintance with Greek and Asiatic history, will readily perceive that he has here scope enough to gratify his most sanguine predilection: they will also expect to find some degree of imagination combined with a large portion of sound and useful learning, an expectation in which they will by no means be disappointed. We cannot proceed with our author as to

to the full extent of the belief which he here honestly advances and zealously defends; but we can always be entertained by him, even when we cannot accede to his opinions, and always allow him ingenuity, even when we are tempted to call in question his judgement.—Sorry are we to add, that, since the printing of these remarks, the public papers have announced his decease.

Dr. Toulmin, in three volumes octavo, has edited a posthumous work of the late reverend Charles Buckley, who is well known as a preacher in the Baptist communion. This work is entitled "Notes on the Bible," and does not consist, as the the editor observes, of notes on every passage, or on connected paragraphs, but of illustrations of particular verses drawn from all kinds of writers in a long course of reading. Of these, many are ingenious applications, and display a very creditable attention of the mind to subjects of general literature. But we confess, we are not very fond of thus beholding the morality of the Scriptures bolstered up by parallel maxims from heathen authors; they require no such props; nor can it be too strongly impressed upon the juvenile mind, that although such excellencies may be occasionally discovered in the writings of pagan moralists, they are but as pearls in a bed of oysters surrounded with mire and mud.

In our last volume we noticed a Translation of Dr. White's celebrated Diatessaron into Latin, by Mr. Thirlwall, and added a cordial wish that we might shortly meet with it in a vernacular dress. That wish is now very considerably gratified by the appearance of Mr. Warner's "English Diatessaron," which is a professed version from the Greek of Dr. White. It is a narrative of the history of our Saviour compiled from the writings of the four evangelists; and we rejoice to perceive, that, in perfect agreement with the advice we then offered, the language employed is, with very few exceptions, a verbal copy of our standard translation. The system of professor White is rigidly adhered to; and the only part which appears to us original, is the introduction of a body of subjoined notes illustrative of those texts of Scripture which to the common reader seem to require explanation. This task Mr. Warner has executed with taste and liberality; and it forms a valuable accompaniment to the book, as chiefly designed for those who are incapable of consulting original authorities and expositors for themselves.

We have derived no small gratification from Dr. Findlay's "Divine Inspiration of the Jewish Scriptures asserted by St. Paul." The object of the author is to oppose a declaration of the late Dr. Geddes, that the passage of St. Paul referred to, which is 2 Tim. iii. 16., is not genuine in its present reading. There can be no doubt that Dr. Geddes's chief motive for critically examining, and consequently opposing, the integrity of the present lection, proceeded from the bold system he had formed with regard to the Old Testament, the inspiration of which he openly denied, while, at the same time, he as openly professed to believe in the inspiration of the New Testament. Now the text before us, in its common reading, seems mainly to imply, that the Jewish Scriptures are possessed of the same inspiration as the Christian; for it asserts that "*all Scripture is* given by inspiration of God, *and* is profitable," &c. Dr. Geddes, on the perusal of this text, or rather, if we recollect aright, on its having been opposed to his

his general theory, could not avoid feeling himself in a dilemma. What was to be done? was he to relinquish his scepticism as to the first, or his faith as to the second? He chose a middle course—and a course which we are sorry to notice has been so much resorted to by all parties of late, in the support of system, and nothing else:—he contended that the passage was not fairly rendered; that, even allowing the Greek text to stand as it does at present, it would admit of a different interpretation to that commonly assigned to it: but that the Greek itself in our common copies is incorrect and adulterated; that the copulative και (*and*) cannot be traced in any of the ancient versions excepting the Ethiopic; that it does not appear in several of the Greek copies still extant, and that many of the Christian fathers have used the text without it. But if this be true, the reading would then be as follows, "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God—is profitable, &c." which renders the whole proposition nonsense: and to reduce it once more to sense, we must advance a step further, and maintain that the verb *is* (εστι), in the first member of the verse, is just as spurious as the discarded copulative; in consequence of which the passage will run thus, "all Scripture—given by inspiration of God—is profitable," &c.; and then nothing more remains than a controversial inquiry as to what Scripture *is* given by inspiration of God, and what *is not*—and the *prima facie*, or more obvious form of the text, is entirely annihilated. To speak the truth, however, we freely confess, that, in the prosecution of this verbal investigation, Dr. Geddes has still the advantage over Dr. Findlay; with whose ingenuity we have nevertheless been highly pleased, and who has followed him with many forcible appeals, and proofs of biblical criticism, which do equal credit to his judgement and his classical studies: but the *cui bono*, the real benefit that is to result from this disputation, let it terminate as it may, lies beyond our power of calculation. Granting either to be right, the same debate must necessarily ensue upon a second question, which the successful opponent, be he who he may, will have prevented from taking place upon a first; for whether "*all Scripture* is given by inspiration *and* is profitable," &c., or "all *Scripture* given by inspiration is profitable," &c., be the more approved meaning of the two, it will be equally necessary to inquire into the verbal meaning of the term *Scripture*; and we have not the shadow of a doubt, that, were Dr. Geddes in a state to defend his own argument, just as much variation would occur upon this second dispute as upon the first. To place the truth or fallacy, therefore, of important doctrines upon individual texts of Scripture of doubtful interpretation, or, which is still more objectionable, upon individual terms that occur or do not occur within the scope of such doubtful texts, is enormously to diminish instead of to support the credibility of the controverted doctrine. We had occasion to make a similar remark in our last year's retrospect, upon the subject of the essential divinity and coequality of our blessed Saviour, which has of late been made to depend in a considerable degree upon the mere construction of a Greek particle. In both cases, we have to observe, that the doctrines contended for or oppugned by no means depend upon such frail and questionable principles, and we rejoice in the general confession that they do not.

Mr. M'Conochie has produced "a Dissertation

Dissertation concerning the Writer of the fourth Gospel," which is intended to prove, that, although his name was John, he was a person distinct from John the apostle, the son of Zebedee; that instead of being a resident on the banks of the Tiberias, he was a native and inhabitant of Jerusalem, or of some part of the country immediately adjoining. We cannot fully enter into these observations: some objections as to the identity of the apostle and the evangelist of the same name, we have formerly met with; but we have never, to the present moment, notwithstanding the appearance of the pamphlet before us, beheld any of sufficient cogency to induce us to withdraw our confidence from the popular opinion. The present writer's principal motive for believing John the evangelist to have been a native and inhabitant of Jerusalem, is derived from the facility of his introduction into the court of Caiaphas, and his having been apparently free from provincialisms in his dialect, " while *poor* Peter, who had come up from Galilee, was *so hard put to it* in these respects." Taciturnity at times does wonders:—how it comes to pass that the officers and menial servants of the sacerdotal court were acquainted not only with the speech but with the person of Peter, a Galilean stranger, as they appear to have been, our author explains not: yet this is a question of as much consequence as the former. Shall we in a few words resolve both? Peter then appears to have discovered himself, from the natural boldness and precipitancy of his disposition; John, on the contrary, seems to have been unsuspected, from his greater taciturnity and modesty. Peter was observed from his superior zeal to have been a companion with our Saviour; and the exclamations in which he probably indulged, developed him even to the lowest menial of the court to have been a stranger to the dialect of Jerusalem, for his speech *bewrayed* him: John, with an equal love for his divine master, withheld his speech, and was freed from the errors and disgrace into which his fellow disciple was plunged headlong. Taciturnity, as we have just observed, does wonders; and had the present author acted upon this principle, we should have had at least as high an opinion of him as we entertain at the present moment.

In four volumes octavo we have received from Mrs. Marriott " Elements of Religion; containing a simple Deduction of Christianity from its Source to its present Circumstances." These *Elements of Religion*, as they are denominated by a title sufficiently general for a book of theology published in any age or any climate, under any dispensation whatever, are narrowed in the prosecution of the fair author's inquiry, not only to the religion of Christianity, but to that peculiar branch of it which constitutes the church of England. The work for the most part is polemic, being designed to vindicate both the doctrine and discipline established, against those who may be denominated evangelical or hyper-orthodox seceders, or, in language still more common and comprehensive, Methodist preachers or professors. Yet the amiable writer (for such we really apprehend her to be) does not appear ver ythoroughly grounded in her subject: from the more abhorrent doctrines of Calvin she flies with a precipitation that carries her occasionally too far, from an impossibility, as we suppose, of being able

able to restrain her career; and hence, instead of soberly resting herself in fair and unequivocal Arminianism, she verges at times upon the very borders of Arianism; and, by a sharp look-out, might even be detected upon its grounds. In metaphysics she also upon particular occasions puts forth the strength of her bow; but either the bow is feeble, or the arm weak, or the vision incorrect—for we perceive no mischief done, excepting to her own self and her own arguments. A terrible philippic, moreover, is launched against Mr. Pope's Essay on Man; which might have had some effect, if the fair author had had the good luck to have flourished about a century earlier, when it first made its appearance. The direct object of lord Bolingbroke in proposing the plan of this admirable poem, though not perceived by the poet himself at the time of its composition, was too obvious to escape notice upon the first moment of its committal to the public; and we have reason to believe that Pope, towards the close of his life, extremely regretted that he had been so completely duped. It is now uniformly read with the very views with which he composed it, and, with this allowance, may continue to be perused without danger.

"An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer; in which are comprehended an Account of the Origin of that Prayer, an Explanation of its several Petitions, and a Demonstration that according to its Natural Interpretation it contains a complete Summary of Christian Doctrine," is a valuable work, for which the public is indebted to Mr. Mendham. We call it valuable, because, in a short and systematic manner, it offers the different opinions which have been advanced by biblical scholars upon the origin and intention of this unrivalled summary of devotional exercise, and is accompanied with a variety of pious and most excellent observations, by way of general inference or improvement. But we cannot follow Mr. Mendham in his plan of anathematizing all who happen, upon disputable points of theology, to think differently from himself, although we do not essentially vary in our own profession from the creed to which he appears to be so warmly and conscientiously attached. The idea that the Lord's Prayer contains an epitome of the entire Gospel *is* not an invention of his own; —it was a fancy of Tertullian's, and was scarcely worth dragging from the grave in which it has been so long and so quietly inurned. In asserting that the greater number of the passages of which this formula consists, was derived from the existing prayers of different Jewish teachers, we think the subject is very unnecessarily degraded. The keen ingenuity of many critics has unquestionably brought forwards a variety of parallel passages from Jewish writers; but, of these, several of them appear to us to be altogether accidental, and others decidedly of a later date than the period in which our Lord proposed his own prayer for the use of his disciples.

In an essay, denominated "The Mild Tenor of Christianity," we have perused a publication which is entitled to no small praise, as well for the liberal spirit with which it is written, as for the instructive and entertaining anecdotes with which it abounds, selected from the history of characters which, in different Christian communions, have justly acquired eminence for their zeal and integrity of life. It is published anonymously, but is said to have proceeded from the pen of Mr. Jerningham,

ningham, the author of a translation of Select Sermons, from Bossuet, bishop of Meaux.

Mr. Robinson, rector of Ruan Minor, in Cornwall, has usefully employed his leisure in instituting "An Enquiry into the Necessity, Nature, and Evidence of Revealed Religion." The necessity of a revealed religion the author has attemped to prove, and upon the whole successfully, from the defects which attach to all the religious opinions of the heathen world. Its nature is shown, from a fair examination of the history, discoveries, and final object both of the Hebrew and Christian scriptures; and its evidence is deduced, internally from its pure and excellent spirit, and externally from ancient and collateral authorities, which are equally appealed to by Christians and infidels. These *authorities*, however, are, in many instances, possest of no *authority* at all, from the want of sufficient references by which the quotation may be substantiated.

From the pen of Dr. Priestley—a pen, alas! that never shall move more—we have to notice a small tract, entitled, "Socrates and Jesus compared." We do not, however, admire such comparisons, or see any reason for their introduction in the present day. In the æra of Jamblichus, Plotinus, and Porphyry, who, as adherents, though very heterodox adherents, to the academic school, were accustomed to institute such a comparison as a justification of their own tenets, an essay of this kind might have been desirable; but as the character of Socrates does not rank quite so highly in the present day, even in the estimation of any party, it seems, to say the least of it, a work of supererogation. A parallel might be attempted between the characters of Bonaparte and Washington; but what benefit would result from such an attempt? Who does not anticipate, before he has perused a sentence, in whose favour the parallel must necessarily terminate? For the rest, we think the present work exhibits less interest than might easily have been infused into it. It will not add greatly to the fame of the deceased author.

Mr. Creighton's "Enquiry into the Origin of True Religion" is a useful tract for those who have but little time or opportunity of studying the subject more profoundly for themselves. In launching into several topics, which he has, perhaps unnecessarily, connected with the main question, he occasionally fails as to proof; but the ground-work still remains impregnable, and the general superstructure correct and unimpeachable.

"Letter to a Noble Duke on the incontrovertible Truth of Christianity." The striking merit of Mr. Leslie's Short and Easy Method with the Deists is, we apprehend, known to all our readers, and abridgements of it have frequently been brought forwards by different writers upon different plans. The letter before us offers another, and by no means an unsuccessful attempt. In the character of it given by the writer himself, it 'is somewhat abridged *and curtailed*, and occasionally varied in point of language, especially with a view to divest it of every opprobrious controversial term, and every irritating expression of polemic defiance.' In some instances it appears to us to have lost rather too much of its polemic salt—too much, we mean, for *flavour*—but we hope not too much for *keeping*.

In the "Sacred Mirror" of the rev. Thomas Smith, the reader will find, as the title itself still further

expresses, "A compendious View of Scripture History; containing a faithful Narrative of all the principal Events recorded in the Old and New Testament, from the Creation of the World to the Death of St. Paul; with a Continuation from that Period to the final Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans." This length of title, which may almost be regarded as an introduction, a preface, or even an index, to the pamphlet, is of itself so full as to render all further account unnecessary.

We may apply the same observation to the following work, from the pen of Mr. Buck, which is a useful and valuable compilation, and evinces extensive reading and correct judgement: "A Theological Dictionary; containing a Definition of all religious Terms; a comprehensive View of every Article in the System of Divinity; an impartial Account of all the principal Denominations which have subsisted in the religious World from the Birth of Christ to the present Day; together with an accurate Statement of the most remarkable Transactions and Events recorded in Ecclesiastical History."

Mr. Bigland's "Reflections on the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ" are principally designed as an answer to Paine's objection to the credibility of the ascension. So far as it applies, this answer is able and satisfactory; but we have a strong objection to dragging back into public notice works that have long since met with the contempt to which they are entitled; which have long been forgotten, and were never worthy of being known. The severest critic upon Thomas Paine's *theological works* was Thomas Paine himself; there is not a page which does not prove that he was perfectly incompetent to the subject which he had the vanity to undertake; that he was totally unacquainted with its different bearings, and altogether unversed in that classical learning without which he could have no pretension to the character of a critic. Even his political reputation began to sink from the moment of his failure in this respect; and we wish no new attempt to revive either the one or the other.

From Dr. Hill, principal of St. Mary's college, and primarius professor of theology in the university of St. Andrews, we have received a work of considerable information and utility, under the title of "Theological Institutes." These the author has divided into three parts;—1. Heads of Lectures in Divinity; 2. View of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland; 3. Counsels respecting the Duties of the Pastoral Office. The most valuable of these divisions, at least to us on this side of the Tweed, is the second, because it seems to contain a fair and correct account of the ecclesiastic establishment of North Britain, which is not generally understood in England. In the exercise of his spiritual functions the Scottish pastor acts within his parish at his own discretion, and free from all foreign control; but in the exercise of religious discipline he is assisted by lay elders. He attains his preferment to his spiritual charge by a presentation, either from the parish itself or the patron (for they equally exist in the church of Scotland) to the presbytery. This *presbytery* is composed of an indefinite number of parishes, according to the extent of the district: it consists of all the ministers of the parish within the district; of the professors of divinity, being themselves ministers, in any university within the same range; and of an elder from each parish.

parish. This, in the scale of ascension, is the second judicatory in the ecclesiastic constitution: the first, or lowest, consisting of the minister of the parish and the lay elders alone, whose power is limited to the inferior concerns of their own church, and, who when met together, constitute what is denominated a *kirk-session*. The third judicatory is denominated a *provincial synod*, and is formed by an assemblage of three or more presbyteries in one deliberative body. Its chief object appears to be to prepare whatever business may be determined upon to introduce before the *general assembly*, which constitutes the supreme judicial court; and, convening annually in the month of May, continues to sit for ten days. It consists of deputies from every presbytery within the jurisdiction of the church, the number depending upon the extent of the presbytery, or the proportion of parishes which such presbytery represents, and in every instance ministers and lay elders being equally deputed. To this general assembly also the sixty-six royal burghs send deputies or representatives, who are always ruling elders: and, at the same time, moreover, the five universities are represented by a member deputed from each: the entire number of representatives is three hundred and sixty-one. The sovereign is here personated by the lord high commissioner. The power of this supreme court is very extensive, but we cannot enter into a detail of its jurisdiction. The exchequer pays 2000*l.* per annum towards the expenses of the establishment: the rest is collected by teinds or tithes. In the doctrinal part of this work our author adheres, as may be supposed, to the tenets of his own church, and upon these we need not enlarge.

The arrangement of his lectures does not offer to us any very prominent specimen either of elegance or precision; but in the following observation, addressed to his pupils, there is a spirit of liberality which is equally creditable to his heart and his head. 'You will derive more benefit from canvassing what I say, than from imbibing all that I can teach; and the most useful lessons which you can learn from me, are a habit of attention, a love of truth, and a spirit of enquiry.'

"A Short and Practical Account of the Principal Doctrines of Christianity," by Mr. W. J. Rees, is a useful tract for young persons, for whose benefit it appears to have been compiled. A collection of prayers is appended which may often be recurred to with advantage.

In advancing to our statement of the different volumes of sermons which have issued from the press within the period of our retrospect, we cannot avoid noticing, that, although more numerous than the year commonly produces, for the most part they are less excellent and impressive as compositions. Those with which we have been chiefly delighted are a third volume of "Sermons preached to a Country Congregation," by Mr. prebendary Gilpin. They have the same facility of diction, elegance of style, and simplicity of ornament, which are so conspicuous in the earlier discourses of this accomplished preacher; and we have no doubt that they will secure to him, as they ought to do, a long and unblemished fame; or, which is still of more importance to the cause in whose favour they are written, that they will be perused with great spiritual benefit by the numerous and truly valuable class of Christians for whose instruction they are principally designed. We

cannot conscientiously accede to all the sentiments they evince, though we can cordially ascribe to the composer the best and most pious intentions of the heart. Subjoined to the discourses are "A few Hints for Sermons, intended for the Use of the younger Clergy," which we cannot avoid strenuously recommending, as explicit, natural, and highly appropriate, and such as, with slender ability, may be easily worked up into admirable addresses from the pulpit.

"Sermons on several Occasions," by the rev. R. Shepherd, D. D. archdeacon of Bedford. These *occasions* are not uniformly specified; the *subjects* of which the sermons treat are the ground and credibility of the Christian religion, occupying the first four discourses; the evidence of a future state as afforded by reason, comprehending the three ensuing; the influence of example, and the causes which mislead the multitude, to which the eighth is devoted; the fear of God, forming the ninth; the power of conscience, the tenth; on inspiration, and the means by which it may be discriminated, the eleventh; on a former Paradisaical state, the twelfth; on the character of Charles I. and the causes which led to his death, being a 30th of January sermon, the last. With much sound sterling sense, these sermons evince much bigotry and prejudice; and the judgement of the preacher is so warped or blinded by his own system, that he cannot perceive, or cannot rightly interpret, the history of his own country. What can have occasioned his violent rancour against the dissenters we know not: that they too have often discovered an intolerance in matters of religion, a sectarian puritanism in concerns of little moment, an unpolished coarseness of manner, and an unlettered education in their polemic controversies, we admit; but the charge of their having been Jacobites and favourers of popery, is, we believe, for the first time brought forwards in the present volume. "In some periods of the last century," observes this fallible instructor, "when, on several trying occasions, the bishop and episcopal clergy made their noble stand against popery, it is well known, and ought never to be forgotten, that the dissenters held back, or were privately bargaining with that party for indulgence." What is this *noble stand*, and these *trying* occasions here alluded to? Why does not this puissant preacher speak out? and tell us at once that he refers to the additional indulgences which were granted to the Roman-catholics by two consecutive bills that, in the course of the present reign, have passed through parliament in their favour? indulgences which their own unnecessary political privations, and the growing wisdom and liberality of the times, equally demanded in their behalf. We well remember the *glorious stand* of many, though by no means of all, or even of the majority, either of the bishops or episcopal clergy, and these *trying occasions* on which they exerted themselves against the apparent and eventually the avowed sense of king, lords, and commons: and we remember, too, and remember it to their shame, and our author ought to have been better informed before he had pretended to quote political history upon this subject, that the dissenters as a body discovered a greater opposition, and consequently made a still more *noble stand*, upon this *trying occasion*, than even the opposing clergy themselves: we not only well know, but

but have at this moment the polemic pamphlets before us, which prove that the catholics themselves regarded, upon the first occasion more especially, the dissenters as their most inveterate enemies. We know that one or two of the most eminent dissenters of the day wrote in the most bitter invectives against such an extension of privileges; we know that the rage of the presbyterians in Scotland was kindled to such a height as to prevent the catholics from enjoying the benefit of their new and well-deserved immunities; and we know, too, that the mob which had put all London into a conflagration upon this very account was headed, or supposed to be headed, by a presbyterian, and denominated a presbyterian mob. Whatever, therefore, on this occasion may be the personal boast of the archdeacon, the dissenters can boast of still more—and, warmed by the holy ardour of fire and faggot, we trust that the archdeacon, instead of enemies, will regard them as some of his most zealous and active confederates in the common cause for the future. We trust also, that, before the appearance of his second volume of "Sermons on several Occasions," he will consult the dusty pamphlets of his library, which contain the history of his own times, and appear at the bar of the public with a more refreshed memory.

But we turn to a volume which, while it possesses all the merits, is free from all the defects, of the pulpit eloquence of the archdeacon; and in presenting to our readers the sermons of principal Brown, of the Marischal college and university of Aberdeen, can fairly promise them instruction and entertainment, without the leaven of party, or the base alloy of misrepresentation. Dr. Brown is already well known to the literary world, and it certainly will have no occasion to reject the opportunity by which it is thus enabled to cultivate an additional acquaintance with him. The sermons here offered to our perusal are in number eighteen; we can barely find room to enumerate their topics:—1st. on the duty and character of a Christian preacher; 2d. on the love of God; 3d. on the joy and peace of believing and practising the Gospel; 4th. on the nature, causes, and effects of indifference with regard to religion; 5th. on the folly of procrastination with regard to the concerns of religion; 6th. on the vanity of religion unless considered as the chief good, and accompanied with zeal and perseverance; 7th. on the nature, the effects, and the rewards of constancy and perseverance in religion; 8th. on the progressive nature of religion in the soul; 9th. 10th. 11th. on prudence and simplicity of character; 12th. 13th. 14th. on Agar's prayer; 15th. 16th. on pride; 17th. on humility; 18th. on the unfailing nature of charity as a motive to cultivate it. We regret extremely that our limits will not allow us to justify the very high opinion we entertain of this excellent and elegant set of sermons by a few apt quotations; but we are compelled to refer the reader to the book itself, premising that if we entertain a preference for any over the rest, it is for the fifteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth. We wish we could be the instruments of disseminating the whole in a proportion equal to their merit.

"Sermons preached occasionally in the Episcopal Chapel, Stirling, during the eventful Period from 1793 to 1803, by George Gleig, LL. D.," &c. These sermons are of very serious import: and if half

the depravity of which they complain be true, the northern part of the British empire at least is rapidly advancing to temporal, if not to eternal, perdition. It should appear, from these discourses, that by far the greater part of Scotland is become the prey of fanatical and self-commissioned teachers, who, under the guise of more evangelical zeal, "wander over the country, *creep into houses, and lead captive silly women,* and sillier men, by assuring them, that Christianity requires nothing of them but what they call *faith*; that what moralists term the duty of subjects to their sovereigns, concerns not them; that the love of their country is no virtue, but perhaps a vice; that the precepts of morality are but the elements of a legal institution; and that they *shall* certainly be saved, if they firmly believe that Jesus Christ died for the elect, and that they themselves are of that happy number." This is a truly melancholy reflexion; but our affliction is doubled, upon perusing that almost the whole of those who have too much common sense to confederate with these fanatical impostors and traitors, have their conscience seared with systematic infidelity: "Of all young men," observes Dr. Gleig, "bred to the liberal professions, two-thirds, at least, are avowed infidels; and indulge, of course, without compunction, in the practice of every vice which fashion has not made dishonourable, and of which the laws of their country take no cognizance.—A friend of mine, whose veracity cannot be doubted, assured me, that of thirty young men composing a literary society of which he was a member, there were but three who had the courage to profess themselves Christians. A few more declared their belief in the existence of a God—but a very great majority were avowed atheists. Some individuals of the higher orders of society are exerting all their influence and all their power to distract the attention of government, to rend in pieces the force of the empire, and to deliver up their countrymen—nay, themselves, their wives, and their children—gagged and bound to a host of murdering atheists." It will be obvious, from these extracts, to all who are really acquainted with North Britain, and we might add, to all who are not, that the worthy preacher is a man of warm imagination, and that his fancy has gotten the better of his judgement. The hand of government is not slack; how then comes it to pass, that these open and avowed traitors, whether fanatics or philosophists, have not been brought to the punishment they so richly deserve? We remember, a few years ago, the present bishop of St. Asaph, in a public charge delivered to his clergy, accused, in general terms, the supporters of our Sunday-schools of publicly teaching treasonable doctrines and abetting treasonable practices. How much wiser and more patriotic would it have been, both in the learned prelate and the present learned declaimer, to have denounced, at the proper tribunal of their country, individuals against whom these grievous charges are thus loosely advanced, and to have triumphed in the punishment they had deservedly inflicted, than thus to mount the pulpit, and unnecessarily alarm the nation with a picture of crimes which they cannot substantiate, and therefore ought not to have brought forward; or of which, if they could substantiate them, they themselves are abettors, as being privy to the criminality of the culprits without making

making a single effort to bring them to justice? Judicially speaking, we have not a doubt that the author's country is most unreasonably libelled: speaking as Christians, we lament, with him, the depravity which we too well know exists in the midst of every class and persuasion; but we humbly hope that there are more who have not bowed the knee to Baal, than this zealous, and we have no hesitation in adding very worthy, writer, seems to conjecture.

We have just paid a due tribute of praise to a volume of sermons composed for a country congregation by Mr. Gilpin; we have there shown what such sermons should be: we are now called upon, by way of contrast, to show what they should *not* be, in consequence of a book with a similar title having fallen into our hands, from the pen of the rev. Edward Nares, A. M. rector of Biddenden, Kent. Inelegant and ungrammatical in language, pompous and inflated in style, and inappropriate in subject and metaphor, it is impossible for us to conceive that any great degree of benefit can have been derived from the delivery of these discourses, if indeed they have ever been delivered at all. We have had voyages to Egypt written in Bond-street, pastoral poems in Cheapside; and we are induced to believe and to hope that these sermons, for a country congregation, have never been rehearsed beyond the walls of the writer's own study. There is no relief, no costume, no portraiture: they might as well have been entitled "for a Chapel of Courtiers" as "for a Country Congregation."

Mr. Nares has also favoured us with a theological tract entitled Εἷς Θεὸς, εἷς Μεσίτης: or, as we may entitle it in plain English, "One God, one Mediator:" in the course of which he asserts that his object is "to shew how far the philosophical notion of a plurality of worlds is consistent or not so with the language of the holy scriptures." This however is not his only object; for having, in his own opinion, and we have no objection to such an opinion, established that such a notion *is* consistent with the Scriptures, he advances a step, or rather a bold stride, further, and attempts to prove that the inhabitants of every world, at what distance soever from our own, are equally interested with ourselves in the atonement of the second Adam; and, as it follows indeed of course, that they are also equally included in the transgression of the first. Now what possible connexion can have subsisted between the common parent of mankind and the inhabitants of the sun, the moon, or the planets, we confess ourselves totally at a loss to ascertain. Proclus and Porphyry might have given a guess upon this subject: so perhaps may Mr. Taylor, whose powers of reminiscence, or recollection of what occurred around him in other worlds, antecedently to his junction with a terrene body, he does not seem to have altogether relinquished: but nothing less than the keen intellectual knowledge of *the universal and angelic doctor* Thomas Aquinas, the *seraphic doctor* Bonaventure, or *the most subtle doctor* John Duns Scotus, to whom alone were committed the genuine and original copy of the book of heraldry and the genealogical tables of essences and hyper-essences, monads, duads, and triads, angels and archangels, can give us complete satisfaction upon this subject. The Greek title of this inquiry cannot be more abstruse or mysterious to Mr. Nares's *Country*

Congregation, than the subject to which it refers must still be to himself.

In the "Practical Discourses" of Mr. Warner, curate of St. James's parish, Bath, we discover an ardent desire to fulfil the sacred duties of his office, a spirit of unaffected and liberal piety, an animated style, and a feeling heart. Mr. Warner, however, composes too rapidly. We were compelled to advance this charge against him on a former occasion, and we have the most evident proofs of the same error in the discourses before us. Hence is it that he is too little select in his terms, and at times mistakes the bombast for the sublime or pathetic; and hence too we perceive that his "*faculty of ratiocination*" does not always "*remain unclouded*;" and that though he appears in no instance to "*withdraw from his brother* MORTAL *love and charity*," yet he incidentally expresses this *mortal charity* in a phraseology that is in great danger of "*approaching the shores*" of nonsense "*by speedy approximation.*" In few words, to copy once more from our author's text, he too frequently exhibits "a *glittering profligacy of classical worship, poured forth with cloying eloquence.*" These, however, are faults which may be easily corrected, and although they occasionally disfigure, they do not materially subtract from the sterling value of the volume before us.

"Sermons upon Subjects interesting to Christians of every Denomination," by Thomas Taylor. The author of these sermons is a dissenting minister highly and deservedly esteemed, not only by his congregation, who assemble in Carter-lane, but by all who are acquainted with him. There is a mildness of manner, a spirit of universal benevolence, displayed throughout the whole of these discourses, that while they develope in glowing colours the intrinsic excellence of the heart from which they have proceeded, cannot fail to engender a similar disposition in the bosom of all who may peruse them with attention. On one occasion only do we remember to have met with any exception to this general remark, and that is in an attack upon catholic worship, upon which the warm and worthy preacher appears to have been unnecessarily censorious. In sermons intended for "Christians of every Denomination," the observations we refer to should certainly have been suppressed, or the general title of the work varied. Mr. Taylor's style is rather a smooth and easy flow of level verbiage, than a sonorous torrent of affected phraseology: he rather trusts to the infinite importance of his subject for a suitable impression, than to the external glitter and decorations of meretricious eloquence. Hence his sermons will seldom be sought for beyond the sphere of his own connexions; but within this circle, and what ought a preacher to desire more? they will be received, as they deserve to be, with a hearty welcome, and perused with a conciousness of improvement.

"Practical Sermons on several important Subjects," by the reverend Theophilus St. John, LL. B." The worthy author "entreats the reader to consider these discourses as calculated for a popular audience, such as a clergyman ardently desirous of doing good, would write for the use of his congregation." This is a fair account of them. The language is easy and perspicuous, the sentiments liberal, the system thoroughly orthodox. As the title imports, they are chiefly upon prac-

tical

tical subjects, and are in number twenty-six.

From the pen of "a Layman," we have also received a volume of "Sermons chiefly designed to recommend the practical Morality of the Gospel, and intended for the Use of Family Devotion." From the attempt here presented to us, we should conceive it absolutely necessary for a composer of sermons to pass through a regular noviciate of professional theology, did we not remember that Dr. Johnson, as well as other laymen, have succeeded in this line without any such immediate instruction, and did we not at the same time perceive that multitudes who have enjoyed the full benefit of it have enjoyed it to no purpose whatever. The lay-preacher before us, gives us occasional proofs that he *can* write, but the proofs that he can*not* are far more numerous and convincing. Failure of success proceeds from two causes: the more obvious and common is, that of not taking pains enough; but in the present, as well as in various other instances, it is produced by taking too much pains. Where the author suffers his ideas to flow in his own natural style, he writes with perspicuity, and may be read with pleasure; but he is fond of aërial excursions, he mounts into the balloon of fine writing, and, from the falls he is for ever receiving, is in perpetual danger of breaking his neck. His recommendation of the important duty of family devotion, a duty in the present day so generally and unaccountably neglected, does credit to his heart; and the arguments which in this essay he has advanced to support, it does equal credit to his head.

From Mr. John Buddo, A. M., we have received a pamphlet entitled "Essays and Sermons on select Subjects: to which is added, a Discourse on the Nature of the Christian Religion." These essays are two: 1st. on the being, the providence, and the attributes of God: 2d. on the love of our neighbour. They are succeeded by four sermons: 1st, on the love of God: 2d. on the love of our neighbour: 3d. on the Christian's hope and character: 4th. on the nature of the Christian religion. The author's intention is good, and his piety we doubt not is genuine. He would not be pleased with us if we were to say more upon the subject.

Though last, not least in merit, among the Sermons with which the current year has been enriched, we have to mention Dr. Rennel's "Discourses on various Subjects." To the honesty and purity of the preacher's zeal, we pay the most ready assent: the Christian religion is largely indebted to him, and our established church has not a firmer or a more ornamental pillar. His learning is extensive, his talents commanding, his eloquence impressive: to these endowments were he to add a little larger portion of that Christian charity, without which all other endowments and all other virtues are but of little avail, our admiration would be uniform and unrestrained. But although no one ever appeared to presuppose a more unquestioned right to think for himself, or maintain his own opinion, upon theological doctrines, than this justly celebrated orator, few men have been ever less disposed to concede the same right to others. How far, if the existing laws and the liberality of the times did not concur in favour of personal toleration, this spirit of egotism might hurry its professors into acts of open violence and oppression, we will not undertake to say; but we know that

that the flames of persecution have been often kindled, and the severest tortures inflicted, from an idea of rendering God service, and consequently from the purest motives in the world. Of those who differ from him upon some points, our author informs us, that "they *cannot* or *will not* discern," or, in other words, that they are either the fools of nature or of their own obstinacy. Of many who differ in other points, we are told that their system consists "merely of a train of whimsical paradoxes, which are in truth mere abortions of the mind! Strange without originality, dull without sobriety, flippant without wit, and contagious without allurement." How long will it be before we shall behold it practically and universally admitted that dogmatism is not a Christian virtue, and that the speech of the pulpit orator ought to be accompanied with *grace* as well as *seasoned with salt!* These observations will apply generally to the sermons before us; exceptions there unquestionably are, and we wish they were more numerous. In all matters of morality, or of a practical tendency, in all doctrines that are so uniformly admitted as not to allow of theological logomachy, the master of the Temple is well worthy of attention, and we have been equally pleased and instructed. The following are the subjects of his discourses:—Gaming: old age: benevolence exclusively an evangelical virtue: the services rendered to the English nation by the Church of England, a motive for liberality to the orphan children of indigent ministers (at a meeting of the Sons of the Clergy): the grounds and regulations of national joy (on Lord Nelson's victory): on the connexion of the duties of loving the brotherhood, fearing God, and honouring the king: the guilt of blood-thirstiness (on the murder of the queen of France): the atonement: the duties of the clergy (at a visitation): Great Britain's naval strength, a cause of gratitude and thanksgiving to Almighty God: ignorance productive of atheism, anarchy, and superstition: the sting of death, the strength of sin, and the victory over them both through Jesus Christ.

Of the single sermons which have reached us, it is impossible to give a detail, from their multiplicity: the fast sermons alone would occupy far more room than we can allot for the whole. Upon this subject we observe that the dissenters have given more *numerous* proofs of their patriotism than the established clergy. The sermons which upon this or other national occasions have appeared in our judgement most entitled to notice from the former quarter, are from the pens of Drs. Disney and Rees, Messrs. Hall, Hughs, and Jervis. Of those which we esteem most valuable from the latter, we have to mention Dr. Parr's, preached also on the fast day, at the parish church of Hatton, in Warwickshire, an oration enriched with all the energy of thought, force of phraseology, precision of arrangement, and beautiful variety of illustration, for which this unrivalled preacher is so justly celebrated: Dr. Thorp's, preached at the archidiaconal visitations of the clergy of the archdeaconry of Northumberland, the text 1 Tim. iv. 16.; Dr. Glasse's, preached at Wanstead, Essex, Sept. 4, intended to be a kind of soldier's manual, and inscribed *to the million* of loyal volunteers; Mr. Andrews's (rector of St. James's, Westminster), preached June 6, in the parish church of St. Nicholas, Deptford; and Mr. Bidlake's,

lake's, preached at St. Andrew's church, Plymouth, May 27, at the visitation of R. Barnes, M. A. archdeacon of Totness.

Under the head of controversial divinity one of the most important articles is, the bishop of Lincoln's Charge to the clergy of his own diocese, in the months of May and June. Of what theological school are the articles of the church of England, is a question that has long been contended, and is contending at this moment. They are Calvinistic, say some; they are Lutheran, say others; they are Arminian, say a third party. The brunt of the battle, however, has been to prove that they are or that they are not derived from Calvin. The articles appear to be drawn up with an accuracy that at first sight would seem to preclude all possibility of dispute whatever. But such is the imprecision of human language, that neither acts of parliament nor articles of faith are free from all question and controversy. No decision, therefore, being obtained from the *letter* of the articles themselves, the evangelical clergy have lately appealed to their spirit, as evinced in the two books of homilies which were written, for the most part, by the chief reformers themselves, such as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Jewell; and of which the first was published in the reign of Edward VI., and the last in that of Elizabeth. The object of the learned prelate before us, is to admit the appeal of the methodists, and consequently to attack them on their own ground: and in the course of his inquiry he appears to have obtained a manifest and decisive triumph: for he has sufficiently ascertained that "not one of the peculiar doctrines of Calvin is mentioned in either of the two books of homilies. The word *predestination*," continues his lordship, "does not occur from the beginning to the end of the homilies: the word *election* occurs only once, and then is not used in the Calvinistic sense: the word *reprobation* does not occur at all. Nothing is said of absolute decrees, partial redemption, perseverance, irresistible grace: and let it be remembered that the subjects of many of the homilies are immediately connected with the Calvinistic system; such as original sin, the salvation of mankind, faith, good works, declining from God, the nativity, the passion, the resurrection, the descent of the Holy Ghost, the grace of God, and repentance." The learned prelate next proceeds to show, and that upon stable grounds, that although there is nothing *decidedly* either in favour of or against the Calvinistic system, there are a variety of passages that may be advanced as *incidentally* in opposition to it: and he fairly concludes, that "the fact is, that the introduction of Calvinism, or rather its prevalence in any considerable degree, was *subsequent* to the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, when all our public formularies, our articles, our liturgy, and our homilies, were settled as they now are, with the exception of a few alterations and additions in the liturgy, not in the least affecting its general spirit and character." If then it be inquired, from what particular creed are the articles actually derived? Dr. Prettyman's answer is, "our church is not Lutheran—it is not Calvinistic—it is not Arminian—it is Scriptural. It is built upon the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone."

In aid of these observations has been published "a Dissertation on the

the Seventeenth Article of the Church of England, wherein the Sentiments of the Compilers and other contemporary Reformers, on the Subject of the divine Decrees, are fully deduced from their own Writings. To which is subjoined, a short Tract ascertaining the Reign and Time in which the royal Declaration before the Thirty-nine Articles was first published. By the reverend T. Winchester, D. D., late rector of Appleton." The volubility of the title will save us some trouble. In few words, the present is a tract selected from "The Churchman's Remembrancer," in conjunction with Dr. Winchester's Essay, now republished as a companion to the former. The publication is well timed, and entitled to an answer, if the dispute be meant to be persevered in.

Mr. Overton's "True Churchman," noticed in our last annual review, has since been replied to by Mr. Daubeny, to whom he had thrown down the gauntlet, in a volume entitled "Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." It is sufficient to observe, that Mr. Daubeny appears to possess a manifest advantage over his antagonist, and that many passages from Mr. Overton himself are here selected, which evince no small degree of tergiversation, and evidently prove that he feels himself driven to manœuvring rather than to fair fighting. In effect, the Anti-Calvinists seem to be in full possession of the field their antagonists are certainly discomfited, and at present seem scarcely to muster courage enough to show their faces. Whether or not they may yet rally, we cannot say. It will be our duty to maintain a vigilant eye, and from time to time to report the state of the battle. From all that has been advanced, it appears obvious, that the church articles were planned and proposed in the reign of Edward VI.; that upon his sudden and unhappy decease, and the restoration of popery under the reign of Mary, many of the reformers fled to the continent, of whom some, during the the period of their exile, imbibed various portions of the Calvinistic creed and spirit; and that hence, on their return home in the reign of Elizabeth, when the whole was adjusted, a little of the Calvinistic leaven made its appearance, and insinuated itself in some slight degree into the public formularies. To ascertain fairly, therefore, what were the undisguised and unadulterated sentiments of the propounders of the established articles, we ought to ascend to the fountain head, and examine what they consisted of in the reign of Edward VI., antecedently to any attempt to intermix foreign alloy with the native bullion. That the opinion of Latimer was widely different from that of the Genevese reformer, may be easily ascertained from the following passage of his, which is still in existence, and is well known in the course of the controversy: "Christ shed as much blood for Judas as he did for Peter: Peter believed it, and therefore he was saved; Judas would not believe it, and therefore he was condemned, the fault being in him only, and in no body else." We shall conclude our account of this controversy, by observing, that the point of debate seems now to be widely and most unhappily varied from its original bearing: and that the inquiry, instead of relating to what is taught in the Gospel, is altogether transferred to what is taught by Calvin, and what by the articles of our national church.

We rejoice extremely that the legislature

legislature has at length interposed its authority upon the subject of tithes and non-residences, which have so long excited a large increase of the *odium theologicum*. What has hitherto been accomplished, however, we only wish to regard as a presage of much more that is to follow; and we believe such to be the intention of the honourable and very worthy instigator of this important inquiry. Much that demands correction remains untouched; but *chi ben comincia ha la meta dell' opra*. In making these observations we are rather transgressing the limits that should bound our labours; but a reference to the actual state of the parties under the bill that has lately passed through the senate, by proving the pamphlets published on this subject in the course of the current year to be already obsolete, will prove at the same time the propriety of our no further interfering with them than by announcing the titles and contents of the more conspicuous. Mr. John Moore, LL. B. in his "Case respecting the Maintenance of the London Clergy," has proved by authentic documents that these gentlemen by no means enjoy a comparative income equal to what was possessed by their predecessors in 1638, being the period in which the table he principally refers to was drawn up. This table forms the first of a set of columns which are designed to elucidate each other by a reciprocal contrast: the second column presents the amount of the tithes now paid in the different benefices within and without the walls, according to the report of the clergy themselves; the third gives the tithes as paid according to that of the city; the fourth, an estimate of the tithes as they ought to be paid according to the value of the houses.

In our last number we noticed Mr. Hook's answer to a well written work entitled "The Necessity of the Abolition of Pluralities, Non-residence, &c.;" and we have now to introduce another reply to the same book, under the appellation of "A Word of Advice to all Church Reformation-mongers." Having thus ushered it before our readers, we shall leave it to its own fate, with this single observation, that the writer knows better how to declaim than to argue; better how to abuse than to illustrate. The subject of pluralities is one of those which still demand the attention of parliament, and which, we trust, will shortly receive it.

Amongst the baptists, we perceive that a dispute of no small degree of violence, at least on the one side, has occurred upon the subject of the future and eventual salvation of all men. It appears that Mr. Vidler, a member of this communion, was of late publicly excommunicated from the fraternity at a general association of the particular baptist churches at Chatham, for openly avowing this heretical opinion. He was then openly told from the pulpit, after the sentence of excommunication had been announced, that "error is worse than vice; that this doctrine is a heresy, and every one who holds it is a heretic: not that every heretic is a wicked man, for heretics are often the holiest of men; but heresy is more dangerous than vice, for if a wicked man is sound in the faith there is some hope of him; such are often recovered; but as for heretics, they are very seldom recovered from their errors." It appears that there were at this time thirty Calvinist ministers of different denominations present, and that

that only one of them disavowed the sentiment that was so publicly taught. We are sorry to perceive so much rank bigotry among so large a body of the dissenters. Can it be possible that these very proscribers of a Christian brother, to whose *moral* conduct they were compelled to pay a tribute of approbation, justify their separation from the established church by an appeal to *the sacred right of private judgement!* Yet it is possible for men who thus voluntarily throw away the senses that nature gave them, not only to do this, but to do worse: and we congratulate Mr. Vidler that he escaped from such a body of madmen without being actually committed to the stake or to the torture. It is to the wholesome terror of the law alone that he is indebted for not having suffered from the hands of these modern Calvins the punishment of banishment which their morose and fanatical leader inflicted on Bossec, or that of death upon Servetus. The doctrine thus professed, however, by Mr. Vidler, has produced a controversy between himself and Mr. Fuller, in the form of letters from the one to the other. Mr. Fuller has been followed up on his own side of the question by Scrutator's "Letters to an Universalist, containing a Review of the Controversy on the Doctrine of universal Salvation;" and Mr. Vidler has since published a detailed answer to the two, containing "A Statement of Facts attending that Controversy." Into the merits of the question we cannot enter; it might, in our opinion, be better supported and better opposed: the most important and appropriate texts of Scripture in its favour have not yet been brought forwards, nor do we ever remember to have seen them started by any of the votaries to this benevolent, and we trust not unchristian, tenet.

Dr. Hales, rector of Killesandra in Ireland, has begun a publication to which, on more accounts than one, we wish the most ample success. It is entitled "Methodism inspected." Of this, the first part, or number, only is yet published, forming a pamphlet of ninety-four pages 8vo., and containing an appendix on the evidences of a state of salvation. Dr. Hales appears to be a worthy, pious, and consistent Christian, zealously attached to the duties of his parish, and of course not readily brooking that obtrusive interference and introduction of a new plan of spiritualism, which we so frequently witness by one or other of the two societies of methodists in our own country. It appears to have been in consequence of such interference alone, and the extravagant and indecorous conduct of the methodist missionaries who have been deputed to examine the state of his parish, and inflame the minds of his parishioners with schism, and mysticism, and enthusiasm, that the publication before us derives its birth. The statement it contains we believe to be correct, and unexaggerated; and its censures are by no means more severe than the occasion seems to demand. We have long believed the established church to be exposed to no small degree of danger from the conduct and augmenting numbers of this enormous and systematic brotherhood; and we have at this moment another book before us, written by an ardent and devoted member of the society itself, which still more thoroughly convinces us of the existence of such danger than any thing contained in Dr. Hales's publication. The book we now refer to is entitled "A Chronological

nological History of the People called Methodists, of the Connexion of the late rev. John Wesley. By Wm. Myles." The methodists date their rise from the year 1729, about which time the two Wesley's began to exhibit a peculiar degree of external sanctity as students at Oxford, though John always so managed as to take the lead, not only indeed of his brother, but of his own church universal, till the day of his death. It was not till 1735 that they were joined by Mr. George Whitfield, and even at this period their whole number did not consist of more than fourteen or fifteen. It shortly afterwards, however, experienced a rapid increase, and especially in the year 1738, at which time they united themselves with the Moravians; a union which continued till the middle of 1743, when a double schism took place in the confederacy, and the Moravians separated upon the doctrine of faith, and the Whitfieldians, or Calvinistic methodists, upon the doctrines of unconditional election, irresistible grace, and final perseverance. Never did man discover more subtlety in enticing the multitude into his creed, in compacting them into one uniform and indivisible phalanx, and in arrogating to himself the supreme power, than John Wesley. The plan he laid down and carried into execution was that of a complete hierarchy, and consisted progressively of societies, helpers, superintendants, circuits, conferences, being so many orbs within orbs, and he himself being the *pontifex maximus*, pope, or centre of the whole. Upon the death of Wesley, the sovereign power was possessed jointly, according to agreement, by a conclave of the upper circle, who choose annually a moderator from their own body; and the interest of the society seems to flourish as well if not better under a republican than under a monarchical form of government. They have a public exchequer, which is contributed to by every individual member, and under a variety of annual demands, and which is also supported by the profit of all the religious books that have received the official imprimatur, and are alone allowed to be circulated and read by the fraternity. When Wesley died, in the year 1791, the number of their licensed preachers was 291, and of their members 71,668. In the year 1800, only nine years afterwards, the state of the connexion was as follows: 940 chapels in the united kingdoms; 417 preachers; and 109,901 members; presenting to us an augmentation of nearly *forty thousand* within this short period of time. The Wesleyan or Arminian class of methodists, however, which alone is treated of in the volume before us, is small in comparison with the Calvinistic or the votaries of Whitfield, and whose internal and ecclesiastic polity is conducted upon similar grounds. When we reflect therefore upon this enormous and growing engine; when we behold its chief props pursuing every artifice to inveigle themselves into the established church, and to identify their creed with its doctrines; when we reflect upon the extent of their influence, the opulence of their exchequers, and above all survey them purchasing popular chapels, and even presentations to livings—we cannot avoid believing that the church is in considerable danger; and that nothing can save it but a wider separation from so deadly a foe by a revisal of its articles, or convulsive schisms in the bosom of the confederacy

deracy itself, of which, however, at present, there appears to be no prospect whatever. To what fanatical extent of debasement or exclusion the Calvinistic methodists may advance we know not, but the following are openly exhibited, as containing a part of the sentiments of the Arminian, who nevertheless separated from the former as disapproving of their *severer dogmas*. "*Q.* Can an unbeliever (whatever he be in other respects) challenge any thing of God's justice? *A.* Absolutely nothing but hell! and this is a point which we cannot too much insist on.—*Q.* Do we empty men of their own righteousness as we did at first? do we sufficiently labour when they begin to be convinced of sin, to take away all they lean upon? should we not then endeavour with all our might to overturn their false foundations? *A.* This was at first one of our principal points; and it might be so still, for till all other foundations are overturned they cannot build upon Christ.—*Q.* Did we not then purposely throw them into convictions? into strong sorrow and fear? *nay, did we not strive to make them inconsolable, refusing to be comforted?* *A.* We did: and so we should do still; for the stronger the conviction the speedier the deliverance; and none so soon receive the peace of God as those who steadily refuse all other comfort."

In our last volume we noticed several very alarming disputes which had sprung up within the bosom of the society of Friends; and which threatened, even in the opinion of many of its own members, its speedy extinction. These do not appear to have been maintained with all the animosity we then lamented our being compelled to witness; but from a pamphlet entitled "A general Epistle of brotherly Admonition and Counsel to the People called Quakers, issued at the Time of the yearly Meeting in London, Anno 1803. By Theophilus Freeman," we still perceive a considerable degree of disunion, and consequently schism in their doctrines and discipline. Contrary to the declared creed of the general assembly, Mr. Freeman here objects to the doctrine of eternal torments, and intimates that the original belief of their forefathers was unitarian. He advises also the peaceable payment of tithes, and opposes the preaching of women: he disapproves of much of their system of modern discipline, and conceives the society to be gradually declining.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Including Medicine and Surgery, Natural History, Experimental Philosophy, Agriculture, Navigation, Geography, Astronomy, Perspective, Architecture, Arithmetic, Military Tactics.

IN surveying the numerous publications that are annually issuing from the press on the important art of healing, it is not to be expected that we should engage in any very detailed analysis of each individual

individual article. As our criticisms are designed for the general rather than the professional reader, we feel unable to indulge ourselves to the extent we could wish, and must, in many instances, rest satisfied with a comprehensive abstract, instead of a minute investigation.

We begin with the Hygëia of Dr. Beddoes, which is a collection of "Essays moral and medical, on the Causes affecting the personal State of the middling and affluent Classes;" and extends to three volumes, octavo. These essays have already been published separately; and are now, for the first time, presented to the reader as a compact work. Yet, even at present, the author's full intention is by no means completed; for the essays before us are only an introduction to a general history of physiology, which is hereafter to be brought forwards. Dr. Beddoes is unquestionably a man of talent: he has a bold conception, an active imagination, an indefatigable industry; but he is deficient in judgement. He starts ideas to which, by a sort of fascinating declamation, he gives a plausible appearance; he pursues them with the vigour of a sportsman; and, like the sportsman too, he hunts them down and destroys them himself in the course of a few hours. The same amusement nevertheless prevails; he rises the next morning in the pursuit of other game, and he is just as successful as before. The Hygëia is a publication addressed to the world at large rather than to the medical profession. For ourselves, we dislike *popular medicine*; for a long course of practice has shown us, beyond all doubt, that it is productive of infinitely more mischief than good. Men *may* be dabblers *in* the profession, but they *must be* dabblers *out of it* whenever they attempt to interfere with medical practice; and dabblers, whether in law or physic, are sure to work far more harm than benefit. Our author himself, indeed, is of the very same opinion: and hence, as though to furnish another proof of the habitual inconsistency and want of judgement of which we have just accused him, while he expressly addresses these volumes to the people at large, his second essay is purposely written to expose the immense mischief which is ever resulting from the folly and absurdity of private practice. Dr. Beddoes has also given his sanction to "An Account of the Discovery and Operation of a new Medicine for the Gout;" which is a vegetable that its first employer thought serviceable both in rheumatic and gouty complaints; but which, like its predecessors, has now had its day, and is heard of no more. The name of the vegetable is still a secret; and, if the author expect its communication to be purchased by parliament, it is likely to continue so.

While upon the subject of the gout, we ought not to forget to mention Dr. Blegborough's air-pump vapour-bath, invented, we believe, by a Mr. Smith, of Brighton, but introduced into medical practice by the gentleman before us. It is a box with an aperture at each end adaptable to the shape of the limb; it is then covered with a top, and made air-tight; another opening admits a tube into it, and consequently the premised vapour. We have heard of several cases in which topical benefit is admitted to have been hence derived; but we have been told also that the malady has merely changed its seat, and removed perhaps from the foot to the head or stomach. It is, how-

ever, recommended for other cases than gout; and perhaps with more prospect of success.

Dr. Percival's "Medical Ethics" contain, upon the whole, a useful "Code of Institutes and Precepts adapted to the professional Conduct of Physicians and Surgeons." These it is impossible to analyse: they originated from a system of laws which the author was requested to draw up in the year 1792 for the use of the infirmary at Manchester; they are accompanied with notes, of which many are irrelevant; and followed, towards the close of the volume, with a strange introduction of a sermon preached by a son of Dr. Percival in 1791, for the benefit of the infirmary at Liverpool.

In the original communication of Dr. Duncan's "Annals of Medicine" for the preceding year, we meet with nothing of peculiar singularity; though several of the cases recorded are interesting. The papers which have chiefly pleased us are Dr. Brown's observations on fever, and Dr. Yeats's on the good effects of a combination of calomel and opium in inflammatory diseases. Of the general benefit of this last medicine we can speak from a long and successful practice.

Of individual diseases, those which have principally attracted our attention, within the limits of our retrospect, are the vernal influenza and the cow-pox. From the former we have now entirely escaped; and the short period of its continuance does not appear to have allowed time to ascertain very accurately either its origin or degree of contagion; its series of symptoms or prognosis. It was an epidemic fever, accompanied, in almost every instance, with catarrh, and occasionally with acute rheumatism or with true or spurious peripneumony. Its fleeting features have been aimed at, and sometimes successfully hit, by Drs. R. Pearson, Herdman, Falconer, and R. Hooper, as well as by several others. Upon the cow-pox we have already had to observe so much that we shall now only notice that the chief writers upon the subject since our last are Dr. Pearson, Mr. Ring, and Mr. Simmons. It is of more consequence that we should state, although we are in some degree anticipating our proper limits, that in a few instances both in town and country it does not appear to have succeeded: the true variolous disease having followed, and in several cases very severely, after what seems to have been a fair and successful use of vaccine inoculation. These instances, however, are but few; and by no means sufficient to destroy our confidence in the general benefit of the practice of vaccination. Yet, while we contend that *generally speaking* it will prove an unquestionable preventive, we are hence compelled to admit that under *certain* circumstances it will be no preventive whatever; and our object is now therefore to inquire into the nature of those circumstances which prohibit its beneficial operation; to examine, by a long train of experiments, whether they result from any peculiar change the morbific ichor itself sustains in passing from subject to subject; or from an insusceptibility of its effect, or a resistance to its action, in consequence of any habitual or hereditary temperament in the patient inoculated. We have indubitably been somewhat too precipitate in our predictions, and we have uniformly objected to the very pompous and dogmatic title which has been assumed by at least one of our public institutions, to promote what

what we yet believe and hope will be found a most useful and efficacious practice.

On the subject of general fever we have had presented to us the last and posthumous labours of Dr. Fordyce, edited by his friend Dr. Wells; they possess the author's common character of minute and discriminate remark, in a verbose and tedious style of delivery. On the subject of scarlatina Dr. Blackburne has favoured us with a treatise which contains many valuable observations, though upon many essential points, both of cure and contagion, we are still left in the dark. That all children equally exposed to the disease are not equally susceptible of it, is a fact with which we have been long acquainted. At a school in which it became common, attended by this gentleman, out of sixty-four scholars only twenty received it; while the family, the associates, and servants, all escaped. This last fact we have also frequently seen corroborated—a similarity of age appears almost necessary for the propagation of the scarlatina in juvenile subjects.

On the "Diseases of Children," we have received a humble and harmless pamphlet from Mr. Hume, and one of more prominency from Dr. Cheyne, being a continuation of his essays upon this important topic. In this latter treatise, however, we perceive that, although a resident at Edinburgh, he is possessed of the common *jaundiced* eye which has of late afflicted most of our London practitioners, and induced them to attribute almost every disease of doubtful origin to an affection of the *liver*. On the "Diseases of Women" Dr. Sayer Walker has written a useful practical treatise, which, upon the whole, may be regarded as a safe guide, and chiefly perhaps in consequence of its having no pretensions to novel experiments or an untried path.

In therapeutics we have first to notice the new edition of the Edinburgh Pharmacopeia, being just eleven years after the last, which was printed in 1792. The materia medica is here very considerably, and for the most part very properly, curtailed; the pharmaceutic part has received some valuable additions, but is most improved by a greater elegance and precision in the composition of the various formulas. The nomenclature is almost entirely changed; and it is to this change and introduction of the titles of modern chemistry that we are principally, perhaps, indebted for the edition before us. In general the nomenclature is amended by its variation, though some of its titles seem to be rather formulas themselves than the mere names of such formulas; of this description is the *oxidum antimonii cum sulphura, per nitratem potassæ*. We have also received, in *five* volumes, octavo, "The Edinburgh Practice of Physic;" which, with a singular inconsistency, is made to contain a vast multitude of forms taken avowedly from the practice of the different hospitals in London. The work, nevertheless, as a compilation, discovers industry and judgement, and may be referred to with advantage. Dr. Duncan has, very usefully for the public, brought forward a "New Edinburgh Dispensatory," founded upon the new edition of the Pharmacopeia. Dr. Trotter has at length brought his "Medicina Nautica" to an honourable close. The bark of the salix latifolia (or broad-leaved willow) has again been introduced to notice by Mr. Wilkinson; its decoction may sometimes be found use-

ful; but, while we approve of the author's prescription for its employment, we cannot but accuse him of inacquaintance with the art of tanning, and confusing the powers of the living with those of the dead animal fibre. On Bath, Cheltenham, and other waters, we have received various treatises from Drs. Gibbes, Jameson, &c. but not entitled to particular notice. Dr. Johnstone has ably and successfully supported his father's claim to the discovery of the advantage of the vapour of mineral acids in destroying contagion: the acid he preferred, and which has since been strenuously recommended (as we noticed in our volume of last year) by M. Guyton-Morveau, was the muriatic. Dr. C. Smyth exchanged it for the nitrous, and has since been rewarded by parliament as the inventor of the antidote. Electricity and Galvanism have been successfully applied, in several cases, in complaints of the eye and ear, by Mr. Carpue; and the former alone still more generally by Mr. Birch, of St. Thomas's hospital. Dr. Bradley has given a small "Medical Dictionary," some time since compiled by Dr. Fox, with a few additions of his own; and we have received a "New Anatomical Nomenclature," from Dr. Barclay, which discovers taste and genius, though we doubt much as to its ever gaining a general circulation. In spite of all that it advances we do not find ourselves able to approve the intermarriage of Latin and Greek terms in the formation of one and the same compound.

The science of anatomy is considerably indebted to Dr. Hooper for several opuscules containing plates, diagrams, and maps, illustrative of many of the most important segments of the human figure. He is also entitled to equal thanks for having naturalised, in a reduced form, professor Walter's very valuable, and indeed unrivalled, plates of the thoracic and abdominal nerves, which were originally published by the order and at the expense of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. These plates are moreover accompanied by explanations, and a description of the par vagum, great sympathetic, and phrenic nerves.

In the chirurgic art we have received a very valuable volume of "Practical Illustrations, illustrated with Cases," by Mr. Hey, of the general infirmary at Leeds; a gentleman to whom we have been formerly obliged for several important communications. There is frequently in this volume a deviation from the beaten path, not for the purpose of novelty, but of improving the art itself. The operations are neatly detailed, and the opinions of the author exhibit sound judgement combined with extensive practice. Mr. Charles Bell has followed up his plates on the brain with "A Series of Engravings, explaining the Course of the Nerves:" the same elegance and accuracy which were so pre-eminent in the former, are equally conspicuous in the latter work, which seems to have accomplished for the student all he can expect from delineations of this kind. Mr. Bell has also added a third volume to his celebrated relation's "Anatomy of the Human Body," which proves him to be worthy of the office he has volunteered, and completes with adequate ability the original undertaking. It comprises, in two distinct parts, the anatomy of the brain and description of the course of the nerves, and the anatomy of the eye and ear. It should be studied in conjunction with his plates.

plates. The subject of hernia has been shortly discussed by Dr. A. Munro, jun. and Mr. Timbrel in a second part of his Observations; of these, the latter, however, is not a practitioner, but has been compelled to attend to the disease from having been long a sufferer under it himself. We believe it was his first part of these Observations that procured him the adjudication of a gold medal from the society of arts, commerce, and manufactures, in consequence of its containing an improvement in the construction of trusses. As a chirurgical work we cannot be very lavish in our praise upon Dr. Munro's Observations; indeed the subject yet remains to be treated with a masterly hand, or rather, if we step a few months forward from the period to which our history refers, we may say *has been lately* so treated by Mr. Astley Cooper, in a work of equal magnificence and accuracy, to which, on a subsequent occasion, we shall revert with pleasure. Neither of the writers before us appears to be acquainted with professor Camper's superb and correct Icones Herniarum. Mr. Home's treatment of strictures in the urethra still continues to excite controversy. In a second volume upon this subject he has entered into a detailed account of the practice, and has illustrated it with a variety of very important cases; of these the greater part have been successful; but in others the author candidly admits that so much, and even such fatal, mischief has occurred, that the student, we apprehend, even from a perusal of his own book, must be fearful and indecisive as to his future practice. Mr. H. has been incidentally opposed by Mr. Jesse Foot, in a pamphlet published by him on the Practice of Vesicæ Lotura, which, under certain circumstances, has unquestionably a fair prospect of being followed with success. It has escaped our attention, if either of these gentlemen have noticed the use of bougies armed with pure kali, which are certainly entitled to a fair trial. Upon the natural history of the teeth we have had a useful publication by Mr. Fox, who has illustrated his observations with engravings. On the medical department of the army we have received a volume of important remarks by Dr. Jackson, and a useful vade-mecum by Mr. Blair.

The veterinary art does not appear to have been very highly benefited by the publications of the year before us. We have had an English version of La Fosse's "Pocket Manual;" a "Domestic Treatise on the Diseases of Horses and Dogs," by Mr. Blaine; and "A new System of Farriery," by Mr. Fearon: but we perceive nothing very prominent either in the line of excellence or defect in any of these publications.

In the pursuit of natural history Dr. Shaw seems still to take the lead, as he has done for several years past; we mean as a general writer in this department of science. His fourth volume, which is now before us, is devoted to the branch of ichthyology—a branch with which naturalists are less acquainted than with any other; and which, perhaps chiefly on this account, they are less able to render interesting and attractive. Linnéus and Gmelin, Block and Lacépède, are our author's principal authorities, and he has occasionally inriched them by specimens from the British and Leverian Museums. Upon the whole, however, Dr. Shaw appears to less advantage, we think, in the present than in the preceding volumes. Ichthyology seems to be no more a favourite

subject with him than it was with the Swedish naturalist, and his descriptions are hence more ponderous and compulsory; they bear evident marks of listlessness and labour. The Tracts of Spallanzani on the Natural History of both Animals and Vegetables, formerly translated by Mr. Dalzell, have obtained a second edition, which is given far more correctly, as well as comprehensively, than its precursor. It is also enriched by two additional papers from the original writer, as well as two epistolary memoirs from Kennet on the reproduction of the heads of snails. To Dr. Turton we are largely indebted for the indefatigable zeal with which he pursues his version of the "General System of Nature," and more especially for his selecting from, and adding to, the best editions of the best writers upon this subject. We have already noticed his first four volumes, or, as he chooses to denominate them, his first part, which comprises zoölogy: we now begin with his fifth volume, or the introduction of his second part, which is devoted to botany, and promises to become the most popular portion of his labours. It is, in reality, a compressed version of the last and best edition of the Species Plantarum, with the new genera, introduced by Dr. Smith, of the plants from Australasia. The version is still correct and clear, and adapted to the comprehension of the mere English student. Mr. Daniel, who, some few years ago, published a work upon "Rural Sports" in one volume quarto, has now republished his labours, if *sports* of any kind may be so entitled, in three volumes octavo. He is more of the amateur than altogether beseemeth a clergyman of the established, or indeed of any other church: the reverend sportsman delivers his doctrines *con amore*, and may not unaptly be styled *an animated field-preacher*. His work is considerably improved by this new edition, and he is entitled to the praise after which he chooses to aspire.—*Sed paulo majora canamus.* We have received two works in the course of the year, which, as monographies, are entitled to approbation without any drawback, and have conferred an honour on the nation in which they have appeared. We now refer to the very splendid folio "Description of the Genus Pinus," by Mr. Lambert, vice-president of the Linnéan Society; a publication entitled to every degree of patronage, whether we regard the importance of the subject of which it treats as contributory to picturesque beauty, or the demands of numerous arts and manufactures; the scientific arrangement in which it is developed; the wide and comprehensive view which the ingenious author has taken of it; the accuracy and perspicuity of his language; or the magnificent elegance of the paper, the letter-press, and especially of the engravings that accompany it, but which, nevertheless, by raising its price to ten guineas, places it far beyond the possibility of its becoming a book of popular circulation. The other monography to which our eye is directed is Mr. Montague's "Testacea Britannica, or Natural History of British Shells," price two guineas in quarto: which, if not entitled to all the public consideration of the foregoing work, is of considerable importance, as well from the correctness of the description, the extent of its research, and the truth of its drawings. It is, moreover, pleasingly interspersed with a faithful but curious account of the manners of most of the animals introduced,

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and upon the whole may be regarded as an important acquisition in the department of British conchology. We ought not to close this brief sketch of our annual advance in natural history without noticing Mr. Bingley's "Animal Biography," which he still further describes as being "Anecdotes of the Lives, Manners, and Economy of the Animal Creation, arranged according to the System of Linnéus, three volumes octavo." Mr. Bingley is not entitled to speak *ex cathedra;* his work is a mere compilation; and as he offers but few proofs of his being at any time personally acquainted with the subject on which he descants, it is by no means wonderful that he should copy from authors of doubtful testimony, or amuse us with curiosities that do not exist in nature. We have here a full account both in prose and poetry of the wonderful love-battles of the snail. Had he consulted the more cautious and better-informed Mr. Montescue, he would have had reason to have suppressed this, as well as various other pages by which his work has been very unnecessarily aggrandized.

The department of Experimental Philosophy, though not considerably enriched by contributions in point of number, has no reason to be dissatisfied with what it has received in point of importance. Dr. Black's Chemical Lectures will, we apprehend, be long resorted to as a book of sterling and standard merit. It is one of the chief foundation-stones in the vast structure of modern chemistry, firm and well poised, and which will never give way, how lofty or extensive soever the edifice that may be raised over it. The labours of this celebrated chemist would unquestionably have excited more attention had they been published many years ago, when the facts and experiments they record were as novel as they were curious. Yet it is of infinite importance to us, in every science, to revert at times to the first rounds of the ladder by which we have ascended; to re-peruse our grammatical institutes; and survey the strength of the prop on which we stand, the weight of the authority that upholds us in our advance. And nothing can offer a stronger proof of the intrinsic desert of these veteran lectures, than the popularity with which they have been received in the midst of multitudes of volumes upon the same subject, possessed of more novelty and continuing the science, if science it may yet be called, to the present day. To those who are thus desirous of being acquainted with its latest bearings, we can fairly recommend Mr. Accum's "System of Chemistry:" a system at once comprehensive and simple, perspicacious and accurate. In describing the newly detected metals, however, he appears to us to have set down one or two that have since been relinquished by their original discoverers as compound bodies. On the subject of animal chemistry, we have no hesitation in very highly applauding the labours of Mr. W. Johnson, which extend to three volumes octavo; and considerably succeed in investigating the operations of sanguification, ossification, nutrition, and the secretion of the different fluids, so far as they are connected with the present state of our chemical discoveries. Intimately connected herewith is professor Aldini's "Account of the late Improvements in Galvanism," which contains experiments equally extraordinary in their nature and prodigious in their power, and which cannot even yet be contemplated

without surprise, common as they are at length become by the multiplicity of lecturers upon the subject. In the first part of this valuable book, Mr. Aldini treats of the general properties of Galvanism; and in the second of its stupendous influence on the vital powers, as well as on the blood, bile, urine, and other secretions by means of the Voltaic pile, or, what is now almost uniformly used instead, the Galvanic trough. It closes with several important appendixes relative to the science from its earliest to its present state, and, upon the whole, may be regarded as containing an explicit account of every thing that relates to it. As a work aiming, and not unsuccessfully, at popular language and popular illustrations, Mr. Cavallo's "Elements of Natural and Experimental Philosophy" are entitled to considerable praise. The plan he has pursued is different in some measure from the common routine, but we do not perceive that he gains hereby any point beyond that of novelty. Many of the latest experiments and observations are noticed; we have hence a brief account of the discoveries of Schroeter and Herschell; a history of the two new planets; of balloons and meteoric stones. In the department of mineralogy, Mr. Sowerby has endeavoured to elucidate that of our own country by a variety of "Coloured Figures," published in successive numbers, of which eleven have been published, bound up in a small octavo volume. The author's intention is good, but his object is not easily attainable; the everlasting variation of light and shade, so conspicuous in a multitude of mineral specimens, cannot possibly be represented in a fixed painting, nor can the painter's art extend to a fair delineation of the fracture which discriminates the essential character. On the subject of geology we have received an anonymous volume, entitled "A Comparative View of the Huttonian and Neptunian System of Geology." The writer has espoused the latter side of the question, and his observations are principally directed against Mr. Playfair, who is indubitably the ablest supporter of the pyrean system; and who, if we recollect aright, has warmly contended for this system both in individual publications, and papers introduced into the transactions of public literary societies. Our author has, upon the whole, candidly stated the chief points of controversy; but his title is strangely unclassic and incorrect. *Hutton* and *Neptune* are not contrasted terms: *Huttonian* and *Lucean*, or *Kirwanean*, might have been employed, if he feel fond of a nomenclature derived from modern philosophers; but if *Neptunian* be yet to be retained, the term ought to be opposed by that of *Plutonic* or *Vulcanic*, both of which are ready made to his hands in the writings of many controversialists upon this recondite subject. We do not perceive that this writer has added much to the very able reply which has already been given by Mr. Kirwan himself to the remarks of Mr. Playfair.

Agriculture has not been peculiarly benefited by the publications of the current year: those which have appeared have been rather the production of North than of South Britain. Mr. Findlater has given us a "General View of the Agriculture of the County of Peebles, with various Suggestions as to the Means both of local and general Improvement of Agriculture." The county of Peebles is more generally known among ourselves as the county

county of Tweeddale, and lies between Dumfries, Lanark, Selkirk, and Mid Lothian. The unscientific mode of cultivating this district disables us from deriving any great improvement from the account before us. Yet it is of use as a statistic document. Mr. Findlater, who is a clergymen, drew it up as a report for the board of agriculture, at the request of sir John Sinclair. Dr. A. Hunter has been induced to republish his "Georgical Essays" with additions so numerous as to multiply them from a single octavo into four octavo volumes. And it should seem, from what is occasionally thrown out, that he is at present so earnestly engaged upon the important subject of rural economy, that he means to bring forwards two additional volumes of Essays upon the same subject annually. The augmentations at present before us are rather compilations from approved writers than original communications; and if the author continue to manifest the same judgement in selecting from the infinitude of other books upon similar subjects which he has displayed in the volumes before us, he will perform no unacceptable service for the public. The Highland society has published a second volume of its very important and patriotic "Essays and Transactions." The editor is Mr. Mackenzie, who has not only fulfilled the task allotted to him with attention and spirit, but has considerably enriched the book by personal communications. The Essays are chiefly directed to the nature of peat-mosses, with the best means of *reclaiming* them, and the cultivation of the fisheries: and upon both subjects we meet with a variety of observations equally valuable to individual owners, and the nation at large. We shall receive the continuance of the labours of this truly spirited and laudable society with a cordial welcome. The editor of the "Farmer's Magazine" has brought forwards his third volume, which, in plain unassuming language, records a multiplicity of facts and hints that may be highly serviceable to the honest circle to whom it is addressed. This is also, for the most part, a history of the agriculture of North Britain; it is countenanced, and deservedly, by the communications of several of our most respectable practical cultivators. Lord Sommerville, whose indefatigable zeal and industry in all the concerns of Nomadic life have justly entitled him to the presidency of the agricultural board, has favoured us with a small volume of "Tracts and Observations relative to Sheep, Wool, Ploughs, and Oxen," which evince an intimate acquaintance with the different subjects discussed, contain many beneficial observations, and give a detailed account of the cattle-show which was lately instituted by his lordship. In Mr. Taplin's "Sporting Dictionary" we rather perceive the *knack* of book-making, than a pretension to any thing of original merit; the pages, nevertheless, contain information, and may be usefully consulted by those who are competent to understand and have a taste for relishing whatever is bombast and inflated. From a "*Piccadilly* Farmer and Engineer," of the name of W. Lester, we have seen a book of "Observations" and "Discoveries" asserted to be "of the utmost importance to the agricultural world," which appears to have the mere merit of puffing into public notice a chaff-machine invented by the writer, and which, it seems, requires this adventitious aid to obtain a circulation. On the subject

subject of horticulture Mr. Forsyth has published a third edition of his famous "Treatise," which we should not have noticed had it not been to have announced that he has fairly availed himself of the paper in his favour which was lately introduced into one or two of our public magazines by a very respectable *medical and chirurgical committee*, who have; rather strangely it must be confessed, connected the subject with their own profession, and drawn up and subscribed a prescription which we have no doubt will be serviceable to what we have hitherto understood to be the *declining* reputation of the process, if not to the *disorder* of the trees. The same subject has been also incidentally entered upon by Dr. Anderson, in a publication immediately descriptive of his new patent hot-house, which is designed to operate chiefly by means of the sun, without the aid of flues, or tan-bark, or steam; a part of the plan of which we have no doubt may be found serviceable in the future construction of conservatories, although we have no idea that it will altogether suppress the use either of tan-bark or flues. To the result of experience, however, we must trust alone for the degree of benefit to be derived both from the plaister and the hot-house.

If the department of navigation have not been enlarged by the communication of new discoveries within the period of the current year, it has been very considerably assisted and enriched by the labours of Mr. Clarke and captain Burney. Of the extent of either of these works we are not altogether apprised, the first volume of each having hitherto appeared, occupying a thick quarto. That of Mr. Clarke evinces considerable learning and indefatigable research. But his research is occasionally accompanied with inaccuracy, and his learning is too much tinctured with the *sky*-blue of imagination. He is a zealous follower of Mr. Bryant, and hence we have every thing repeated about the ark which is contained in the celebrated *Analysis*. In reality we have more: for Mr. Clarke ascends into the antediluvian ages, even prior to the birth of Noah; and we have in consequence hints, intimations, and conjectures of what was known and what was done in the science of navigation shortly after the exile of Adam from the Garden of Eden. Had our author been acquainted with the Celtic Researches of Mr. Davies, which, unfortunately for him, were not then published, he would probably have ushered us into the Garden of Eden itself; have unfolded to us, as that gentleman has done, the first conversation which was held between the original parents of mankind; and deduced the various *branches* of literature from the *branches* of the *tree of knowledge*. This luxuriancy of fancy is too perspicuous throughout the whole volume:—it induces the ingenious author to convert facts into fables, and fables into facts: but it is peculiarly conspicuous in its introduction, and earlier chapters; and hence the expedition of the Argonauts is regarded as chimerical, while the authority of Kissæus, a Mahommedan writer, is appealed to in proof of the important information that the Sabians were in actual possession of books written by Esdras, Seth, and even Adam himself. Abating, however, this predisposition for the marvellous, the work before us is a valuable and useful compilation. The history of what may now properly be termed modern navigation, extends from the

the reign of John I. of Portugal, father of the celebrated and enlightened prince Henry, to the voyage of Vasco de Gamez inclusively, immortalised in the Lusiad of Camoens, which, in a cool prosaic narrative, is far too copiously referred to. The volume concludes with an appendix of papers and documents adverted to in the body of the work. The undertaking, we understand, was commenced under the patronage of the late board of admiralty.

Mr. Burney's work is entitled "A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean. Part I. Commencing with an Account of the earliest Discovery of that Sea by Europeans, and terminating with the Voyage of Sir Francis Drake in 1579. Illustrated with Charts." Captain Burney has executed his object, so far at least as it at present extends, in a manner masterly beyond any praise it is in our power to bestow, and has dedicated it to sir Joseph Banks, who will, no doubt, be proud of the honour hereby conferred upon him. It is clear, correct, and comprehensive; entertaining without fiction, and learned without dogmatism. The professional skill of the writer enables him to be almost always at home, and gives an ease, and at the same time, an authenticity to his descriptions, which we should in vain perhaps look for otherwise. We trust this important, and we may add incomparable, work will be persevered in; not only through the discoveries in the Pacific, but, as a hint is thrown out in the introduction, through every other sea into which the spirit of adventure or the curiosity of man has at any time carried him. This is indeed to propose an arduous and most voluminous task to this admirable writer, but we know of no one so well calculated to engage in it as himself. Whether he will think proper to plunge into so vast an engagement we cannot absolutely tell; but from the following declaration we are not without hopes: "For the subject of the *present* work," says captain Burney, "I have chosen the discoveries made in the South Sea, to which my attention has been principally directed, from having sailed with that great discoverer, and excellent navigator, the late captain Cook, under whose command I served as lieutenant in his two last voyages."

In our last number we endeavoured to give some idea of the merits of Mr. Pinkerton's Geography. This, we understand, has since been translated into French, and is obtaining a large and deserved circulation upon the continent. At home, we have now to notice, that an abridgement of it, in one thick octavo volume, has been published for the use of schools, and is likely to meet with success. The editor has rather curtailed the work by the excision of excrescent parts, than by a condensation of the whole; and, as much of the original was not necessary to be studied in the greater part of our seminaries, we believe the plan to be the most judicious of any that could be adopted.

In briefly adverting to the astronomical and mathematical literature of the year, as a tribute to genius and reputation we shall commence with noticing Dr. Small's account of the "Discoveries of Kepler, including an astronomical Review of the Systems which had successively prevailed before his Time." This is a useful book, developing the subject of which it treats in a manner perspicuous and intelligible. The obligations of our own

own immortal Newton to his predecessor, Kepler, are faithfully pointed out; as are also the infinite improvements introduced by sir Isaac into the science; or rather, we may say, the outlines of the sublime building, are delineated, which he erected on so stable a basis. The actual phenomena of the heavens are, in the first instance, carefully represented; then follow the earlier theories by which they were attempted to be described, a judicious elucidation of their inaccuracy and inefficiency, and the conduct pursued by Copernicus to establish the existing theory. Dr. Hutton has offered an acceptable present to the English reader, by his translation of Ozanam's "Recreations in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy;" which contain a vast fund of instruction, and, as the title expresses it, amusement, on the subjects of which he treats. Montucla's work is too operose and voluminous to become, at any time, much more than a book of reference; and the present, in common cases, will ably supply its place. It affords, moreover, a larger portion of scientific entertainment; and, in its language, as well as in its arrangement, is far better adapted for general use. Mr. Frend has very happily succeeded in a familiar little work, intended to convey to young persons an idea of the change which is perpetually taking place in the heavenly bodies, and the new phænomena which the heavens themselves are hence assuming. This little tract he has denominated "Evenings at Home, or the Beauty of the Heavens displayed;" in which, he tells us, "several striking appearances to be observed on various evenings, in the heavens, during the year 1804, are described; and several means, within doors, are pointed out by which the time of young persons may be innocently, agreeably, and profitably employed." We are glad to be able to announce that this elegant and useful manual is to be continued annually. From Dr. Young we have received a concise and judicious "Analysis of the Principles of Natural Philosophy;" which consists, however, of a mere syllabus of a course of lectures; such, we believe, as he has been in the habit of using at the royal institute. It may hence be found of admirable service as a book of reference, or a guide in the prosecution of exercises and experiments; but the demonstrations must be added by the reader or student; for they are rarely introduced into the text-book before us. Mr. Baron Masseres has published another volume on the subject of mathematics, which he has entitled "Tracts on the Resolution of Cubic and Biquadratic Equations." These tracts are introduced by a prefatory explanation of their contents, and consist of six in number. The old objections to the use of negative quantities are here re-urged; but we do not perceive that any new argument of importance is advanced in the course of the discussion, into which we have neither time nor inclination to enter. The tracts themselves reflect credit upon this ingenious mathematician's diligence, perseverance, and knowledge of his subject. Of a very different character, but equally worthy of attention, are Mr. Woodhouse's "Principles of Analytical Calculation;" in which the writer has been far more anxious to furnish a book that may exercise the skill and ingenuity of our higher mathematicians, than to condescend to the limited powers and comprehensions of beginners.

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It is, in reality, in no respect an elementary book: the language is technical; the discussions novel and abstruse; yet the author seldom or never deviates from the soundest principles of reasoning in his analytic processes; he minutely and carefully seperates what is real from mere articles of convention, and discloses where the mind can rest with satisfaction in the discoveries of the moderns.

On the subject of perspective, the only book worth noticing, is "A Practical Treatise, by Mr. Edwards, Associate and Teacher of Perspective in the Royal Academy." The ground-work of this treatise is, as it ought to be, the Lyncean Perspective of Dr. Brook Taylor; while the Optics of Mr. Emmerson have not been altogether lost sight of. It is a truly valuable publication, and ought to be in the hands of every student. We cannot quit it without noticing, that a remark, which we made in our last number on Mr. Malton's work, is here confirmed by a similar observation. Mr. Edwards admits, that it contains some excellent and masterly examples; but adds, that the author "has destroyed their utility, by entangling the vanishing points, and crossing the diagrams in so confused a manner, that it almost impossible for a young practitioner to trace and distinguish the different figures." We perceive Mr. Malton to be more largely opposed, however, in an "Essay on Rural Architecture, illustrated with original and economical Designs, by Mr. R. Elsam." The public taste has unquestionably been long misled; but the present author, so far from restoring it to classical and appropriate simplicity, wanders further from the mark than most of his predecessors; and hence, though his professed object is to sacrifice, in every instance, art to nature, we not only have a plentiful introduction of art, but occasionally of the worst and most disgusting character. What avails it to conceal the mansion-house in a vast luxuriance of tufts of trees, or to make it shrink from a square of massy magnificenee into a picturesque nut-shell, if we be to have auxiliary huts and out-houses presented to us under the whimsical shape of rural retreats, Saxon gateways, Gothic castles, or some quaint device ycleped of Roman or Grecian style of architecture, but which might as well be nominated of Chinese invention? We do not see that Mr. Malton is likely to suffer from the confused and hetrogeneous attack of the present writer. A work in a great measure of similar description, has issued from the hand of Mr. Repton, which he entitles, "Observations on the Theory and Practice of Landscape-gardening; including some Remarks on Grecian and Gothic Architecture, collected from various Manuscripts in the Possession of the different Noblemen and Gentlemen for whose Use they were originally written." This pompous publication discovers some knowledge of the art, but an infinitely greater degree of conceit and egotism. With the specimens of architecture referred to, the writer has personally had but little concern; and, with respect to the branch of ornamental gardening, which more immediately constitutes his own profession, had we no other work upon the subject than the present, we should sincerely assent to the following passage with which it is introduced, that most "difficult is the application of any rules of art to the works of nature." The book is dedicated to the king; and from its extravagant

gant price (five guineas), and the still more extravagant demand of the artist for his travelling expenses and professional opinion, there can be no doubt that he is intoxicated by the splendid and munificent gratuities he has received from the royal purse, though the amount of them is here modestly concealed.

From *still* life we now advance to *active* life; from the bending line of beauty to the angles of fortification and the rigid manœuvres of military tactics. This has long been a fruitful subject; and several of the publications before us by no means disgrace its present importance. It is impossible to have noticed the various events of the late war, and especially the uniform success of Bonaparte, without perceiving that the system of attack and defence has undergone a very considerable change from what it exhibited under the seven years' war; in the course of which it was conceived to have attained its ultimate point of perfection. In almost every instance, during the late hostilities, the *assailing* army obtained possession of the field, and, in most instances, an important and decisive triumph; and as the French, and especially under the guidance of Bonaparte, were commonly the assailants, it is not to be wondered at that they should be able to boast of the greatest number of conquests. Impetuosity has almost universally prevailed over an orderly and rigid resistance; and the velocity of the attack has destroyed half the effect of the most ably planted artillery, and given an indubitable advantage to side-arms over musketry. It is hence highly necessary to become acquainted with those rapid and almost irresistible evolutions which have so successfully been introduced into the field by the enemy; and captain Macdonald has, in consequence, been usefully engaged in translating from the French tongue, the "Rules and Regulations for the Field Exercise and Manœuvres of the French Infantry," which were issued, Aug. 1st, 1791. The work is well illustrated by explanatory notes; and should not only be consulted, but professionally studied, by every regular and volunteer officer. An able "Treatise on the Art of War," has also made its appearance as an extract from the Encyclopædia Britannica; which is admirably well-timed; and from its intrinsic merit highly worthy of perusal. It contains the principles of offensive and defensive operations; with rules for conducting the *petit-guerre*, or war of posts; and the methods of attack and defence in sieges. Colonel Herries has published the first part of his "Instructions for the Use of Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps of Cavalry;" a book which we suppose to be found, as it ought to be, in the parlour-window of every person to whom, by its title, it is addressed. Mr. Smirke has produced a "Review of a Battalion of Infantry, including the eighteen Manœuvres, illustrated by a Series of engraved Diagrams." The diagrams are here not an idle ornament; they give, in many instances, a fairer idea of the manœuvre presented than it is easy to communicate by verbal description of any kind. We have received, independently of these publications, several of slighter and merely temporary importance, of which we may perhaps be expected to notice "the Volunteer's, Guide; by an Officer in the third Regiment of Loyal London Volunteers;" Mr. Hood's "Elements of War;" and a "Manual for a Volunteer Corps of Infantry." Of these the merit consists

consists chiefly, if not altogether, in their immediate application to the times. They may, at present, be perused with profit; but if not noticed now, they have no chance of being noticed hereafter.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Travels, Politics, Law, Ethics, Metaphysics, Education, Trade.

THE publications of the class immediately before us have been numerous, and in many instances not unimportant. We shall take a brief survey of the more valuable, and endeavour rather to communicate an idea of their general character, than to enter into a minute detail of their respective subdivisions. Mr. Plowden is entitled to an early notice in this chapter, in consequence of his "Historical Review of the State of Ireland, from the Invasion of that Country under Henry II. to its Union with Great Britain." Such is the extent of the work as announced in the title; but it is obvious, from its perusal, that the historian's chief object was to give an account of the political transactions which have *lately* occurred within this department of what has, not inappropriately, been called West Britain; and which led to the important event of an union of kingdoms and legislatures. We have hence an extent of research, a minuteness of detail, and a scope of letter-press devoted to this latter consideration, which is altogether unproportioned to the space occupied by the earlier branches of the subject; and the title might have run perhaps more fairly—a "History of the Annexation of Ireland to Great Britain, with an introductory Sketch of the former Country, from its earliest Periods." These periods reach indeed to a lofty ascent; in reality, so lofty, that we often find our guide, as well as ourselves, lost in the clouds that surround us. It commences with the reign of that "great and favourite monarch 'Ollam-Fodlah, who reigned, according to Keating, 950 years before the Christian æra." During his reign, and for several centuries afterwards, we meet with a wonderful assemblage of most marvellous and extraordinary events, which might well have served to decorate the warm and confident pages of general Valency. Mr. Plowden fixes the period in which England acquired any degree of possession and controul over Ireland, in the reign of Henry II., who was invited to Ireland by Dermond, a king of Leinster, who, like another Paris, had seduced and carried off the wife of another provincial king, and had hereby induced all the neighbouring princes to league against him. Under the reign of Henry VII. Ireland appears to have enjoyed the enactment of many wise and salutary regulations, which were instantly departed

departed from on his death; and, under the *protectorate* of Cromwell, she seems to have suffered as much, and perhaps rather more, than she has suffered at any time: we mean in point of peculation and tyranny. It is well known that Cromwell had a numerous retinue of dependants to provide for; and when, as it often occurred, he could not gratify their rapacity at home, a grant of the estate of some displaced Irish proprietor admirably answered his purpose, and at once removed to a convenient distance from him the dissatisfied and the source of dissatisfaction. In modern times, the severest sufferings the country appears to have sustained occurred between the period of the recal of lord Fitzwilliam and the dissolution of the anti-jacobin ministry. Much yet remains to be done, before Ireland will cordially assent to the union which she could not prevent; and which, whatever it have done hitherto, may unquestionably be made contributory to her advantage, in a very high degree, if she be allowed the precious sight of a few glimpses of sound faith from the cabinet; and commercial, as well as political, generosity from the legislature.

On crossing the channel, we perceive various attempts to illustrate the history of Great Britain, either in whole or in part, from its earliest epochs to the present eventful period. Of these, some are fabulous and fanciful; and others, founded on firmer documents and diagnostic of a more solid judgement. The more fabulous still, as in former times, principally relate to the principality; upon the early population of which we have had two publications; one entitled, anonymously, "A Vindication of the Celts, from ancient Authorities; with Observations on Mr. Pinkerton's Hypothesis concerning the Origin of the European Nations in his Modern Geography, and Dissertation on the Scythians or Goths;" and the other, "A Sketch of the early Cymry, or Ancient Britons, from the Year 700 before Christ, to A.D. 500, by the Rev. P. Roberts, A.M." The chief object of the former, as its title imports, is to oppose the visionary system of Mr. Pinkerton. This is easily done, and consequently sufficiently accomplished in the work before us; although, upon *equal* ground, the author appears to have no pretensions to measure lances with his opponent. But having followed many a prior essayist on the same side of the question, in pointing out errors and inconclusions in Mr. Pinkerton's Theory, our author does not advance with a better to supply its place: instead of which indeed we have long romantic histories of fictitious persons, and conjectures, which, far from being capable of proof, are easily open to refutation. From Mr. Roberts's "Sketch," we freely confess, however, that we have not been able to obtain a much greater degree of knowledge. Before the triads are resorted to, we want to have their veracity, as historic documents, a little better established; or, in other words, to have a little more of their origin and history: and a similar observation may be made with regard to the remains of Taliesin and Aneurin. It has been asserted by Mr. Davies, long since this publication, that the Druids were in possession of an alphabet, and were in the habit of recording the transactions of their country in regular writing; and that there exists, at this moment, within the fastnesses of the Welsh mountains, a regular

regular succession of Druidic priests who have never forsaken the religion of their forefathers; and among whom these characters are still in use. Why are not these right venerable descendants brought forwards as witnesses, both of their own existence and of the scientific attainments of their forefathers? Why are not their scrolls and documents examined for genuine copies of such ancient effusions? The more we dive into these national legends, the more contradictory we find them. We well remember that the triads, or at least that several fragments of them introduced into the Welch Archaiology, asserted, that the aboriginal inhabitants took possession of the country under the guidance of the good, the meek, and the unwarlike Hu the mighty; but, according to Taliesin, in a passage quoted in the book before us, the aboriginal leader was a bold and martial chief, and all the adventurers who accompanied him were also fond of war, and the dread of Europe, *ober afnis Europa*. Taliesin moreover states, that they were natives of Gafis, a country in Asia, and the triads, that they came across the blue haze from Deffrobani. Yet what is Deffrobani? It is generally interpreted, and in this very triad, Constantinople; but this not corresponding with the account of Taliesin, and the Asiatic origin of the Welch antiquaries, it is affirmed by others to mean the *island of Ceylon*. We want therefore harmony, proportion, and mutual agreement between these pretended documents, before any reliance can be placed upon them; or, in other words, documents themselves.

"Historical View of the English Government, from the Settlement of the Saxons in Britain to the Revolution of 1688, by John Millar, Esq." 4 volumes, 8vo. When we mention that this work is introduced by an eloquent dedication to Mr. Fox, we need make no other effort to convince our readers of the political system it is for the most part likely to favour. It is to the latter half of the "Historical View" alone, however, that we have now to direct our attention; for the first two volumes were brought forwards not less than sixteen years ago, in the form of a single volume in quarto. The very respectable author is now no more, but he will long exist and flourish in his works. There is a piercing and pervading spirit, a sound discriminative judgement, a bold analytical perseverance, which cannot but secure to him a very large portion of fame, and fame of that superior order which is most worth possessing. Professor Millar is not a mere narrator of events: in delineating the fact he developes the cause and predicts the result; he generalises history with history, and enriches the whole with true and enlarged philosophic views, and extensive political catenations. He makes the statesman while he instructs the man. It was his intention to have divided his commentary on the period subsequent to the accession of the house of Stuart into two parts; the first to comprehend the history of the struggles which ensued between the prerogative of the crown and the asserted privileges of the people anterior to the revolution in 1688, which terminated so successfully the contest in favour of the latter; and the second to take a survey of the rise and progress of the influence of the crown, which has, of late years, been advancing in a path by so much the more dangerous, as it is

less open and observed than in former periods; which has relinquished the stern brow of authority for the bewitching smile of corruption, and is accompanied with bribes instead of menaces. This part, we are sorry to add, is left unfinished; and still more sorry are we to remark, that, from the carelessness of the editor or printer, a great variety of blunders are suffered to appear, which the least attention might have corrected. The fourth volume contains a review of the Irish government, with the effects which that part of the united kingdom experienced in consequence of the revolution.

We pass from the Celts to the Saxons; and, in the third volume of Mr. Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons, from the Death of Alfred the Great to the Norman Conquest," possess a very considerable treasure of authentic and highly instructive information. The Danish Sagas, and the Cottonian documents in the British Museum, have been successfully adverted to for contributions; yet much still remains to be done, for much is still doubtful and uncommunicated. The means of acquiring knowledge are nevertheless fruitful and abundant; and, as Mr. Turner has already thrust in his sickle to so much advantage, we trust he will still persevere; and that there are many volumes of his elaborate researches which yet remain to see the sun.

Dr. Coote has added another volume to his "History of England," which forms the ninth in the regular series, and brings down the state of our public affairs from the peace of 1783 to the treaty at Amiens in 1802. The same liberal and independent spirit that characterises his earlier labours, is equally conspicuous in the present, which, it is obvious, must comprise the whole extent of Mr. Pitt's first administration. In the long course of this period, it must be conceded, that there have been measures brought forwards by himself which are worthy of praise, but a far greater number which are entitled to censure; and our author is discriminate in pointing out both, and in applying his lash, or his encomium, as they appear fairly to be deserved. Mr. Pitt continued to work at the wheel of government till he could wind it round no more: it moved with difficulty from the various clogs that surrounded it; and his own strength was entirely worn out. He retired from office, not from a dislike to office itself, but because he found it impossible to conduct the affairs of the nation any longer; and was succeeded by a minister, who, if he had less talent to do good, had unquestionably less spirit to do mischief. He has been severely and generally censured upon the subject of the late peace: our author unites in the condemnation; but thus candidly and ingenuously qualifies his blame: "The ministers had a difficult task to execute. The unfortunate predicament in which the preceding leaders of the cabinet had involved the nation, rendered peace peculiarly necessary; and the extraordinary and portentous increase of the power of France, with the high claims of a nation which accused Great Britain of the guilt of aggression, precluded the hope of favourable or beneficial terms. Viewed with reference to this state of affairs, the treaty of Amiens calls for acquiescence and approbation, rather than disgust, objection, or complaint; and, *if* it should not be permanent, the fault will be that of the

the rash statesman whose impolicy promoted by war the extension of Gallic power, not that of the prudent minister whose endeavours were exerted for the restoration of peace." Dr. Coote appears in this passage to have laid the burden on the shoulders that ought to carry it: we object now, and we ever have objected, to the conditions acceded to, but the times were importunate; the crisis was already formed, and however dishonourable those conditions may have been, Mr. Pitt would not have retreated, could he have obtained as good. He even admitted them to be as favourable as he could have expected. The *giant refreshed*, however, is now once more in office. May the *evidence of facts* and the *result of experience* induce him never more to trifle with golden opportunities, should they ever be presented to him in the course of the present war as they were in that of the last.

In the more voluminous detail of Dr. Bisset we have a sort of *audi alteram partem*. His "History of the Reign of George III., to the Termination of the late War," is extended to not less than six octavo volumes. He is in every respect the church and court apologist; but notwithstanding his evident partiality, he is polite to the opposite parties, and indulgent to their motives. Dr. Bisset is a strenuous disciple of Mr. Burke; but he improves upon the soil which was first opened by his illustrious leader, and hence, though Mr. Burke avowed his attachment in the strongest terms to catholic emancipation, and his warm and worthy disciple the earl of Fitzwilliam acted upon such avowal, Dr. Bisset attempts to vindicate the conduct of the cabinet in resisting such a step, although it is well known to have been a point formally conceded to lord Fitzwilliam upon his acceptance of the viceroyalty. To accomplish such vindication, indeed, it is necessary for our author to cross the Irish Channel, take a journey to Dublin, and analyse the secret views of the catholics at their own homes; and here he finds, or pretends to find, that their direct motives were very different from what they were openly professed to be; and that while a parliamentary reform and catholic emancipation were the ostensible pursuits, separation and independence were the real objects. We want facts, however, to substantiate this conclusion; those hitherto advanced are in diametrical opposition to it. Differing as we do in politics from Dr. Bisset's creed, we have, nevertheless, in the main, been pleased with his history, and we have seen no work of any party that possesses more merit, and rarely any one that possesses so much.

Before we altogether quit our own shores for the continent, we cannot avoid noticing Mr. Hay's "History of the Insurrection of the County of Wexford in 1798," which extends indeed to an account of various transactions which preceded that event. This gentleman has drunk largely of the phial of wrath which has been poured out upon his countrymen in general. Long prior to the rebellion, and even during its existence, he appears to have been regarded by all parties in the amiable character of a conciliator; and at times, even against his will, he seems to have been compelled into some public office which had a prospect of benefiting his country. A government-man himself, although libe-

ral in his political views towards the catholics, his connexions were chiefly of the government class, and lay principally among the officers of the different corps employed in government service: among these was lord Kingsborough, and the officers acting in conjunction with him. Yet Mr. Hay could not escape the common misfortune of possessing private enemies, and on the declaration of martial law he was unexpectedly arraigned before a committee appointed by lieutenant-general Lake, and still more unexpectedly, and without any sort of proof, *or even trial*, was arrested, sent to prison, and hurried on board a hulk that had been condemned to be broken up but a few days before, in consequence of her leakiness and rottenness. After a long period of severe persecution, his undeserved punishment at length reached the ear of general Lake, who immediately interfered, and *the trial* of Mr. Hay, to which he most ardently looked forwards, *succeeded his condemnation and punishment* by about five weeks, during which period he endured so much suffering, sickness, and misery, that he avers it would have been a mercy to have shot him. In the course of this trial every stratagem appears to have been effected to inculpate him. He might indeed have escaped from it altogether, by pleading the act of amnesty; but knowing and wishing to vindicate his innocence, he would not avail himself of this act of royal indulgence. Mr. baron Smith, the judge on the occasion, was aware of this plea, and alluded to it in the course of his observations; he was aware also, and equally alluded to, the villany with which the trial was conducted against him; and the result was, that Mr. Hay was most honourably acquitted, and instantly discharged from his unjust imprisonment. The testimony of a man whose character has thus stood the ordeal of torture and severe examination, cannot but be received as sound and authoritative evidence; and we rejoice to find another and a most damning proof of the falsehood of sir Richard Musgrave's libels upon the great body of the Irish catholic clergy. "The conduct of the Roman-catholic clergy of the county of Wexford," observes our author, "however unjustly reviled, was, during the insurrection there, guided by the true dictates and principles of Christianity, really exemplary and meritorious. They comforted the afflicted with all the zeal of Christian charity, and in the most trying and critical period practised every deed that must be considered benevolent by every liberal and enlightened man, whatever brawlers of loyalty may assert to the contrary, endeavouring, with indiscriminate abuse, to brand their conduct in general with the stain of infamy."—If any thing were wanting to destroy the credit of sir Richard, after the *lie indirect* which has been given to him by lord Cornwallis, the existing viceroy, who expressly commanded that his own name, as a patron of the work, should be withdrawn from it, this volume, in conjunction with the pamphlets of Dr. Caulfield and Mr. Townshend, must be altogether sufficient; and we trust we shall now never hear again of sir Richard or his labours. The volume before us is entitled to a general circulation and a close inspection: it is, in some instances, rather too ardent in its language, but much allowance ought to be made for the irritability of feeling under which it has

has been written, while, at the same time, its veracity is unimpeachable.

"The History of France from the Year 1790 to the Peace concluded at Amiens in 1802, by John Adolphus, Esq." 8vo. 2 vols. Mr. Adolphus has already acquired a fair reputation for historic narrative; and in the work before us is pursuing the same beaten path, without materially descending, and certainly without any advance. To his references, such as they are, he adheres with fidelity; but he does not embrace his subject with sufficient scope, in consequence of which, names and facts of the utmost importance are either not adverted to at all, or hurried over with the most unsatisfying conciseness; or the sources from which he derives his information are too secondary to claim the notice of a writer who pretends to the high character of a national historian. From the paucity of observations, moreover, which lie scattered throughout these volumes, we are induced to observe that the mere narrator of progressive events is not an historian, but a chronicler, or chronologist; while, from the partiality which is too generally, and at times too grossly discovered, we also think it expedient to add that the man who writes under an undue bias of mind is a partial and prejudiced reporter, upon whose authority no reliance whatever can be placed. The abbé Barruel is an *ignis fatuus*, the deceit of whose light has been sufficiently proved as well in his own country as in almost every other part of Europe. Mr. Adolphus, in exploring the causes of the French revolution, has suffered himself to be chiefly guided by it; and it is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he should be decoyed into many an error, and fall into many a slough. Upon subjects, however, unconnected with political or party considerations, Mr. Adolphus is a respectable, an instructive, and a judicious writer; and there are many parts of the history before us with which we have been highly pleased.

Miss H. M. Williams has given us, in three volumes 8vo., "The Political and Confidential Correspondence of Lewis XVI., with Observations on each Letter;" a most useful, instructive, and entertaining series of documents relative to perhaps the most eventful period in the whole scope of French history. There is still a considerable mystery attached to the means by which miss Williams became possessed of these letters; and, notwithstanding that they bear every internal proof of authenticity, we confess we had some lurking doubts on their first appearance. A pamphlet however which M. Bertrand de Molleville has since written upon these letters themselves, although intended, in a few minuter points, to question their homogeneity, has established, in our opinion, the very fact he intended to controvert. The entire drift of his opposition, excepting in one or two instances, is directed to the diction, which he conceives to be generally revised and purified, but nevertheless to contain not only the sentiments of the unfortunate monarch whose name they bear, but in other respects his unquestionable correspondence; with the exception of not more than two letters, of the writing and dispatch of which he may nevertheless have been ignorant. These letters represent Lewis XVI. in a most favourable and dignified point of

view: we behold in him, during his misfortunes, a regeneration of that virtue and piety which characterised the earlier part of his life, when the seductions of the most voluptuous and lascivious court that France ever witnessed, displayed under the patronage, or rather led on by the example, of that abandoned and hoary debauchee his grandfather, Lewis XV., could neither entice himself nor the dauphiness from the shade of virtuous retirement, and an uninterrupted series of pious and benevolent acts. Happy, if they had thus continued faithful to their first vows—faithful to the fair promises which they had inspired thoughout the nation! thrice happy, if the pomp of personal aggrandisement, and the snares with which its paths are ever beset by hordes of titled villains in the form of courtiers, had not succeeded in ravishing from them that heartfelt happiness which they never afterwards experienced! The subjoined observations are full and explicit, as to every point that seems to require elucidation; in many of them the fair author has indulged an unnecessary developement of her own political creed; and discovered herself to be in this as well as in other instances, not directly qualified for the high office of being a commentator upon the letters of Lewis XVI.

Confined to the immediate subject of the late tedious and sanguinary war, we have received from Mr. A. Stephens two quarto volumes, entitled "The History of the Wars which arose out of the French Revolution." The work commences with a review of what the author apprehends to have been the causes of that event; and we here meet with an historical survey of the conquests and jurisprudence of the Romans, as though transactions so remote could have reflected any influence upon the politics of the present day. The writer might as well have carried us into the Baltic Sea, with the Argonauts, or landed us at Eziongeber, with the fleets of Hieram. To his account of the origin, extent, and subversion of the feudal system, and his picture of the progress of the philosophists or anti-christian sect, we pay more deference, as exhibiting subjects more immediately connected with the history before us, and especially as upon these points our author's views are extensive, his reasoning sound, and his documents indisputable. The first of the two volumes, upon the close of this introductory essay, conducts us from the declaration of war to the prodigious and perhaps unparalleled successes of the French in 1794 and 1795; the re-possession of Austrian Flanders, the conquest of Holland, the maintenance of both banks of the Rhine, and the seizure of all the strong posts of Italy. It also gives us, by way of relief, a statement of the glorious and equally unparalleled success of the British marine. The second volume opens with the treaties of peace between the French republic and Tuscany, Prussia, Spain, Hanover, Hesse, and the Vendean insurgents. We advance, through our own capture of Ceylon, the Cape, the West-India islands, and the various events, the successes and reverses, that alternately filled up the interspace, to the much-disputed and highly disputable treaty of Amiens. The work closes with an appendix of valuable and authentic documents; and is amply interspersed and enriched with illustrative maps. The spirit with which it is written is highly worthy

worthy of commendation; there is a dignified impartiality, a manly independence of principle, which cannot fail to secure in future ages, as well as to attract at the present hour, a very considerable portion of public notice and approbation. The arrangement moreover is peculiarly clear and economical; the diction is select and elegant; and the observations, at all times worthy of attention, flow fairly and spontaneously from the subject which forms their basis.

Upon the same topic we are indebted to Mr. Ritchie for three octavo volumes, containing the "Political and Military Memoirs of Europe from the Renewal of the War on the Continent in 1798 to the Peace of Amiens in 1802." The author is a warm friend to popular liberty, and his warmth sometimes hurries him a little beyond the bounds of discretion and prudence. The conduct of Mr. Pitt's administration is severely condemned from the beginning to the end; and, as an inscription on the pedestal of the statue which it was once professed to raise to this celebrated statesman, our author proposes that it should be recorded that "the British annals, since the time that a Stuart occupied the throne, afford not an instance of imbecility in the cabinet and the field, or an ignominious result, equal to those in the war against the independence of the French nation, and the liberties of mankind." To speak the truth, no party has been benefited by the revolutionary war; the cause of popular liberty has received a wound from which it cannot recover for centuries; and the cause of crowned heads has been cajoled and ridiculed in a manner unparalleled in the annals of universal history. We are nevertheless much disposed to think with our author that a great portion of the madness exhibited in France was excited by the impolitic interference of surrounding nations. We know not now what France would have been, if left to the uncontrouled exercise of her own fermenting spirit. For the prime cause of the affliction of herself, as well as that of Europe at large, we must look *without* rather than *within* the extent of her own boundaries.

In diction rivaling that of Mr. Gibbon, but with less attention to original documents, Mr. Card has given us, in one volume octavo, a "History of the Revolutions of Russia to the Accession of Catherine I." The work is accompanied with a concise review of the manners and customs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and is the most interesting, and bids fair to become the most popular, account we possess in our own language of the barbarous ages of a people who are now progressively assuming importance in the general politics of Europe.

Whilst throwing a glance at France and Russia, we cannot omit noticing an anonymous and unfinished work entitled "Sketches of the intrinsic Strength, Military and Naval Force of France and Russia; with Remarks on their present Connexion, political Influence, and future Projects." Of this book, the first part only is published; and it offers to us views so just and comprehensive, and evinces an acquaintance with the different cabinets of Europe so profound and familiar, that we shall receive the subsequent part with no small degree of satisfaction. The object of the author is to represent the two empires in

question as the only formidable or rival powers on the European continent. He proves, from indisputable documents, the vast internal resources which France has derived from the revolution, and points out, in the clearest light, the absurdity of those prophecies which were perpetually uttered against her finances in the course of the late war by Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, at a period when those finances were annually improving notwithstanding the severe shocks and variations of government to which she was so frequently submitting. While surveying this part of the Sketches before us, it is impossible not to accuse the successive administrations of the unfortunate Lewis XVI. of equal and extreme incompetency; which, with such inexhaustible resources in their own hands, and at their own command, could devise no scheme to bring them into immediate or even progressive action, and for the paltry deficit of twenty-two millions of livres consented to lose their constitution and their sovereign. The resources of Russia, however, our author represents not only as being equally inexhaustible, but far more extensive. Yet they want an active and directing power, without which the more limited means of France must triumph over those of its continental rival. To prevent this, our author proposes, what has since perhaps actually taken place—an alliance both offensive and defensive between Russia and Great Britain: he reprobates, with unnecessary severity, the late northern disputes, and believes that, by a spirited co-operation between these two powers, Bonaparte might yet be driven within the limits of the Bourbon territories. *Nous verrons.*

Of the late calamities and revolution in Switzerland we have received a valuable additional statement by an English version of M. Zschokke's "History of the Invasion of Switzerland by the French, and the Destruction of the Democratical Republics of Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwalden." The English version, however, is given through the medium of M. Briatte's French translation; yet there is no reason to complain either of its fidelity or want of spirit. The English translator has added a very useful supplement, which brings down the history of this unfortunate country to March 1803, the period in which the patriotic and justly celebrated Aloys Reding was elected to the office of landamman of Schwitz.

"The History of the Maroons, from their Origin to the Establishment of their chief Tribe at Sierra Leone; including the Expedition to Cuba, for the Purpose of procuring Spanish Chasseurs: by R. C Dallas, Esq." 8vo. 2 vols. This work comes before us in a manner that entitles it to considerable credit; since the author states himself to be indebted for the larger portion of its contents to M. W. D. Quarrel, a privy-councillor of Jamaica (to whom the work itself is dedicated), who was one of the commissioners dispatched to Cuba in quest of the Spanish chasseurs. From these volumes, which are written with a commendable ingenuousness of heart, nothing is more obvious than that the Maroon war, if it be worthy of such an appellation, might have been prevented by a very small portion of dexterity on the part of the colonial government. Peace was several times restored in point of letter; but apprehension, animosity, and an undisguised hatred and hostile

tile spirit, were perpetually manifested on both sides, and especially on that of the whites, who, from their superior knowledge, ought to have led the way to amity and an enduring conciliation. The result was the renewal of warfare and the complete expatriation of the Maroons, by the means of Spanish chasseurs and bloodhounds. This inhuman step has been as widely and as severely condemned as it deserves to be; but it is nevertheless defended, or, to speak more correctly, apologised for, by Mr. Dallas. Yet the apology is by no means satisfactory; and he seems obviously to be sensible that he is labouring in a wrong cause; his morality is beclouded, and his arguments amount to little more than special pleading. The exportation of these poor wretches, after their submission, to Canada, exhibits perhaps even more cruelty than the mode in which they were hunted down. It exchanged a speedy for a lingering death: an effect which the variation in the climate of the two countries rendered almost as certain as if they had been poisoned before their transportation.

In the *travels*, more properly so called, which have been announced from the press in the course of the current year, no quarter of the globe has escaped observation and research; but as the more curious, if not the more voluminous, have been directed to Africa, we shall commence our circumnavigation from this division of human habitation. We begin with Mr. Mudford's English version of Golberry's "Travels in Africa, performed during the Years 1785, 1786, and 1787, in the western Countries of the Continent, comprised between Cape Blanco of Barbary, 20° 47′, and Cape Palmas, 4° 30′, North Latitude." M. Golberry was aid-du-camp to M. Boufflers, appointed governor of Senegal in 1785, and was also entrusted with a variety of independent offices; in consequence of which he had occasion to reside in different parts of western Africa; and drew up, by the period of his return home, so bulky an account of what he had seen, and enriched it with such a multiplicity of hints and sketches for charts, that he was not prepared for the press when, unfortunately for him, the voyages and discoveries of our own countryman, Mr. Mungo Park, were published in 1799, which so much chagrined him that, relinquishing his original intention, he has here offered a mere collection of fragments, and detached chapters from his larger work, as a sort of proof of what he meaned to have done, if he had not been thus anticipated. Upon many points relative to the customs, manners, and trade, of that part of Africa to which his travels refer, he has unquestionably given us some valuable information; but he manifests the strangest want of plan, and indulges in the most careless tautologies of description, which we have ever met with in any author: added to which he evinces a spirit of perpetual envy against what he cannot but allow to be a superior energy and activity on the part of our English merchants, which is just as creditable to themselves as it is degrading to the historian. We have seldom seen a harvest of wheat choaked with a greater portion of tares. Its most valuable part is that which relates to the gum trade of Bambouk.

"A Journal of Travels in Barbary, in the Year 1801, by James Curtis, Esq. Surgeon to the Embassy

bassy to Morocco." The line in which this writer was enabled to make observations is sufficiently expressed in the title, as well as the theatre to which they are confined. We have had many valuable books, and especially Mr. Lempriere's, written in relation so the same country, and in the same character, already; and Mr. Curtis does not, therefore, furnish us with matter that is particularly worthy of selecting. He has added some observations on the gum trade of Senegal, but they are almost entirely copied from the preceding Travels of Mr. Golberry.

We have been pleased with a little volume relating to the same quarter from the pen of Mr. R. Semple, entitled "Walks and Sketches from the Cape of Good Hope; to which is subjoined a Journey from Cape Town to Blettenburg's Bay." Mr. Semple's residence at the Cape appears to have been but of short duration, but he improved it to no small advantage. With an old school-fellow in the first instance, and an occasional acquaintance in the second, he started on foot for the purpose of observation and inquiry, and what he gives us is all his own; he writes from the moment of impression, and with the scene still moving before him. To prior authors, he refers not; and his book would have been less valuable if he had, for to other authors we can refer ourselves; and upon such reference we see no reason to call in question the result of the Walks and Sketches which are here presented to us. The language in which they are conveyed is elegant, the sentiments are just, the descriptions pleasing.

"An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, by Thomas Winterbottom, M. D., Physician to the Colony of Sierra Leone." This work is intended to include some notice of the state of medicine among the natives; but the part which is devoted to this subject being printed in a separate form, we have briefly adverted to it in our second chapter. It is rather extraordinary that Dr. W. who writes in the official capacity of physician to the *British colony*, should have entered so little into the affairs of this truly laudable establishment: for we here meet with little more than a brief sketch of its site, original population, and meteorologic changes. Upon the subject of the native tribes in the vicinity, he is more full, and may be perused with advantage and entertainment. He appears to be a man of benevolence, and speaks favourably of the disposition and manners of the inhabitants.

In crossing from Africa to the extreme islets of Asia, we are pleased to find ourselves put into possession of a supplementary "Account of the Pelew Islands," and the chief events which have occurred there since captain Wilson's shipwreck, and his most hospitable reception by the worthy Abba Thulle. The account before us is drawn up by Mr. Hoskin, from the journals of the Panther and Endeavour, two vessels sent in the truest and most honourable spirit of liberality, by the East-India company, to those islands, in the year 1790. The narrative is given with much interesting simplicity, and we rejoice to find that it contains no drawback upon the amiable and ingenuous manners of this simple and uncorrupted people. The East-India company has administered to their wants, and enriched their soil, in a mode that could not fail of exciting, as it unquestionably has

has done, their utmost gratitude, and veneration for the name of Englishmen.

In two volumes octavo, we have received an anonymous translation of M. Grandpré's "Voyage in the Indian Ocean, and to Bengal, undertaken in the Years 1789 and 1790." This work, though denominated a *voyage*, is rather a collection of facts and observations made upon the *interior* of the country, through which the writer travelled. Many of these are curious and valuable, but they are accompanied with an insufferable degree of self-complacency and national conceit. The most important portion of the work is that which relates to the Sechelles islands, belonging to the Dutch. It is accompanied with what are called prints; which pretend to describe both the scenes and dresses of Hindustan; but which are of universal application, and may just as well apply to the Carpathian mountains or the banks of the Ohio.

We perceive two publications relating to New South Wales, pretended to be written "by George Barrington, Superintendant of the Convicts." We know not what authority the editors of these volumes possess for the use of this expatriated man's name, but we do know, that, whether published with or without his consent, the books themselves are nothing more than mere compilations from the works of prior and more honourable travellers, and that they contain nothing worthy of particular notice or attention, excepting an opportunity which they afford us of protesting against such pick-pocket productions, and of offering a caveat to the people at large against deception. We perceive wit and verses attributed in one set of these volumes to the pretended writer, which we believe to be far above his level; but which, whether above or not, we know and can prove to have been in existence half a century before his birth.

We turn with pleasure to a work of more originality and importance; and in Mr. Percival's "Account of the Island of Ceylon," recognise a volume of real merit, of unbounded entertainment, and equally valuable with respect to its commercial and statistic narrations. It is truly stated to contain the history, geography, natural history, manners and customs of this extensive island; and is enriched with the addition of a journal of an embassy to the court of Candy. We cannot enter into a detailed analysis of this instructive and agreeable volume; but this is the less to be regretted, as we have taken care to communicate copious extracts from it in another department of our labours. Mr. P. traces the history of the island from its first possession by the Portuguese, under the celebrated adventurer Albuquerque, to its liberation from the bondage of its earliest tyrants by the Dutch, in 1656, who entered the country as the friends and allies of the native princes, but who shortly afterwards exhibited as unbridled a spirit of rapacity as the Portuguese themselves. Our author next proceeds to relate the manner in which it was taken possession of by the English, in an early period of the late war, the confirmation of the Dutch settlements to the English government, by the treaty of Amiens, and the range to which those settlements extend. It appears that they comprise the skirts of the island, and hence surround on almost every side the thick jungles and impervious steeps which form the vast domain of the king of Candy. In every respect this island is of consi-

derable

derable moment to our Indian commerce; and, by presenting to us the only harbour that, with the exception of Bombay, is to be found on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, in which vessels can ride safely during any part of the year, it should seem to be of equal moment to us in a political point of view. The harbour we refer to, is that of Trincomalee, at which a ship from Madras may arrive in two days, and this with almost any wind whatever. The town itself is strong, and spreads over a larger extent of ground than Columbo, to which in every other respect it is inferior. This history does not extend to the last unfortunate war between the British governor and the king of Candy; but, notwithstanding that the domains of this barbarian prince are now surrounded by a chain of English settlements, which would appear to be easily open to assistance from various points of the Asiatic continent, the account before us developes most explicitly the impossibility of obtaining entire possession of the island, without a force which the British Indies will never be able to spare, and a perseverance in internal difficulties and embarassments, which few combinations of human nerves will ever be able to conquer, so mountainous and precipitous is the country in general, so deep and entangled its woods and jungles, so intricate and impenetrable the paths that lead from one to another, and so mysteriously concealed by the natives. We trust, therefore, that the late unfortunate experience we have acquired will satisfy us upon this point; and demonstrate how much wiser it will be to cultivate the friendship of the aboriginal possessors, than vainly to endeavour to subvert their government. The mode of fishing for pearls, Mr. Percival has given at length, and it is equally curious, amusing, and instructive.

We have not yet concluded the accounts that relate to Egypt; and have now to announce "A Non-Military Journal; or Observations made in Egypt, by an Officer upon the Staff of the British Army; describing the Country, its Inhabitants, their Manners and Customs." This Journal is published in the form of letters; and it was the original intention of the writer to have presented us in this mode with an entire history of the British campaign; but finding that he has been in some degree anticipated in this object by earlier publications, he has confined himself to points which have been less explicitly touched upon by more professed military writers. The descriptions of the country are given in an animated and entertaining style; the customs of the natives are many of them delineated more minutely, and, we believe, more accurately, than by the generality of antecedent observers; and the work is enriched with a variety of original and pertinent anecdotes. It notices a singular effect that has been produced by the practice of hatching eggs in ovens: the author tells us, that the race of fowls is hence dwindled in size, and that the common instinct is annihilated in almost every instance; whence a treble price is demanded for a hen who will sit to hatch her young.

Of far less value in its notices, and infinitely less original in its descriptions, is Dr. Wittman's bulky volume of "Travels in Turkey, Asia-Minor, Syria, and across the Desert into Egypt, during the Years 1799, 1800, and 1801." The period shows that these travels were in connexion with the British expedition; and the situation in which the

the traveller was placed, that of one of the physicians to the conquering army, gave him unquestionably abundant opportunities for gratifying the most avaricious thirst after important information, had it been his lot to have possessed such a cupidity. But never have observations more puerile, descriptions more meagre, sentiments more insignificant, disgraced a nursery-book, than are here employed to swell out the stately magnificence of an imposing quarto: which gives us no other information than that of the art of book-making; the dextrous device of filling up a set number of new pages by a sly pilfer from other works, and the prodigal use of paste and a pair of scissors. It is true, indeed, that the volume before us has been appealed to as confirming the report of Bonaparte's massacre both of his own soldiers and the Turkish prisoners: yet, as offering *substantial testimony*, it has no right to be appealed to upon the subject. It advances indeed conjecture and hear-say evidence in support of the current opinion, but it advances nothing more; and, if report say truly, it did not even advance this in the *original* copy of the feeble and slender manuscript which was first presented to the bookseller for purchase. Like many other circumstances here narrated, it was found to be a convenient addition, and it was added accordingly.

America has supplied us with an entertaining volume in Mr. Davis's "Travels of four Years and a Half in the United States, during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802; dedicated by Permission to Thomas Jefferson, Esq." There is a liveliness of manner in this writer, a keenness of curiosity, an amenity of humour, and a force of sensibility, which seldom combine in the same character; and which, whenever they do, cannot fail to make the author an agreeable and valuable companion. Mr. Davis was an English itinerant school-master, who, dissatisfied with the success he met with at home, travelled to the new world to be the "architect of his own fortunes:" and according to his own account, he has succeeded much better in the new world than he did in the old. Whatever his talents may be, they served to introduce him to the unfortunate vice-president Burr, and through him to the president himself. These travels give us rather the incidents that have occurred to the author in the prosecution of his personal concerns, than a general and systematic description of the country at large. But, however inappropriate the title, there is that in the book which might well apologise for a much grosser error.

Another volume, constituting the second, of Mr. Pallas's very valuable "Travels through the Southern Provinces of the Russian Empire," has been naturalised in our own language, and consists of observations on the Crimea, and the Island of Tamar, both with respect to the inhabitants and the natural productions of the country: to which is added, an account of the salt-lakes, and of the commerce and manufactures of this interesting district, with a journal of the author's return to Petersburg. The volume is possest of all the merits of its predecessor; it is full to satiety, but not to disgust; interesting without extravagance, and luminary without affected splendour. The plates and maps are well executed, and justly entitled to commendation.

Our lighter moments have been highly pleased with M. Karamsin's "Travels from Moscow through Prussia, Germany, Switzerland, France, and

and England," anonymously translated from the German. M. Karamsin is a writer equally sprightly and sentimental; he has read our own countryman Sterne, has been enraptured with his manner, and has endeavoured to imitate his style. Yet M. Karamsin is not one of the *imitatores, servum pecus!* for there is much originality in his views, his conceptions, his delineations, his language, notwithstanding his attempt at assimilation. He is most at home in Switzerland, and in consequence of a previous acquaintance, or rather correspondence, with Lavater, is here easily introduced to the society of the learned and celebrated of every description. We have hence a multitude of anecdotes relative to most of the Swiss men of letters, but especially to Lavater himself, whose benevolence and generosity of heart are exhibited in glowing colours and impressive tales. The young Russian traveller seems least to have naturalised himself in our own country, and notwithstanding his passion for the writings of Sterne, he appears only to have been acquainted with him through the medium of a foreign, probably of a French, version. While in England he seldom deserted the circle of the Russian embassy; of the private life, the domestic fireside of English families, he therefore knows little; and as the higher coteries are nearly alike in all countries, he admits, that, to obtain a knowledge of the true English character, he has generally copied from what occurred to him in the streets. The men he seems for the most part to abominate; but the women are all enchanting and divine: their form, their faces, their dress, their movements, are all true copies from the Graces; and they are all, he tells us, without either "powder or *paint*." Under this last impression he must indeed have given our fair countrywomen credit for the most exquisite natural rouge that nature ever bestowed on the female race. We may safely conclude, however, that the dye is not yet so thickly laid on but it may deceive a foreigner. The version of these travels is extremely incorrect; we would recommend much revision in a new edition.

We have also had "Journals of Travels" through a great part of the same route, by Mr. Lockhart Muirhead. These, however, were confined to parts of the late Austrian Low Countries, France, the Pay-de-Vaud, and Tuscany; and the period was 1787 and 1789. Mr. Muirhead is a hasty traveller, but a more hasty writer; yet his anecdotes are agreeable, and his diction animated: his tour is too rapid for profound remark, and the countries traversed over are too much hackneyed for any great degree of novelty, upon so cursory an expedition. Upon one or two occasions our author has penetration enough to perceive a pun where none was originally intended. "*Ostende nobis Dominum, misericordiam tuam,*" is the motto of the town of Ostend. "May the prayer," says he, "be heard in spite of the pun; and may the Lord deal more piteously with the good burghers than the custom-house deals with strangers." How the custom-house may at the present day deal with strangers, we know not: but that the pun had ever a prospect of counteracting the prayer, we have no conception, since the former is of our author's manufacture alone.

Confined to a route still more limited, we have to notice an anonymous "Journal of a short Excursion among the Swiss Landscapes, made in

in the Summer of the Year 1794." This Journal exhibits the very reverse error of that we have just noticed. Instead of activity, we have here indolence; the writer is a saunterer, who just condescends to make a few observations when he is in the mood for it. But he is, nevertheless, a man of genius and penetration, and we have only to regret that he was in the mood for it so seldom. When will he travel again? we should wish to be of his party; and occasionally to lounge, and occasionally to compose, with him.

We now approximate France and its inglorious metropolis, gaping as widely as ever for momentary amusements, and carelessly submissive to whatever may be the government of the day, provided it may, as usual, possess "its fiddle and its frisk." Of the publications which relate to the country, or, as it is now to be denominated, the *empire* at large, we have to notice Mr. Carr's "Stranger in France, illustrated by Engravings in Aquatinta of Sketches taken on the Spot;" an entertaining and agreeable thin quarto, but from the fortunate introductory letters of the author, and the success with which they were attended, exhibiting, as we suspect, by far too favourable a feature of the mildness of the government and the satisfaction of the people;—Mr. Hughes's "Tour through several of the Midland and Western Departments of France, in the Months of June, July, August, and September, 1802," which, in the language of the writer himself, "is neither more nor less than a series of memorandums and reflexions penned sometimes upon the road, sometimes at the inns upon it;" and which "constantly partakes of pain and pleasure, of admiration and disgust, and is tinctured with the lassitude and feeble exhaustion of the weary days on which it was written;" and which gives evident testimony, that the tourist is unhackneyed in the ways of travellers, and in the art of describing with decency the scenes of Parisian indelicacy, to which he was occasionally exposed;—Mr. Morrice's "View of France," which is as entertaining a little volume as the hackneyed subject will well allow, and which, among other anecdotes, attributes the gain of the battle of Marengo, in a great degree, to the spontaneous exertion of a drummer-boy of only fourteen years old, whom Bonaparte has since rewarded for his courage and sagacity;—Mr. King's "Letters from France, in the Months of August, September, and October, 1802," in which the writer seems to have scavenged with strange indiscrimination for matter, and afterwards dressed up what he had been able to collect with an uncommon proportion of fancy dishes and trifle-froth; and in which the *virtuous and upright Massena* is spoken of in opposition with the virtuous and upright *Moreau*. Of Paris, described more individually, the publications which have chiefly attracted our attention are, "Paris as it was, and is," in a series of letters written by an English traveller, during the years 1801–2, to a friend in London: a truly valuable book for the man of science, the man of taste, the connoisseur, the antiquary, if a speedy return of peace should enable them to profit of its instructions;—"The Praise of Paris," by Mr. Weston, which is also given in the form of letters, or rather of extracts of letters, and has the singular merit of offering equal entertainment to the giddy and to the grave, to the *petit-maitre* and the

the antiquary; — "Letters of a Mameluke, or a Moral and Critical Picture of the Manners of Paris;" a translation from the French of M. Lavallée, but badly executed; though upon the whole exhibiting, in this assumed character, a fair satire upon the vices and follies of the day, while the original writer admits with a venial liberality the possession of virtues which at this distance, and surrounded by the haze of an intervening channel, and perhaps the prejudices of a hostile disposition, we are not able at all times to perceive;—and "A Rough Sketch of Modern Paris," written during the two last months of 1801, and the first five of 1802; which, though published anonymously, is entitled to more attention, and evinces a mind more inquisitive, and better fraught with general learning, and the means of acquiring topographic and classical information, than any volume by which in this catalogue it is preceded. The author appears to have been particularly struck with the magnificent collection of paintings and statues at the Louvre; and, although nearly distracted from their multiplicity as to all power of choice on which to fix his attention, we have no reason to be dissatisfied with the taste he has evinced. From all the accounts we have received, the apathy of the Parisians in scenes of horror and public execution is at the present moment unrivaled by every people, and can only have been generated from the series of public torture and butchery which have been exhibited among them with little interruption for the last ten or twelve years. From every thing that has hitherto appeared they seem also to have at present but few pretensions to public or at least to spontaneous oratory; the speeches of their best declaimers are often read. It is related in the volume before us, that, when M. Portalis presented the *code civil* to the legislative body, the greater part of those who went armed with objections, and had put down their names as speakers in rotation, read their harangues from a written paper, which being pre-composed, by having in general little or no reference to the arguments advanced at the moment by M. Portalis himself, were either heard with indifference or occasionally laughed at from the ludicrous effect they produced.

The views and tours that relate to our own country, and are the product of the year before us, are chiefly topographic or antiquarian, and hence rather appertain to the succeeding than to the present chapter. From these, however, we must except the following: Mrs. Murray's "Companion and useful Guide to the Beauties in the Western Highlands of Scotland, and in the Hebrides;" forming a second volume to one published in the year 1799. Its character and object are given so explicitly by the fair traveller herself, that we shall acquaint the reader with them in her own words: "This Guide points out to the traveller what is worth noticing in his tour, with the distance from place to place; mentions the inns on the road whether good or bad; also what state the roads are in; and informs him of those fit for a carriage, and those where it cannot go with safety. In these respects the present work differs from any other publication of the kind; for no writer of tours has hitherto taken the trouble of ascertaining what may be seen worthy of notice in the course of a travelling journey: and it very often happens that he passes within a mile

mile or less of very great natural beauties without either knowing or having heard of them; and the country people seldom or *ever* [never] name to strangers what they think nothing of, because seeing them every day they regard them not as objects of curiosity." The reader has hence no reason to expect scientific researches, or important communications of any kind; the whole is light and superficial, but nevertheless entertaining, and for the most part agreeably written, though occasionally incorrect and tautologous. In the "Ανθρωπλανομενος, or Pedestrian Tour through Part of the Highlands of Scotland in 1801, by John Bristed," we meet with little that can excite our praise, much that is selected from other authors without acknowledging the obligation, and a perpetual effort to puff off certain publications with which the tourist is mediately or immediately connected. Mr. Barber's "Tour throughout South Wales and Monmouthshire," is a work of considerable value and varied entertainment. He has not neglected his talents as an artist; and hence, in one edition of the tour, we have twenty well-executed aqua-tinta prints, from expressive and appropriate drawings by the author. It is not wonderful that our tourist should dwell with peculiar pleasure upon the wild or romantic, upon the venerable and castellated, or abbey scenery around him: but he at times relinquishes his profession, and, with much classical erudition, enters into the history and description of the ruins in which he loves to loiter, and enriches both with casual anecdotes of interest or happy elucidation. With Mr. Hutton's "Remarks upon North Wales, being the Result of sixteen Tours through that Part of the Principality," we have been far less pleased than with his antiquarian researches in a prior publication. We have met with *remarks* far more to the purpose from the pen of many travellers who have never made but *one* tour through the country in question than the present work, which thus forms the result of not less than *sixteen*. Perhaps the writer has visited North Wales so often that he is become incurious to its marvellous sceneries; he has also advanced too far in the journey of life to retain that warm and vital spirit with which alone they should be surveyed and sketched if the tourist mean to impart to the reader of his travels any fair idea of the country he has visited. Mr. Hutton is garrulous rather than descriptive; and seems to be almost every where excepting in North Wales, the tract he undertakes to delineate. Mr. Evans's "Juvenile Tourist" is, as its title should indicate it, an *infantine* production: yet the author asserts that; *among his friends*, he has been *flattered* by the observations of which it consists, as antecedently communicated in a small periodical publication, of which he is the editor, entitled "The Monthly Visitor." To this assertion we most fully accede: whatever praise he has received, must have been *flattery*; nor could any persons but *his juvenile friends* have bestowed such flattery upon him.

We pass on to the subject of politics and statistics: which, excepting in a few instances, has been productive of nothing more than pamphlets of temporary interest and local importance: or, as they are denominated in our professional vocabulary, *catalogue* articles. Among these exceptions we have first to notice the new and enlarged edi-

tion of Mr. Malthus's "Essay on the Principles of Population; or a View of its past and present Effects on human Happiness." The original intention of this voluminous work was to subvert the absurd tenet of the *perfectibility*, as it was called, of human nature, so strenuously contended for by the late M. Condorcet of France, M. Weishaupt of Germany, and Mr. Godwin among ourselves. The object was laudable, and the book became popular: there was a plausibility in many of our author's arguments, a certain degree of mysticism in others; and both sorts appear to have been equally well framed to captivate the favour and secure the suffrages of the unthinking. To us, however, it is not sufficient to possess *good intentions*: the fires in Smithfield, the massacres on Bartholemew's day at Paris, all proceeded from the best intentions in the world; so probably did the conflagrations which have the reputation of having been excited about twenty years since by that keen philosopher and truly valiant soldier the late lord George Gordon. We remember, long ago, a metaphysical controversy between Drs. Priestley and Price, concerning the nature of the human soul; the one affirming that it must be *material*, and of the very nature and constitution of the body; and the other contending as strenuously that it must be *immaterial*, and of a nature the very reverse of that whence the body is derived; and we remember also, that, towards the close of this dispute the combatants mutually conceded to each other, that, provided the nature and constitution of the soul were the same, and that they comprised but one uningenous principle, it was of no consequence whether it were matter or spirit. Something of the same result, but we grant altogether unintentionally on the part of our author, appears to have taken place on the present debate; for while Mr. Malthus, in all the panoply of La Manca, is urging his Rosinante against the pagan and discourteous illuminates of our own country and the continent, he falls into many of the errors of the recreants he opposes, and advances a creed as difficult to be reconciled with the common principles of philosophic or Christian morality, as any of those it is his professed object to subvert and supersede. The result of his reasoning is, that mankind can never be happier or better than they are at present; and that, as the chief miseries of our own country, as well as of many other parts of Europe, proceed from their being overstocked with inhabitants, it is a patriotic duty to relinquish the pleasures of the connubial bed and the domestic hearth, and for the larger proportion of our males to become virtually eunuchs, by a rigid abstinence from all sexual intercourse; or, which is the alternative proposed to us, if we have not hardihood enough to persist in such a plan, to encourage with all our might promiscuous copulation, which, though a vice of an adverse description, will be found just as effectual in counterbalancing the evil of an overgrown population, as the first proposal. We cannot enter in this place, though perhaps we may in another, into a detail of the arguments advanced, or indicate the source of their insecurity, or compute the quantum of their mischievous tendency. It must be sufficiently obvious to the reader, that our author has been fighting with fire-brands which have done as much injury to his friends

as

as to his foes; or, to vary the simile, that he has been building a fortress with combustible materials, which have unluckily taken flame and burnt up his own encampment as well as consumed that of his enemy.

"Memorial addressed to the Sovereigns of Europe and the Atlantic, by Governor Pownal."—At the present moment, in consequence of the hostile disposition between the cabinets of London and Madrid, this pamphlet is well worthy of the most attentive perusal. Its prime object is to obtain the emancipation and independence of the Spanish settlements in North and South America through the medium of British interference. Our author is possessed of much local knowledge of the country to which his memorial points; and his plan would unquestionably be a most desirable one could it be effected. But we fear there are at present divers powerful obstacles which it will not be found easy to remove. In the first place, can we safely detach, either from our own country, or, which would be still more convenient, if it could in any way be accomplished, from the army employed in the British Indies, a sufficient force for this purpose? and next, admitting that either were at our disposal, as the concurrence of the United States is a matter of absolute necessity, have we at this moment a sufficient influence in the cabinet of the new city of Washington, to seduce it into a war with France, as well as Spain; and not only to lull its jealousy, but actually to co-operate in this enormous scheme of British aggrandisement? These points being successfully adjusted, we cannot proceed too soon. But who will undertake to effect them?

Not widely different in point of colonial augmentation, is a pamphlet by Mr. Orr on "The Possession of Louisiana by the French considered, as it affects the Interests of those Nations more immediately concerned; *viz.* Great Britain, America, Spain, and Portugal." The ease with which Louisiana has been relinquished to the United States, proves clearly that it has not been of late years much valued by the French government. If possessed by the British arms, as it might have been during the late war, there is hence little doubt that it might also have been converted into a British colony. It seems at that time to have been forgotten, and to acquire it now, whatever might be the advantages of such acquisition, is totally out of our power. From the same author we have also received a pamphlet entitled "The Importance of Malta considered." Mr. Orr seems to imagine this of as much consequence to us in the Mediterranean as Louisiana is on the banks of the Mississippi. It was differently so reported by lord St. Vincent and several of his parliamentary friends, on the return of peace; and, as it is even yet doubtful whether we shall be able to retain it, we may as well perhaps encourage such a report at present. Upon the same subject of "The Importance of Malta," we have also to notice a very valuable pamphlet by Mr. Wood; who, with much political shrewdness, foresaw the expedition of Bonaparte against both Malta and Egypt, and gave timely notice thereof to the ministry of the day; but the notice was treated with contempt, and Bonaparte effected his purpose.

In Dr. Clarke's "Historical and Political View of the Disorganisation of Europe," we have an at-

tempted answer to M. Hauterive, whose reply to Mr. Gentz we remarked in our last literary survey. Posterior circumstances have much diminished the practical value of this pamphlet, and rendered it unnecessary for us to enlarge on its merits. We may say the same of the "Summary Account of Leibnitz's Memoir addressed to Louis XIV. recommending to that Monarch the Conquest of Egypt as conducive to the establishing a supreme Authority over the Governments of Europe." The reasoning of M. Leibnitz with respect to Egypt has been proved, within the period of the last war, to be grossly erroneous. Admitting that even Bonaparte himself were in full possession of Egypt, is it questionable whether he would ever be able to do us any essential mischief in the British Indies. By sea and by land the route is not only tediously long, but for ever alternated with Scyllas and Charybdises.

The unhappy resumption of the war has given birth to as many political essays as political sermons. These it is impossible for us to enumerate in a regular catalogue; and we shall hence only observe, that those which have struck us as of most importance, or which have required the largest proportion of temporary interest, are the bishop of Landaff's intended Speech in the House of Lords upon the State of the Nation, which he was unfortunately prevented from delivering; "The Question why do we go to War?" argued with admirable force of language, but from principles altogether inadmissible: "The Reason Why," — being an answer, though by no means a satisfactory one, to the preceding: "Cursory Remarks by a near Observer," asserted to be Mr. Ward, a locum-tenens in the British senate: a pamphlet which has acquired far more popularity than its merit has entitled it to: "A Plain Answer to the Misrepresentations and Calumnies, &c." in the preceding tract, entitled to less notice than the tract itself: "Four Letters to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c. by W. Cobbett;" and "The Day of Alarm," the former of which it is sufficient to state is an acrimonious antiministerial production, chiefly directed against Mr. Addington's financial statements; and the latter a defence of the system pursued upon the subject of neutral bottoms, of which, from the change which has of late taken place in the politics of the north of Europe we expect to hear nothing more for the present.

Upon the subject of finance more properly so called, we have to notice a most valuable pamphlet by lord King, directed principally, however, to the late "Restriction of Payments in Specie at the Banks of England and Ireland," in which his lordship evinces that he has not only studied this intricate subject with minute attention, but is able to offer important and highly beneficial advice upon the subject. An "Investigation" into the same topic, but considerably less explicit, and evincing considerably less talent for the purpose, by Mr. Howison. "Remarks on Commerce and Currency" by Mr. Wheatley, containing speculations, of which some are *to us* unintelligible, and others highly dangerous; of which last description is that which would annihilate all country banks, while the bank of England is suffered to continue, and to swallow up all the money transactions of the former, in its avaricious and enormous grasp.

Ireland, and its relative connexion

lon with Great Britain, at the present moment, has also proved a source of innumerable temporary tracts; of which it may be sufficient to mention Mr. Winter's "Observations on the Temper and Spirit of the Irish Nation at the present Crisis;" elegantly written, and with considerable candour and impartiality; but hardly pursuing the grievances to which it refers to their genuine sources, and most positive mode of relief: "Essays on the Population of Ireland, and the Characters of the Irish;" which seem scarcely to allow sufficient merit to the natural virtues of this high-spirited and affectionate people, and the statistic part of which we prefer to its philosophic; and "Hints on the Policy of making a national Provision for the Roman-catholic Clergy of Ireland," which has been already strenuously recommended by one of the most able prelates on the English bench, and would have been tried before this time, had reason resided where prejudice has too long and too successfully swayed.

The department of the law has furnished many publications of interest and importance; of which the chief appear to us to be Mr. Evans's "General View of the Decisions of Lord Mansfield in civil Causes;" a digest which may be read with considerable information by every man, but which is necessarily of less value in consequence of the various inflexions which have of late been evinced in our law courts from the system established by this able though occasionally prejudiced lawyer. Mr. Wake's re-edition of Mr. Swinburne's "Treatise of Testaments and last Wills," in which the antiquated but more accurate language of the original writer himself is judiciously restored: Mr. R. B. Fisher's "Practical Treatise on Copyhold Tenure," constituting a new and improved edition of a valuable essay: Mr. Wyatt's "Reports of Cases argued and determined in the High Court of Chancery;" from a posthumous collection by the late venerable and indefatigable John Dickens, Esq. senior register of the chancery court: Mr. East's "Treatise of the Pleas of the Crown;" a work which confers the highest honour on the judgement, perseverance, and legal talents of the author, and adds all that posterior times allow him to add to the same subject as antecedently discussed by lord Hale and Mr. serjeant Hawkins: Mr. Collier's "Essay on the Law of Patents for new Inventions," which, with many useful hints, more general learning than is necessary, contains a spice of quackery that we by no means expected: Mr. Williams's "Abridgement of Cases;" a useful compilation on the topics of replevin, usury, veneer, vendee, wager, wills, &c. drawn up, like Jacobs's Law Dictionary, in an alphabetic form: "A Compendious Law Dictionary, by Thomas Potts;" a useful introductory book to attorney's clerks and unprofessional men; Mr. Montefiore's "Law of Copyright," which offers to authors, publishers, printers, artists, musical composers, and printsellers, a compendium of the various acts of parliament and adjudged cases which relate to their own professions and trades: "A brief Treatise on the Law relative to Stock-jobbing, and other Transactions in the public Funds, by I. J. Burn;" a pamphlet well worth consulting by all to whom it is addressed, and containing counsel as well public as private that is deserving of both public and private consideration.

The speedy return of hostilities, after a peace so cordially hailed, and so imperiously demanded, has turned the attention of writers, as well as of readers, from ethics and metaphysics to arms, and active preparations for defence. We have hence never witnessed a year more barren in subjects of the former description than the present; and the few publications which may, in any respect, claim an arrangement beneath them, refer rather to young persons than those of maturer years. Among this number we may reckon "An Essay on the Beauties of the Universe;" which consists of select thoughts, from a variety of eminent authors, designed to imprint upon the mind a knowledge of the omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence of the deity; and, at the same time, from the most common occurrences of nature, to awaken the heart to a sense of his universal benevolence and protection.

Mrs. Crespigny's "Letters of Advice from a Mother to her Son," is a truly valuable publication: the letters are written with a free effusion of bosom-affection; they evince a very competent knowledge of the world; and, what is of equal consequence, a power of fixing juvenile attention, and impressing the juvenile heart; and the style in which they are conveyed, is fluent and graceful. Upon some metaphysical points, of no essential moment, we have detected a few errors, which we have no doubt will be pointed out by some of the more learned of the fair author's friends against a second edition, and will no longer be suffered to disfigure the intrinsic excellence of the greater part of the volume.

"Anthropopaideia; or, a Tractat on general Education, by Andrew Cowan, M. D." From the titular honour of the writer of this work, our readers will, from the moment, suspect, that he is more acquainted with his subject theoretically than practically; and we who have waded into its contents, can honestly confirm the truth of such a conjecture. There is much good belonging to it; but it is a good which must be looked at rather than intermeddled with; its *practical* application is the worst part of the book. Though perhaps a *methodist* in physic, the author is an *empyric* in education.

"Improvements in Education, as it respects the industrious Classes of the Community, by Joseph Lancaster." Here, on the contrary, we have less theory than practice: the order of the day, to adopt an *elegant* theatrical phrase, is *push on! keep moving!* and he who can spell the greatest number of English words within a given period of time, is the first scholar, and most extraordinary genius of his age. As an unquestionable demonstration of the immense learning of his academy in the aggregate, Mr. Lancaster proves to us, by a numerical process, that the total words spelt by one hundred boys per annum, under his care, amounted to not less than 2,000,000!

"Friendly Admonitions to Parents, and the Female Sex in general, by Charlotte Badger;" containing many sensible and important remarks, that cannot or ought not to fail striking home to parents' businesses and bosoms. On the same subject, we have to notice "Letters, by Miss Hatfield;" which, though stated in the title to contain observations on the manners and education of the *female* sex, have just as much to do with males, hermaphrodites, or Swift's race of houynms.

"An Introduction to Geography and Astronomy, by the Use of the Globes

Globes and Maps, by E. and J. Bruce." As an *introduction*, this little work is entitled to attention: it is compiled from many of our best writers upon the subject to which it pretends; its problems are neat, and its language clear and intelligible.

"Practical Arithmetic, by J. Richards." This treatise is by no means destitute of merit. The author's object is to facilitate the routine of retail business by a speedier mode of calculation than that commonly resorted to, and he has acquired considerable success.

Upon the important subject of commerce, we have received a very valuable present in Mr. Montefiore's "Commercial Dictionary; containing the present State of Mercantile Law, Practice, and Custom." This extensive quarto is equally well entitled, as it is designed to be, by its author, for the cabinet, the counting-house, and the library. It contains an accurate statement of the articles of general trade, and the quarters from which they are exported; the situations and productions of the principal trading places; and what may almost exclusively be denominated the vocabulary of the counting-house and of the exchange.

Of equal value to the community, are Mr. Morgan's Numerical Tracts, now re-arranged, and brought forwards in two octavo volumes, under the title of "Observations on Reversionary Payments; on Schemes for providing Annuities for Widows, and for Persons in old Age; on the Method of calculating the Values of Assurances on Lives, and on the National Debt. Also Essays on different Subjects in the Doctrine of Life-Annuities and Political Arithmetic; a Collection of new Tables, and a Postscript on the Population of the Kingdom." These essays, in their original state, were brought forwards by that accurate financier and liberal politician the late Dr. Price; and the additions they have progressively received, and by which they now appear to be consummated, are worthy of a writer so nearly related to him both by family and professional pursuit.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing the Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Antiquities, Philology, Classics, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances.

"THE Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society" are, in every respect, entitled to a pre-eminence of notice in the present chapter; and it is not without some degree of national pride that we perceive the more than ordinary degree of profound research, bold successful experiment, and keen ingenious conjecture, with which the labours of the current year abound. The volume before us consists of sixteen articles, independently of the Bakerian lecture, with which it opens—an able and elaborate performance which cannot fail

to add extensively to the very brilliant fame already possessed by its learned and indefatigable author. The first article is by Dr. Wollaston, and contains several important observations on the quantity of horizontal refraction, with a method of measuring the dip at sea. This method consists in ascertaining the whole vertical angle between any two points of the horizon; when half the excess of the angle above 180° will of course be the dip required. Mr. Smithson has given a chemical analysis of some calamines for the purpose of opposing an assertion of M. Haüy, that calamine is nothing more than a simple oxyd of zinc, occasionally deteriorated by an intermixture of carbonate of lime, whence it effervesces with acids. Mr. Henry has offered some experiments on the different quantity of gasses absorbed by water at different temperatures, and under different pressures, with a view of proving—which, in our opinion, however, he has not accomplished—that the absorption of gasses by water is purely a mechanical effect. Mr. Hatchett's experiments and observations on the various alloys, on the specific gravity, and on the comparative wear of gold, drawn up at the request of a committee of the privy council, appointed to take into consideration the state of our national coins and the establishment and constitution of his majesty's mint, is one of the most important articles in the volume, and we highly lament that we cannot enter into a detail of its merits; the results of many of the experiments are highly curious and unexpected, and baffle the application of every known principle. Mr. Cavendish was associated in the examination, and is entitled to equal praise. M. Chenevix has contributed two papers; one containing some important observations on the chemical nature of the humours of the eye; and the other inquiries concerning a new metal denominated palladium, which has lately been advertised and sold in London, and which this ingenious chemist conceives to be a compound of platina and mercury; though his experiments do not appear to have established this fact. Mr. C. Greville has added to Mr. Howard's late article upon meteoric stones, by an enumeration of several additional specimens communicated to him from different quarters of the globe: one, from India, is a lump of native iron, and fell in the year 1620. Mr. Home has offered several valuable observations on the structure of the tongue; and illustrated them by cases in which a portion of that organ has been removed by ligature. To Dr. Herschell we are indebted for two papers, of which the first contains observations of the transit of Mercury over the disc of the Sun, to which is added an investigation of the causes which often prevent the proper action of mirrors: and the second, an account of the changes that have happened during the last twenty-five years in the relative situation of double stars, with an investigation of the cause to which they are owing: the articles are both highly interesting, and equally evince indefatigable attention to the objects to which they are directed. The scope of the latter contribution is to make it probable that many stars which are apparently double, are real binary combinations, held together by their reciprocal attraction. Of the result, we have nevertheless some doubts. Mr. Davy has contributed a series of experiments and observations on the constituent parts of certain astringent vegetables,

vegetables, and on their operation in tanning, by which it appears that next to the oak-bark, the Sicilian and Malaga sumachs contain the greatest proportion of tannin; but that catechu contains a much larger proportion than even oak-bark itself. We speak from personal knowledge, that the East India company has long since been solicited to furnish sufficient cargoes of catechu, but that the application has not hitherto been attended with success: no trial therefore, upon a large scale, has yet been attempted among ourselves. Mr. Knight has given us an account of some experiments on the descent of the sap in trees: these experiments are ingenious, but the physiology of the ascent or descent of vegetable sap is still doubtful: we know not whether it takes place from simple capillary attraction, or a syttem of organised and irritable vessels. Mr. Whidbey has offered an explicit account of the mode by which a Dutch frigate that accidentally sunk near the Great Nore was raised without injury; but we cannot explain the plan pursued without a reference to his plates. The observations on a new species of hard carbonate of lime, as well as on a new species of oxyd of iron, by the count de Bournon, contain nothing very important. The last article is major Mudge's account of the measurement of an arc of the meridian, extending from Dunnose in the Isle of Wight, to Clifton in Yorkshire. This measurement occurred in the course of the operations carried on for the trigonometric survey of England which commenced in 1800. The distance ascertained to subsist between Dunnose and Clifton amounts to 1,086,334 feet on 196.27 miles; between Dunnose and Greenwich, 59,41 miles; and between Clifton and Greenwich, 136.86 miles. A subjoined appendix presents us with the latitudes and longitudes of the places intersected in the survey of Essex, Suffolk, Surrey, Middlesex, and Kent.

We had lately occasion to state that these excellent philosophic annals were in the act of being presented to the public in an abridged form from their first existence. The mode in which that abridgement was conducted, and the earliest specimen which was presented to us, did not excite our approbation, much as we wished that a breviary of some kind or other should be presented to the public. We have no small pleasure, therefore, in adding, that this compendium has been altogether relinquished at the spirited interference of the Messrs. Baldwins, who have purchased all the back numbers, and that a new abridgement has commenced of far better promise under the associate superintendence of Dr. Hutton, Dr. Shaw of the museum, and Dr. R. Pearson.

Of the "Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh," we have not yet received the conclusion of the last volume, being vol. V. In part II., which has reached us, we perceive a long critical paper upon the nature of the connexion between Petrarc and Laura, and to what family the latter belonged. We do not, in this article, perceive the name of Tiraboschi alluded to, though the paper itself does not appear to us to contain more than is stated upon this subject in his Storia della Literatura Italiana. For the rest, the mathematical contributions are of most consequence, and especially those that bear the names of Mr. Ivy and Mr. W. Wallace.

The Royal Irish Academy has published no account of its transactions

actions in the course of the current year. The Linnéan Society continues its annual labours with unabated ardour and assiduity; and at the present moment we are chiefly indebted to the contributions of the president, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Warwick, and Mr. Marsham. The twentieth volume of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, which has now completed the first half century of its existence, has been presented to the public, and is possessed of the common value of its predecessors. As usual, we prefer the papers which are dedicated to the subjects of agriculture and tillage.

The literary society of Bengal has published, both abroad and at home, its seventh volume of "Asiatic Researches;" which, if not quite so much crouded with the marvellous as we have sometimes witnessed, are entitled to additional confidence from an additional degree of caution in the selections and remarks they offer to our notice. One of the most important papers now presented to us—important we mean from the political connexions of the day—is entitled "On Singhala, or Ceylon, and the Doctrines of Boodha, from the Books of the Singhalais, by Captain Mahony." From this article we should have copied freely had we not already offered a competent account of the island, together with the customs, manners, and religion, of the natives in another department of the volume before us, from Mr. Percival's more detailed history.

In "The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper, Esq." in two volumes, 4to, by Mr. Hayley, to which a third has since been added, an admirable and altogether unrivalled banquet is provided for every one who has a taste for elegant epistolary writing, fine unaffected feeling, genuine benevolence and piety, true classical criticism, and exquisitely tender and pathetic poetry. Yet little merit is in our apprehension due to the biographer. The narrative, independently of the original letters, is but brief, the observations trite, the language affected. A close and reciprocal attachment seems indeed to have prevailed between the eulogist and the deceased, yet it commenced but a short time prior to Mr. Cowper's death, and appears to be chiefly attributable, on the part of Mr. Hayley, to a cordial and enthusiastic veneration for his friend as a poet and as a man, combined with pity for his mental aberrations; and on that of Mr. Cowper, to gratitude for the kindnesses, affectionate attentions, and earnest participation in his concerns which were perpetually evinced by Mr. Hayley. We have sought, indeed, but in vain, for a congeniality of mental or corporeal temperament: of those morbid religious views, that exquisite sensibility, that brilliant wit, that strong creative imagination, and simple unornamented diction, which uniformly pervade the life and writings of Mr. Cowper. Mr. Hayley, we believe to have possessed more general learning, but less critical acumen; his style is more polished, but less varied, commanding, and impressive; the fancy of Hayley was derived, that of Cowper original; the former offers us words, the latter thoughts and ideas; the one was a poet by education and study, the other by birth and constitution. Had Hayley, like Bloomfield or Gifford, been designed for a cobler,

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he would never, perhaps, have written verses; but the fire of the muses would have breathed from Cowper under whatever climate or situation of life he might have been placed: immured in a dungeon he would have descanted on the pleasures of solitude or of liberty; as a West Indian slave he would have sung the beauties of the Cane Isles.

"Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL. D. by John Mason Good." Dr. Geddes has had the fortune to have met with a biographer worthy of him, in a man of learning and taste, versed in those studies the pursuit of which had been the principal object of his own literary labours. The claims of Mr. Good to public notice were not to be first established by his present work; as a poet and linguist he has already displayed powers and attainments of a highly respectable order. He possessed also the singular advantage of intimate acquaintance with the subject of his narration: his work, therefore, contains all the requisite materials of authenticity, and important information, which fully vindicate him in having presented it to public notice, and which gave indeed to the public a sort of claim upon his labour. The critical attainments of Dr. Geddes are unquestionable: his Latin verses have all the appearance of having been written with great fluency, but they do not often remind us of classical antiquity. In polemics, his powers both of attack and defence appear to have been of the most formidable order; he was an acute logician, but in some of his arguments betrays, perhaps, the school in which his education was received. To the general eulogium of his character which is made by Mr. Good no liberal mind will refuse its assent. "He was a benevolent man, an accomplished scholar, an indefatigable friend, and a sincere Christian." For much additional information respecting this distinguished character, as well as much curious matter incidentally connected with his life and writings, we refer our readers to the work of Mr. Good, as also to the extracts we have selected from it in another department of this volume. His office of biographer we consider him as having, on the whole, very ably discharged. He is learned; he writes with elegance and ease; and his account is stamped, we had almost said, if that attainment be possible, with marks of absolute impartiality. The Appendix contains three Latin letters of Dr. Geddes's literary correspondence; the first two from M. M. Paulus and Eichhorn, the last a reply of Dr. Geddes to M. Eichhorn.

"The Life of General de Zieten," by madame de Blumenthal: translated from the German by the Rev. B. Beresford, P. D. General de Zieten, from a very early period of life, discovered an invincible inclination for the army, and at fourteen years of age entered into the service of William I. of Prussia; under whom, and especially under his son Frederic the Great, he filled various posts of honour and confidence, Partly, however, from his own imprudence, partly from the malice of his enemies, and partly from that caprice to which thrones are not always strangers, his life was a perpetual vicissitude of success and mortification, of dignity and disgrace. We have seen nothing more chequered in the universal annals of military transactions. He had reached an advanced

vanced age during the seven years' war, but his presence and advice were still of the utmost consequence to his sovereign, who, towards the close of his life, more especially, seems to have been attached to him with the warmest sentiments of friendship and gratitude. The narration, we doubt not, is correct, and is written perspicuously if not elegantly: the translation is easy and fluent.

"The Life of Richard Earl Howe: by George Mason." This short narrative of the chief events that filled up the life of one of the first nautical heroes of Great Britain, has every proof of authenticity. It is written with an honest and independent spirit, and may be consulted by the future historian as an important and valuable document. It has no pretensions to the order of elegant composition.

Mr. Godwin's "Life of Geoffrey Chaucer" is designed, according to the full extent of its title-page, to exhibit not only memoirs of himself and his near friend and kinsman John of Gaunt, but also "sketches of the manners, opinions, arts, and literature of England in the fourteenth century;" a latitude which we think has not been sufficiently attended to by every class of critics who have yet examined this work, and the neglect of which has occasionally been the means of loading the author with much unnecessary reprobation. The life of the poet himself is the mere text of the rest; the bright and central orb from which the writer proposes to radiate in every possible direction, and towards which to return on the close of his peregrinations. Yet it must be confessed, after all, that his tangents are at times so abrupt, and his wanderings so wide and irregular, that they lose all parallax and we can no more ascertain the time or the mode of his return than we can calculate the re-appearance of a comet. It is a heavier charge against the biographer that he has not modestly adhered to the few facts which yet remain on record respecting his illustrious subject, in consequence of which the book before us is a romance rather than an historic narrative, and is, in no instance, except in its mere proper names and chronologies, to be depended upon. It is a compilation of what the writer himself is obliged to denominate *may-bes*, *perhapses*, *probabilities*, and *possibilities*, with the unfortunate drawback at the same time, that half the events which are so classed will be regarded by the rest of the world as *may*-not-*bes*, im-*perhapses*, im*probabilities*, and im*possibilities*. It is not pleasant to search for facts themselves amidst such a chaos of avowed conjectures; to glean for wheat in a field where little is to be found but stubble; to separate the metal from its bed of almost unproductive pyrite. As a *history*, this work ought to have been less loaded with the devices of imagination—as a *romance* it might have been rendered more entertaining by giving a still ampler loose to the reins of fancy.

"The Cambrian Biography, or historical Notices of celebrated Men among the ancient Britons: by William Owen, F.A.S." Had the modest and ingenious writer of this valuable compilation indulged in half the fanciful surmises of many of his own countrymen, or even of the biographer of Geoffrey Chaucer, he would have commenced a work extending perhaps to more volumes than are to be found in the British Museum. Mr. Owen, however, is

is well aware that the value of a work does not depend upon its bulk; and, in these brief notices, he has conferred a real service upon the republic of letters, by presenting it with a collection of facts that may be usefully employed in a variety of ways.

"Female Biography, or Memoirs of illustrious and celebrated Women, of all Ages and Countries, alphabetically arranged, by Mary Hays," six volumes duodecimo. This alphabetic compilation offers us the lives of nearly three hundred females, who have been renowned in a greater or less degree for some good and eminent quality of the heart or the head. It is compiled from the previous collections of Bayle, and Ballard, Gibbons, the Dictionnaire Historique, and the Biographium Feminæum; to which the fair writer has added other memoirs from private information or individual historians. If the composer of a work of this sort, evince judgement, impartiality, and a perspicuous style, its readers have no reason to complain that it is deficient in any qualification they had a right to expect; and, so far as we have examined it, miss Hays has exhibited these commendable qualifications. The man who would degrade the female character below the level of the male, might become less tenacious of so unjust an opinion, by a glance at the constellation here presented to us of femine talents and virtue.

In a small volume, entitled "Lives of illustrious Seamen;" and, in another, bearing the appellation of "Eccentric Biography, or Memoirs of remarkable Female Characters, ancient and modern," we are presented with the mere sketches of the persons whom they respectively aspire to *eternise*. Of the former, however, we may say, that, if they possess no other monument of fame than the present, their *eternity* is likely to be of no very long duration; and, of the latter, we hope there are few of them that will be absolutely *eternised* in any way. We wish not for their acquaintance either in this world or the next. Mr. Cormack has made a more acceptable present, and especially to young persons, by his version of Fenelon's "Lives of the ancient Philosophers, comprehending a choice Selection of their best Maxims." The volume is introduced by a brief sketch of the life of the illustrious author of Telemachus, chiefly deduced from M. Chevalier, and the academical éloge of D'Alembert. "The Revolutionary Plutarch," which contains a short narration of many of the most extraordinary characters that have flourished during the French Revolution, may, in some respect, be considered as a book of the same kind, deduced from modern history; but the narrative, though more crowded with extraordinary incidents, is less instructive, and in excellence of precept far less sublime.

Few public characters seem to have been more hardly dealt with than the late Mrs. Wollstonecroft Godwin. Scarcely had she drawn her last breath, when her husband, mistaking an open contempt of both ancient and modern opinion for true courage, sallied forth with memoirs of her life, which, in pity to whatever good qualities either of the heart or head she possessed, could not have been forgotten too soon; in which all her eccentricities and immoralities were blazoned forth, as though they constituted her passport to the realms of perfect purity; and now, "in a Series

ries of Letters to a Lady," some equally injudicious advocate has undertaken "A defence of *her* character and conduct, founded on principles of nature and reason, as applied to the peculiar circumstances of her case;" as though the laws of female chastity and morality varied in complexion and colour *according to circumstances*, till they had run through the whole series of the prismatic hues. The writer, who, like the present, admits, that in the more conspicuous parts of her conduct, there were certain points over which every reflecting and sympathising heart would desire to throw an oblivious shade for ever, should have suffered her, as a proof of true friendship, to have rested in peace, and not have disturbed her ashes, or drawn her "frailties from their dread abode."

"The works of the Right Honourable Lady M. W. Montague;" now, for the first time, completely edited by Mr. Dallaway, are entitled to a notice in this place, in consequence of their giving us, for the most part, a progressive narrative of her life; and especially as the editor himself has thought proper to prefix a more compacted statement of it. In Mr. Dallaway's "Memoirs," however, we see nothing worthy of attention but facts and dates; for a more trite, uninteresting, inelegant biography was never committed to paper. The new matter of the lady's own, consists principally of letters preserved in her family, and now permitted, by her grandson the marquis of Bute, to be brought forwards for the gratification of the public. The public ought to be much indebted to his lordship; for we shall look in vain through the whole range of female epistolary correspondence, not only in our country, but throughout Europe at large, for letters better entitled to general circulation, whether with respect to their fluency and facility of style, their brilliancy of wit, their severity of sarcasm, their deep and thorough display of the world, or the solidity of their philosophic maxims.

Upon the subject of bibliography, we have to mention two works, though we can do no more than mention them; with which we have been particularly pleased. The first is an anonymous "Bibliographical Dictionary," in twelves, extending to four volumes, and containing a chronological account, alphabetically arranged, of the most scarce, curious, useful, and important books, in all departments of literature, which have been published in Latin, Greek, Coptic, Hebrew, &c.; which no English collector of books should be without; and which is seldom inaccurate either in its references or its judgement; and the "Bibliographia Poëtica," of the late Mr. Joseph Ritson; containing a catalogue of English poets of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries; with a short account of their works. This is also a publication of considerable value to the antiquary or collector; but deteriorated in the common manner of this writer's later publications by a most uncouth and affected orthography, which, under the apparent pretence of antiquity, is equally remote from ancient and modern usage, from all pronunciation and derivation.

"Memorabilia Cantabrigiana," by Joseph Wilson, esq. This hasty production by no means supplies what is yet wanting in the university

ty of which it professes to give an account, we mean an Athenæ Cantabrigienses capable of rivalling Wood's justly celebrated Athenæ Oxonienses. The sources are nevertheless multifarious and sufficiently open: our author is aware of them, and it is a reflexion upon his labours, and indeed upon the university at large, that they have not yet been appropriated.

Our topographical works for the year are by no means unimportant either in extent of research or splendor of publication. Among these we shall first notice that sufficient encouragement has at length been given for a publication of the second volume of the second edition of Mr. Hutchins's "History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset," which, when finished, will extend to three volumes folio. The first edition of this extensive work was published by Mr. Hutchins himself in 1774. In 1795, the copies of it are all said to have been disposed of, and the present edition was in consequence began, and its first volume brought forward, by Mr. Gough, in 1796: how it happens that the second volume did not make its appearance till the present period, being not less than seven years from the publication of the first, or at what time in the present or the ensuing century we are to be favoured with the concluding volume, we have no means of deciding; every thing in the shape of advertisement, introduction, or preface, being postponed till the completion of the work. So far as we are able to exercise a judgement on an unfinished performance, the present is not entitled to any high degree of commendation. Much of the matter introduced is heavy, uninteresting, and irrelevant, and the subject of Roman encampments is dark and erroneous.

Quitting the flowery path of the muses, Mr. Polwhele has once more buried himself in the ruins of antiquarian research; and having already contributed some "Fragments" towards a history of Devonshire, has now published in quarto the first two volumes of his "History of Cornwall:" a work which we confess has afforded us more pleasure than Mr. Gough's History of Dorset; for it is written with more sprightliness, and enriched with quotations which, if not more apposite, are at least more animated and picturesque. In both works, however, we have by far too much of the general history of the island for mere topographies, and in both, also, and especially in the latter, the plates are most vilely executed. Mr. Polwhele professes to give us an account of the agriculture of Cornwall, but we in vain look for any thing like an experimental or practical knowledge of the subject: he is most at home when he can apply a poetic quotation in aid of his own descriptions, and his language bears too generally the marks of what may perhaps not unaptly be denominated *Aonian provincialism*.

Mr. W. Dickinson has very considerably augmented a work published, in one volume 4to, in 1787, by his relation Mr. Dickinson Rastall, entitled a "History of the Antiquities of the Town and Church of Southwell, in the County of Nottingham;" and it now makes its appearance under the designation of "Antiquities, Historical, Architectural, Chorographical, and Itinerary, in Nottinghamshire, and the adjacent Counties." In its present form, when completed, it will extend to four parts, and

and occupy two volumes quarto; of which, however, the first two parts, or first volume only is yet submitted to the public. In the author of this work we meet with—what is not always to be traced—an antiquary who combines judgement with his researches; and who does not dig into the rubbish of obsolete ages for the mere love of rubbish alone, but that he may acquire useful information, and fortify rational conjecture by indisputable facts. It is a truly valuable compilation, and highly worthy of the notice of the president and fellows of the society of antiquaries, to whom it is dedicated.

Mr. Gough, in a thin quarto volume, has given us the "History and Antiquities of Pleshy in the County of Essex, the Seat of the High Constable of England."—This work will not, in our opinion, add to the writer's justly-acquired fame. It is tedious and tautologic, erroneous in many of its clasical illustrations, and enormously encompassed with matters which have no more reference to its main subject, than they have to the history of the moon.

We are pleased at beholding a new edition of sir Robert Sebbald's "History of the Sheriffdoms of Fife and Kinross." It is accompanied with a large body of notes and illustrations from the most valuable Scottish antiquaries. We wish that the learned editor had added to his labours that of re-modelling and modernising the original diction, which at no time had any claim to taste or elegance, and is now become prodigiously burdensome to wade through. Whilst upon the subject of Scotland we may just notice, that a truly valuable, and so far as we have examined it, correct "Gazetteer" of this part of the united kingdom, has been published in the course of the present year, in one large volume octavo. It contains all the matters which are commonly introduced into books of this character, drawn from unequivocal authorities, and conveyed in neat perspicuous language. It is principally deficient in the account of the mineralogy of the country, and its fisheries: this last is a most important subject.

Of Colchester we have received an anonymous "History and Description," in two volumes, in twelves, which, though possest of no original merit, give a fair narrative of the antiquities, and modern state of this celebrated city: and what may perhaps render it of more value to some of our readers, present a detailed account of its famous *oyster fisheries*.

In Mr. Lane's "Student's Guide," we have a concise account of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn; of its history, antiquities, and modern buildings; and, which will be of far more service to the student, for whose use it is designed, it offers to us the forms of admission, keeping terms, performing exercises, call to the bar, admission to chambers, &c. We can honestly recommend it as a useful compilation.

On the subject of philology it is impossible to commence otherwise than with Mr. Astle's "Origin and Progress of Writing, as well Hieroglyphic as Elementary." The author of this excellent and elaborate quarto, has pressed his researches into the earliest periods not only of writing, but of human chronology—we mean the sacred scriptures, and following the guidance of the authors of the Universal History, whose errors are speculative, and dependent on the philosophy

philosophy of the day in which they wrote, rather than practical, and hostile to positive facts, he has made it highly probable that graphical characters were in use among the antediluvians. He next analyses these characters, and resolves them into two chief genera, picture symbols, and alphabetic symbols; and maintains that the former constitutes the original mode of conveying ideas, which alone slided progressively into a system of division, whence arbitrary or alphabetic characters issued as a mere ramification. From this theory we cannot but dissent, though we dissent with diffidence. Had we space for the purpose, we think we could render it strongly conjectural—and conjecture is all that can be obtained upon so recondite a subject—that arbitrary writing preceded every other species; that it is the most *simple* and the most *natural*. The writer of this article does not hazard an indigested idea; he has thought much, and for a long period, upon the subject; he well knows, however, that it is impossible for him to enter at large upon this important subject in the present place, but it is his intention to communicate his views in a different form. In the mean while he is proud of the opportunity he hereby possesses, though anonymously, of stating his obligations to Mr. Astle for his present superb and elaborate performance, which has given him both pleasure and instruction even in the points upon which he still finds himself compelled to dissent. The work is beautifully illustrated by engravings from marbles, manuscripts, and churches ancient and modern; it has already attained a second edition, and is well worthy of a twenty-second. Instead of being confined, moreover, to ancient tongues, it takes a general sweep over languages at large, and is ingeniously diffuse, and we had almost said completely satisfactory, on the letters of our own country.

Closely connected with this subject, we cannot avoid noticing Mr. Pegge's Letter, containing, "Anecdotes of the English Language, chiefly regarding the local Dialect of London and its Environs;" from which it should appear that many expressions now commonly deemed ungraceful, or even ungrammatical by well educated persons, were formerly employed by the best speakers and writers, and, if traced to the fountain head of the languages wherein they are derived, are strictly grammatical, and ought not to have been departed from. Departed from, however, they have been for ages, and the departure is now so completely established, and coincident with genuine English grammar and euphony, that whatever claim to purity such contested vulgarisms may possess in their mother *Gothic* or *Saxon*, we almost regret that the question should have been stirred in the present day. The terms *worse* and *less*, are positives in the Saxon, but they are not *positives* but *comparatives* among ourselves; and how proper soever therefore it may be to admit of a comparative increment in the former, we cannot on this account allow the use of *worser* or *lesser* in the latter.

"Commentaries on Classical Learning: by the Rev. D. H. Urquhart, M. A. Prebendary of Lincoln." These commentaries are in every respect incomplete; as specimens of original criticisms, they offer nothing of importance; as the *hash-meat* of former philologists, they might have been derived from

authors of more taste and general learning; and as an epitome of Greek and Latin literature, they are replete with sins both of omission and commission.

Upon the same subject we have received an English version of the baroness Stael de Holstein's "Treatise on ancient and modern Literature, illustrated by striking References to the principal Events and Characters that have distinguished the French Revolution."—"As I survey the revolutions of the globe," says our author, through the medium of her interpreter, "and the succession of ages, one great idea is ever uppermost in my mind, from which I never allow my attention to be diverted—I mean the *perfectibility* of the human race." Such a thing *may* be true, but in the department of classical science, this *Treatise on ancient and modern Literature* has given more proofs of the contrary than we have lately perceived in any production; and the writer and the translator have equally contributed to reverse the order of amelioration which is here so strenuously advocated.

We have to notice the first volume, in twelves, of a work entitled, "Critical and Philosophical Essays: by the Author of the Adviser," which appears to have been composed for scarcely any other purpose than that of abusing Dr. Blair, his opinions, and his writings; of pulling down a respectable structure, without laying any plan or offering any materials for substituting a better. Who was the *adviser* of this *Adviser* we know not; but we suspect, in the language of the bar, that he was a seditious, malicious, and evil-disposed person, not having the fear of God before his eyes.

"Observations on the Drama, with a View to its more beneficial Effects on the Morals and Manners of Society. By Edward Greene." If any great degree of benefit may be expected from an utter extinction of the drama, these observations may aspire to a great portion of the benefit that would be produced; for, were they fully carried into effect, such would be its ultimate issue. In the first place, no drama ought to be written in metre—no, not even in blank verse, for blank verse is not the language of passion. In the next, never ought a ghost to appear upon the stage, nor any preternatural machinery to be employed; for such is not the character of common life; and "the tragic muse should confine itself to the *quiet* haunts and to the *natural* scenes and circumstances of domestic life, in a forcible and affecting pourtray of individual suffering." An *apology* is offered for Shakspeare upon the latter head, deduced from the assertion, unproved and unprovable, that ghosts in his day were uniformly accredited by the bulk of mankind, and were introduced in opposition to the poet's own better judgement, from the low and despicable motive of sacrificing at the shrine of vulgar belief. Nothing can be more derogatory to the genius of our immortal bard, than such an assertion. Shakspeare needs no apology: his ghosts, instead of being introduced either without or against his judgement, evince the utmost degree of judgement by their introduction: he always finds a sufficient occasion for their appearance; the *dignus vindice nodus* is in every instance complied with; they assume a character, an action, an importance that belongs to them, and hence the wide difference between the ghosts of Shakspeare and

and those of many modern dramatists, than which nothing can be more absurd, because nothing can be less wanting.

"A Dissertation on the Mysteries of the Cabiri, by George Stanley Faber," 2 vols. 8vo. This is an attempt, in addition to that which was lately brought forward by Mr. Allwood, to revive and verify, by new exemplifications, the late Mr. Bryant's theory of ancient mythology. The superstitious and religious mysteries of Egypt and the adjoining countries were, if our memory fail us not, attributed by the latter to three prime sources—the ark, the sun, and the serpent; the system is now simplified by a resolution into two original sources alone: "The idolatry of the gentile world seems," says our author, "to have been built almost universally upon a traditional remembrance of certain real events. These events I apprehend to be the destruction of the first race of mankind by the waters of the deluge, and the introduction of the Sabian superstition by Nimrod." Mr. Faber has carefully retrodden the ground which has been so often trodden before with attention and skill; and the harvest he has brought home, though of no great value in our estimation, will probably be highly prized by every student in the same school.

We have been much pleased with Mr. Clarke's "Testimonies of different Authors respecting the Colossal Statue of Ceres, placed in the Vestibule of the public Library at Cambridge." This little pamphlet discloses an equal degree of sound classical learning, and indefatigable activity. The statue was discovered by Mr. Clarke at Eleusis, in a tour through Greece, and with much address and mechanical skill conveyed from the spot in which he traced it, amidst the opposition of the natives, who regarded the idol as the divine protectress of their fields.

A new edition of Anacreon has been published in octavo, by Mr. E. Forster: the text and order are those of Barnes; a few various readings have, however, been added, and the type, which is Italic, is exquisitely elegant and accurate.—These odes have also been once more subjected to an English version—an effort which has been attempted by Dr. Girdlestone; yet we cannot even at present boast of a translation that is altogether worthy of the original. Dr. Girdlestone is less diffuse, and closer than many of his predecessors, but he wants the ease and freedom that peculiarly characterise the Teian bard. The best version we yet possess, is perhaps Mr. Moore's: but here, while ease and freedom are sufficiently preserved, we lose all the terseness, the Attic brevity, and indeed half the ideas of the original, in the wild and unrestrained luxuriance of the translator's own fancy.

"The Argonautics of Apollonius Rhodius" have been respectably rendered into English verse by Mr. Preston, and constitute, in conjunction with the translator's critical, historical, and explanatory notes and dissertations, three octavo volumes. The version is extremely unequal in every respect: we have sometimes an admirably executed passage, in the midst of tameness and insipidity; at other times lines well turned, and pauses gracefully varied, terminating all of a sudden in others that discover the dullest and most unpractised ear. The similitudes are occasionally, moreover, introduced with

care, and ably maintained, and at other times totally neglected, or misunderstood. Yet upon the whole, the translator appears sufficiently to have acquainted himself, not only with the text of his author, but with his general scope, intention, and peculiar characteristics. These are minutely and satisfactorily illustrated in the subjoined essays and dissertations, which we have perused with no small degree of profit or pleasure.

"The Lyrics of Horace, comprising his Odes, Epodes, and Secular Odes," have once more, we perceive, been tortured into English, by an anonymous translator, who has taken the most effectual way in the world to prove his own incapacity for the task he has undertaken, by reprinting the Latin text, as he tells us in his title, in a *subjoined* form, but which in the book itself, instead of being *subjoined*, runs *level* with the version, and in opposite pages.

M. Segur's "Women," containing a pleasing account of their condition and influence in society, in almost every period as well as country of the world, has been translated into English. The version, so far as we have perused it, is neat and faithful.

From the college of Fort William, in Bengal, lately established with a spirit and a policy, an attention to Oriental learning, and a taste for polite literature, which will immortalise his memory, by the marquis of Wellesley, we have received an octavo volume of "Essays by the Students," which reflect high credit upon the attainments of this juvenile institution. To the essays are added the theses pronounced at the public disputations in the Oriental languages, on February 6, 1802. The essays are nine in number, of which the first three are "On the Advantages of an academical Institution in India, considered in a moral, literary, and political point of View;" the second three, "On the best Means of acquiring a Knowledge of the Manners and Customs of the Natives of India;" and the last three, "On the Character and Capacity of the Asiatics, and particularly of the Natives of Hindustan." Of the theses there are three; and of these the first, pronounced in the Persian language by Mr. Lovett, is design to prove, that an "academic institution in India is advantageous to the natives, and to the British nation; the second, spoken by Mr. Martin, in the Bengalee tongue, contends that "the Asiatics are capable of as high a degree of civilisation as the Europeans;" and the third, delivered in the Hindustanee by Mr. Bayley, asserts, that "the Hindustanee language is the most useful in India."

It is with much pleasure that we can introduce to our readers a new edition of the Tatler, Spectator, Guardian, and similar periodical papers, which, under the title of "The British Essayists," have been re-ushered into the world, in forty-five volumes, 18mo., by Mr. A. Chalmers. The range in this collection is complete; for it commences with "The Tattler," and closes with "The Observer:" and what renders the work in its present form very highly advantageous and instructive is, that it is accompanied with "Prefaces historical and biographical," contributed by the editor himself, and containing a very large portion of curious and amusing information, in a fluent and animated diction.

From Mr. S. Turner, to whose "History of the Anglo-Saxons,"

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we have already paid our compliments, we have also received a "Vindication of the Genuineness of the ancient British Poems of Aneurin, Taliessin, Llywarch-Hen, and Merdhin." The want of bardic characters—for we still dare to maintain such a position, notwithstanding the assertions of Mr. Davies and several other Welch scholars—has confounded much of the history and productions of the Cymrian poets together, and not only rendered it difficult to assign to each their several dues, but accurately to ascertain whether some who are stated to have been highly inspired by the Myvyrian Muses ever had any actual existence. In this respect the critical labours before us are highly useful. Mr. Turner has decided much, though much is still doubtful. He seems disposed to abandon the Triads, and treats as unauthentic considerably more than half the poems commonly attributed to the writers who are the subjects of his researches. He has still left us enough for every purpose.

We hail the appearance of a third edition of Mr. Ellis's very valuable "Specimens of the early English Poets," which is now materially altered, and, what is of still more consequence, materially improved both by the introduction of new matter and a liberal use of the pruning-hook. Mr. Ellis has long recommended the publication of several of our old metrical romances, as a useful addition to the literature of the day; and it appears to have been in consequence of such recommendation that Mr. Ritson brought forwards, in three volumes octavo, his selection of "Ancient English Romances." Mr. Ritson is now no more; but this last production will remain a standard monument of his deep research, indefatigable activity, and perhaps unrivalled knowledge of his subject. We lament to add that it will also remain a standard monument of morbid irritability of temper, and the grossest blasphemy and fanaticism. The work opens with a long and curious dissertation on romance and minstrelsy, which is replete with proofs of a thorough knowledge of our earliest language, and enriched with many specimens of its relative powers and value: but which is, nevertheless, in many instances, unsupported in its conjectures, and disfigured by the wildest and most extravagant conceits. The selections themselves are highly curious and entertaining, and the poet and the philologist may banquet upon them with equal delight.

Among the poems of the present year we have none that soar to the character of the epic; but we have, nevertheless, been presented with a far more valuable collection than we have been able to boast for several years preceding.

We commence with "The Temple of Nature, or the Origin of Society; a Poem with Philosophical Notes. By Erasmus Darwin, M. D." So short and uncertain is the term of human life, that the writer of the present, like that of the preceding work, is now no more: yet the fame of both, often the best part of existence, will long survive their natural deaths, and secure for them a permanency, if not an immortality of being, sufficient to gratify the ambition of most men. The Temple of Nature is a didactic poem, and the author has endeavoured, more

fully than in any former metrical essay, to develope his system of zoology, and enliven it by all the variable graces and polished beauties of sweet persuasive numbers. With this system few of our readers are unacquainted, and we need not therefore unfold it in detail. The poem, by its plan, is divided into four parts or cantos, of which the first treats of the production of life; the second of its reproduction; the third of the progress of the mind; and the fourth of good and evil. In its structure and diction it combines all the common excellencies and defects of this celebrated writer; its versification is polished, but its pauses monotonous; its images are splendid, but they are generic and general; every thing is personified, and moving; but while all is alive, all is, at the same time, alike. We have two other objections, moreover, to advance, of considerably more moment; the one is, that the poem before us makes by far too free a use of that which its author has formerly published—we mean the Botanic Garden; and the other, that the writer has intermixed, in the most incongruous manner, the dogmas of different creeds and systems: here Moses concurs with Buffon, and Ovid with St. Paul. All are represented as possessing an equal authority, and inculcating the same sublime and important truths.—Here, and here alone, Dante and Camoens are completely put to the blush.

Mr. Good's exquisite version of the "Song of Songs," as a translation of a part of the Bible, we have already noticed in our first chapter, under the head of Biblical criticism, to which we refer the reader of taste and feeling.

"Poems Lyrical and Miscellaneous: by the *late* Rev. Henry Moore, of Liskeard." Again are we compelled to make our annual register of worth and genius an obituary: the author of these excellent compositions is also *no more*. They were written at different periods of his life, and in all probability would have been earlier circulated among the public, and have acquired for him that meed of approbation for which he seems to have been ingenuously panting, and of which he was unquestionably deserving; but that his retired situation, as the dissenting minister of a congregation in a very remote part of the country, gave him no opportunity of manifesting, till towards the common verge of life, the sprightly and poetic powers with which he was gifted. At this period, fortunately for him, a manuscript copy of his productions fell into the hands of Dr. Aikin, who, with his usual taste and judgement, conceiving highly of the merits of the poems transmitted to him, liberally undertook to superintend their publication and usher them into the world. The success they met with was in proportion to their desert; and we understand that the hoary bard lived just long enough to be enraptured by the intelligence. He died in the full and consoling consciousness that the world was at length just to his merits. The poems of which the volume consists, are, as the title imports, for the most part lyrical; we can add, that they are uniformly musical, and moral, or devotional. They display a tasteful ear and an accurate judgement, much warmth of imagination and poetic imagery. Their chief failure is in a want of characteristic, discriminative

discriminative painting: every thing is here equal; and, as we have just observed of Dr. Darwin's Temple of Nature, while every thing is alive, every thing is alike.

"Scottish Scenery, or Sketches in Verse; descriptive of Scenes chiefly in the Highlands of Scotland." This quarto volume, the production of Dr. Cririe, is a poetical tour through the country described in the title. It is sufficient to say, that he *might* have been more elevated in prose, more entertaining, more eloquent. He is, nevertheless, sufficiently free and easy; and the *numerisque fertur lege solutis* is so generally adhered to, that we are at times compelled to search for a foot-rule, and notice the adjusted capitals of every line, before we have been able to ascertain whether the reading has been prose or poetry. The work is accompanied with notes and illustrations, and ornamented with engravings, neither of which detract from the general value of the performance.

Mr. G. O. Cambridge has published, in a large quarto volume, an entire collection of the "Works" of his deceased father, which, as they are chiefly poetical, require a notice in this place. Of these works the Scribbleriad, a poem long since published separately, is the most important. Its merit has been established by the award of the public. An agreeable life of the author is prefixed, and does credit to the filial piety of the editor.

Of the smaller poetical contributions, we have to remark a version of select "Poems from the Portuguese of Luis de Camoens, by Lord Viscount Strangford;" possessing very considerable merit of every kind, but rather too paraphrastic and luxuriant: "Rhapsodies, by W. H. Ireland, author of the Shakesperian MSS." which remind us of a transaction that would prevent the possibility of our praising them, if they were entitled to more praise than they can lay pretensions to: "Narrative Poems, by Mr. D'Israeli;" highly laboured, but often loaded with affected phraseologies: "Scottish descriptive Poems," edited by Mr. Leyden, but whose taste is capable of improvement, if we may judge from the selections before us, and especially from his own versions: "The Picture, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles, being Verses suggested by a magnificent Landscape of Rubens:" "Nugæ Poeticæ, by Dr. Sayers," possessing the usual taste and elegance of this accomplished scholar: "The Defence of Order, by Jos. Walker, A. M.," a poem better intended than executed, clear in its language, but seldom animated with the living fire of the muses: "Select Poems, by the Author of Indian Antiquities;" being the best of Mr. Maurice's poetic effusions, and consequently those which contain most of his refulgent imagery, and full-resounding diction: "The Enquiry," being the *first* and, from the degree of merit it possesses, we suppose the *last* part of a larger work which the anonymous author appears to have in safe custody in his escrutoire: "Epigrams, in Two Books; by W. B. Rhodes," in which the wit is often so concealed as to render them rebuses, rather than anything else: "The Voyage Home from the Cape of Good Hope, by H. W. Tytler, M. D.;" which may afford amusement to the Hottentots, but ought to be below the

notice of English readers: "Poems on various Subjects, by Mrs. Grant, of Laggan," evincing a very creditable portion of poetic animation, a refined taste, and a feeling heart; "Scenes of Youth, or Rural Recollections, with other Poems, by Wm. Holloway;" to which a second volume has since been added, and which is not unworthy of the public favour that it hence appears to have acquired: "Society, a Poem in Two Parts, with other Poems, by James Kenney;" to whose *society* it is enough for us to have had the honour of having been once introduced, and which we found intolerably dull and monotonous: "Poems by Peter Bayley, jun. Esq.," which prove that though the writer has no pretensions to the character of a poet, he has to that of a poetic *reader*; and which prove also that in his own person he is as little acquainted with *honesty* as with the muses; for the sum and substance of almost every piece here presented to us is outrageously pillaged from other writers, without the least acknowledgement or reference: "Clifton Grove, a Sketch in Verse, with other Poems, by H. R. White," the whole of whose productions are matured beyond his years, and many of which are exquisitely tender, pathetic, and polished:—Mr. White appears indeed to have first fallen in love with the Muses when a boy of thirteen; he is now not more than seventeen or eighteen years' old: "Scenes of Infancy; descriptive of Tiviotdale, by John Leyden;" smooth, level, correct; but unanimated, uninteresting, and unpoetical: "Calista, a Picture of modern Life, a Poem in Three Parts, by Luke Booker, LL. D.;" a name well known in the middle regions of Parnassus, and for whom, if this effusion do not obtain a more exalted post, it will not displace him to an inferior.

The dramas of the present day are worked up like spruce-beer at the demand of the moment, and are designed for immediate use alone. The fame of the greater part of those which belong to the period before us has already fleeted by, and it is scarcely worth while to stop the *perituræ chartæ*. Mr. Reynolds has contributed two plays, of which the first is entitled "Delays and Blunders, a Comedy in Five Acts;" and the second "The Caravan;" which is called a *serio-comic* romance, in two acts: Mr. Boaden has produced two also—"The Voice of Nature, a Play in Three Acts;" and "The Maid of Bristol," of the same description and length: Mr. Allingham has also contributed two; "Hearts of Oak, a Comedy in Five Acts," and "Mrs. Wiggins, a Comic Piece in Two Acts." Besides these, Mr. Holcroft has produced "Hear both Sides, a Comedy in Five Acts;" Mr. H. Siddons "A Tale of Terror, in Three Acts;" and Mr. Kenney "Raising the Wind, a Farce in Two Acts."

The old romance of Amadis de Gaul has had the distinguished honour of being, either in whole, or in part, twice naturalised in our own language in the course of the current year. Mr. Southey has rendered it entire, and with interesting effect, from the Spanish version of Garciordonez de Montalvo: the translation is in prose, and occupies four volumes in twelves. Mr. Rose has rendered the first book into Iambic verse. It occupies one volume octavo and, from the spirit it manifests,

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we trust the rest will speedily follow.

The most popular novels are versions from the French; of which we may first mention "Delphine, by Madame de Stael-Holstein;" which has been translated by two different hands, and amidst a prodigious quantity of the common jargon of sentimental love, is *laudably* designed to prove the superiority of deism over revealed religion. "The Depraved Husband and the Philosophic Wife" is an original production of madame Genlis, and is little calculated, by the possession of intrinsic merit, to add to her fame either in France or England. We have also had the "Estelle" of M. Florian, translated by Mr. Maxey.—Of those which are best entitled to notice, as the original productions of our own country, are Mr. Pickersgill's "Three Brothers;" "Leopold;" "Thaddeus of Warsaw, by Miss Porter;" "Very Strange, but Very True, or the History of an old Man's young Wife, by Francis Lathom;" "Letters of Miss Riversdale;" and Mrs. Helmes's "St. Clair of the Isles;" to which we may add, as not possessing a more definite place for their classification, "The Wanderer, by Mr. Fothergill;" and Dr. Cowper's "Tourifications of Malachi Meldrum, Esq."

FOREIGN

FOREIGN LITERATURE

Of the Year 1803.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

NO foreign people have so voluminously engaged in theological criticism and polemics as the Germans, and on this account we commence with their productions. It is impossible, indeed, to notice the whole, but we shall endeavour to give a brief sketch of the chief of those which have reached ourselves. In the protestant church, for it is necessary to make a division, we perceive with much pleasure that the late M. Rosenmüller has a son worthy of being his successor in the province of sacred literature; and who, in imitation of his father's "Scholia" upon the New Testament, has just brought forward his own "Scholia" upon the Old. The system chalked out by the former Rosenmüller is here pursued to its utmost latitude; the same views, the same feelings, the same imaginations. Perused with hesitating scrupulosity, it will be found a valuable work in any country. The termination of the "Philosophical, critical, and historical Commentaries of Professor Paulus on the Evangelists," we noticed in our last volume; and in the "Erläute rungen zum neuen Testamente (Illustrations of the New Testament), of Dr. Stolz, of Bremen," we perceive a critic worthy of treading in his steps. We are compelled to remark, however, that M. Stolz, like Paulus, appears to us to indulge by far too largely in conjectural criticism. We can by no means always approve of the proposed emendations.

Professor Vater, of Halle, has published a commentary on the Pentateuch, to which the same observations will apply, and which is accompanied by a sort of abridgement of the critical and explanatory notes of our own countryman Dr. Geddes, whose Biblical labours have long been received with more warmth of approbation in Germany than at home. Professor Smidt, of Giessen, in conjunction with his learned colleague, continues his elucidation of the New Testament, and the most ancient history of the church, in a work entitled "Bibliothek für Kritik und Exegese der Neuen Testaments, und die älteste Kritengeschichten." This plan we need not, at this period, point out; the ability with which it is conducted evinces

evinces no defalcation. M. Güte has at length published his "Einleitung in die Psalmen," "Introduction to the Psalms;" and M. Schulze his "Literary Character and Estimation of the Epistles of St. Peter, St. Jude, and St. James," "Schrift-stellerische Character und Werth des Petrus, Judas, und Jacobus, zum behuf der Special Hermeneutik ihren Schriften untersucht und bestimmt." The former contains many pertinent observations, and ingenious surmises: the latter is a critical investigation of the chief doctrinal points contained in the epistles in question, and offers an able solution of many difficulties which have often been conceived to attach to them.

In Germany, also, we meet with a multitude of periodical publications devoted to the pursuits of theology, which are well worth noticing, although consisting of detached papers and essays. Of these we ought not to forbear to mention the "Manual of ecclesiastical History," "Ausführliches Handbuch der Christlichen Kirchengeschichte," by professor Smidt, whose name we have already noticed with approbation. This is one of the best journals of the kind which have reached us; it has now completed its second volume, and we trust it will long be persevered in. The ablest papers of which it consists are written by M. Smidt himself, and by M. Henke, of Helmstädt. M. Henke is an indefatigable writer; for, independently of the casual assistance he thus renders his friend, the professor of Giessen, he is also the editor of a journal of a similar description, under the title of "Magazin für Religions Philosophie, Exegese, und Kirchengeschichte," "Magazine of theological Philosophy and Criticism, and ecclesiastical History," which has now closed its twelfth volume; and is busily engaged in an extensive "General History of the Christian Church, chronologically arranged," "Allgemeine Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche nach Zeitfolge," which has already advanced to its fifth volume, and brings down the history of the church to the last century. M. Henke gives the most evident proofs of an enlarged and liberal mind, a masculine judgement, and the possession of an ample store of information for the important subjects on which he is engaged. At Tubingen we meet with a magazine of a similar kind, edited by professor Flat. At Marpurg a second, under the conduct of professor Wachler; and at Altdorf a third, superintended by professor Gabler. The "Beyträge zur Beförderung, &c.," "Contributions towards promoting a rational Mode of thinking in Religion," published in Switzerland, under the guidance of the late learned M. Corrodori, is still continued under the title of "Neue Beyträge, &c." and is possessed of the same erudition and spirit.

Among the German catholics the publications chiefly worthy of notice are the "Geistliche Monatschrift, &c.," "Spiritual Magazine, for the Use of the Clergy of the Bishopric of Constance," commenced under the patronage of the baron Dalberg, the late bishop of this city, a learned and liberal work; but now, in consequence of the death of the worthy prelate, unfortunately discontinued; and the "Hebersetzung und Anslegung der neuen Testaments, &c.," "Translation and Explanation of the New Testament, for the Use of the Clergy," by professor Schwarzel, of Freyberg. This last work is patronised by the present bishop of Constance, and is of a very

very different description from that which it has unworthily superseded. The version differs but in few places from the Douay edition, and the explanations are possessed of all its bigotry and commination. Upon the whole, however, the spirit of catholic liberality is considerably increasing; and such publications as M. Kiepler's "Kleines Magazin," "Small Magazine for religious Teachers," published at Landshut; M. Seik's "Bibliothek für Geistliche, &c.," "Library for Clergymen in Town and Country;" and professor Geishapner's "Theologische Moral," "Theological System of Morality," both published at Linz, are admirably calculated to augment it still further.

The volumes of sermons, as also the single sermons, disposed of at the last Leipsic fair, are very numerous, but in no instance, so far as we are acquainted with them, possessed of such a pre-eminency of merit as to entitle them to individual notice in the present brief sketch. We shall therefore conclude our account of the theological productions of Germany by glancing at a work which, in the present state of religious polemics in our own country, is well worth perusing—we mean the "Weiderlegung einiger der Wichtigsten Einwendungen gegen die Ächtheit der Evangeliums Joannis," "Refutations of various Objections against the Authenticity of St. John's Gospel," a work of real merit, and warmly and deservedly recommended by professor Ziegler, in an introduction prefixed to it.

The re-establishment of the catholic religion in France has not yet produced any original works of prominent value or importance, though it has occasioned new editions of several that were out of print, as well as a few translations from authors of our own country. Among the former may be mentioned the "Pensées," "Thoughts of Father Bourdaloue of the Society of Jesus," in three volumes twelves; "History of the Establishment of Christianity in the East Indies," by the French bishops, in two volumes twelves; and the "Agreement of the Book of Genesis with Geology, and human Records, upon the Facts and Epochs of the Creation, and the universal Deluge," by the elder M. Gervais de la Prise, one volume octavo. Among the latter may be instanced "Mr. Jenyns's Evidence of the Christian Religion, followed by Fenelon's Plan upon the same Subject, together with his Thoughts on Providence; and still further augmented by a Discourse of the late Dr. Blair, on the Advantages of Religion, and the Maxims of Christianity."

M. Lucet, author of the "Principles of universal Canon Law," has published a work entitled "La Réligion Catholique, &c.," "The Catholic Religion the only true Religion, and the sole suitable to the Dignity and Wants of Man." The principles inculcated, as well as the spirit that pervades it, may easily be surmised from the title. We are sorry to behold any considerable body of Frenchmen thus for ever running from extreme to extreme—from monarchy to anarchy, from anarchy to tyranny, from superstition to atheism, and from atheism to fanaticism and bigotry.

From the short interval we have enjoyed of a general peace, and the unhappy revival of a new war, it has not been easy to obtain importations of French works upon any subject; and we have hence been incapable of noticing, till the present moment, a publication of M. Necker,

M. Necker, which, in point of date, ought to have been introduced into our account of foreign literature for the last or even the preceding year. The work we refer to is entitled "Cours de Morale Réligieuse," "Course of religious Morality," and was printed at Paris in three volumes octavo. Its object is to inculcate and revive religious impressions in France, which of late years have been felt in a very superficial and contracted degree, and which even at present, now that Christianity in every form may be publicly professed with less danger of derision than a few years ago, do not appear to have taken any very deeply-rooted hold of the heart, or to have been rendered generally apparent otherwise than by official parade, and the sinister countenance of the existing government. This then being the object of M. Necker's work, we have next to observe that its form is sermonic; that it is divided into five sections, and each section into a certain number of discourses, introduced with, or dependent upon, a preliminary text selected for the occasion. The whole catalogue of sermons amounts to twenty-nine; of which the first section, devoted to a consideration of the grounds of natural religion and morality, contains four, the subjects being the existence of a God, the union of morality with the divine perfections, the doctrine of a Providence, and the immortality of the soul. The second section comprises the reciprocal duties between man and man, as truth, justice, and charity. The third extends to duties which result from family connexions and dependencies, as those of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant. The fourth section is directed to predominant and immoral passions, such as envy, vanity, ambition, and the lust of gain. The fifth and last takes a general survey of the Christian religion, and of the various systems by which it is opposed. We have never regarded M. Necker as a rigid dialectician; a writer whose arguments, even when he condescends to adopt any, follow with close succession, or legitimate and necessary dependence: he is a declaimer rather than a logician; and in the work before us his apostrophes and personifications are often extended to subjects that render them rather ludicrous than impressive, and debase the topic it is his indubitable intention to exalt. Thus, in the introduction of a sermon upon death, we meet with the following exclamation—"Death! death! What is this name which I am pronouncing? Death! every thing flies, every thing vanishes before it. What a dreadful and funereal image am I about to propose to your meditations! The spring has enamelled our fields, the earth is adorned with fresh splendor, the flowers, the plants, the fields, our groves, our gardens, our meadows, all are animated, all embellished. Death! and shall you be suffered, &c." A sermon on the subject of *love* seems to have been chiefly composed out of a spirit of commiseration for old maids and old bachelors, and kindly to assure them —from what authority we know not—that in the indulgence of this passion they shall be happier in the next world than they have been in this. "Ah! ye, too, have equal vows to make, ye tender friends! ye affectionate souls! who have never been able to trace on earth a companion worthy of your own refined sentiments, console yourselves! *live in hope*; for you awaits a futurity in which your nature, rendered perfect, will discover *its counterpart*." The style seldom varies from

from this stilted and gaudy sublimity; and though we confess we perceive nothing that is inconsistent with "*religious* morality," we behold very little that refers to the peculiar doctrines or sanctions of the *Christian* faith. The texts are deduced from the Bible; but the infidel may make as free a use both of the texts selected, and the discourses deduced from them, as the Christian himself. They are hence sermons of universal application: but this is according to M. Necker's mode; whose religion is rather a system of feeling, than of practicable doctrine.

America is rather a recipient of theological labours from the old world, than a contributor by the exercise of her own efforts. Its principal exertions are in the line of sermons upon temporary and local events, and which are almost always published in the form of single discourses. Of these we may notice Mr. Spring's "Sermon delivered before the Massachusetts' Missionary Society," from Rom. xi. 25; intended to prove that the Gentiles are to be the medium, in the hands of Providence, of converting the Jews: Mr. M'Leod's, in opposition to the slave-trade, preached before the "Reformed Presbyterian Congregation, in the City of New York;" a subject of considerable moment, in reference to the place in which it was delivered: Mr. Hempill's "On the Nature of religious Fastings," which appears to be rather serious than eloquent, rather diffuse than impressive.

Independently of these effusions, we perceive an anonymous publication entitled "A Paraphrase on eight Chapters of the Prophecy of Isaiah, wherein it is attempted to express the Sense of the Prophet, in proper English style." The paraphrase is more brief than explicit, and rather designed to convey an idea of the writer's individual opinion than of the real scope of the prophecy itself. Dr. Bendinct has thought it necessary to add another answer to Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason," which he has brought forwards under the title of "The Age of Revelation, or the Age of Reason shown to be an age of Infidelity." The writer would have performed a better service, in our apprehension, by re-editing one or two of the numerous replies which have been so successfully published against this blundering and infidel book in our own country, and especially those of the bishop of Landaff, or the late Mr. Wakefield.

Mr. Dobson has brought forwards "Letters on the Existence and Character of the Deity, and on the moral State of Man;" a useful and judicious volume; and Dr. Dwight, in a new edition of "Dr. Watts's Psalms," has added many of his own, by a version of various Psalms omitted by the original translator; and has moreover altered several of those already before him. We do not, in general, perceive that much is gained by this spirit of innovation; nor is it necessary for us to designate those which are introduced by Dr. Dwight himself; the very inferior poetry they exhibit sufficiently indicates them, without further interference.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

IN the department of the healing art, we have a range before us so wide, and filled with publications so valuable, that it is with difficulty we shall be able to restrain ourselves within the bounds to which we are necessarily limited. We shall commence with the productions of France, and shall first notice the "Medical and Philosophic Treatise on mental Derangement, by Ph. Pinel, Chief Physician at the Hospital at Saltpetriere, and Professor in the School of Medicine at Paris." This is the work of a vigilant and intelligent practitioner. Mr. Pinel was formerly physician to the Bicétre, an extensive hospital for lunatics, in the vicinity of Paris: he asserts that he had always a strong desire to investigate cases of insanity, and the situation he then possessed gave him ample scope for the gratification of his predominant inclination. The treatise is introduced by a preliminary dissertation upon subjects generally connected with the malady in question, and forms one of the most valuable parts of the book. The work is then divided into five sections; in the first of which the author treats of periodic or intermittent madness; in the second of the moral treatment of the diseased; the third contains anatomic inquiries into the defective conformation of the skulls of the insane; in the fourth the author offers a new arrangement of the disorder; in the fifth presents his outline of the proper internal police for a lunatic hospital; and in the sixth and last developes his principles of medical treatment and regimen. M. Pinel pays several handsome compliments to the practitioners of our own country for their successful results, but laments at the same time, and certainly not without reason, that men, who from extensive experience should be capable of communicating much valuable information, should communicate so sparingly. It is mortifying to the pride of medical science to perceive, after all, how little is known of the nature of this disease—the most cruel that can afflict the human race, by whomsoever, and in what place soever, it may chance to be studied. We cannot, *to a certainty*, trace the remotest degree of organic injury in the brain, as its immediate cause: an inflammatory affection in the membranes of the brain itself is, indeed, *occasionally* found on dissection after death, but by no means always; and even in the cases in which it occurs, it is impossible to ascertain with precision whether such appearance be the cause or the consequence. The new division offered us in this work is neither peculiarly accurate, nor peculiarly scientific: it comparts the disease into five distinct species—melancholy or delirium restricted to one object; mania without delirium; mania with delirium; abstraction (demence) or abolition of thought; and idiotism. We could easily point out a variety of errors into which such a system must necessarily betray us, if we had time; it is of more consequence to observe that M. Pinel very judiciously objects to the use of any degree of coercion that is not absolutely

lutely necessary; although on the mode of treatment must much depend upon the individual instance presented. He regards religious mania as the most difficult of any to dispel.

From the same able writer we have also received a volume of "Clinical Medicine;" the object of which, like that of the former work, is to introduce a new and more characteristic nosology. As in the former work, we think also in the present, that in this respect he has not been successful. In few words, his views are seldom perspicuous, and his practice is too timid.

Professor Vitet has published, in six volumes 8vo., his "Medicine Expectante," "Expectant Medicine," which is a work of considerable merit; and, as grounded almost entirely upon practical attention, is highly worthy of the perusal of the medical world at large. The golden mean is to determine when to act, and when to refrain from acting; since as much harm at least has been done by being too busy, as by being too quiet. In England, and our author asserts the same in France, we cannot generally be charged with the crime of remaining inactive spectators: the late Dr. Heberden is the only physician of real respectability whom we, at the present moment, recollect as being liable to this imputation; *he* was, upon every occasion, an *expectant practitioner*, but he was a most careful observer of nature; and, we believe, often accomplished more by his quietism, than the most vigorous assailants have obtained by their hardihood. The work before us, as we learn from the introductory letter, is the result of a contest which for many years seem to have been maintained at Lyons, our author's last abode, between the different physicians established in that city, and in which we are here told the *expectant* cohort at length prevailed. M. Vitet, like M. Pinel, offers us a new system of nosology; but we see nothing in it to induce those who are attached to the classifications of Sauvage or Cullen to desert them for the present. The last volume consists of a Materia Medica, but which, from the feebleness of its contents, we should suppose rather drawn up for the lady-practitioners of France, than for the profession.

MM. Nicolas and Guendeville have published, conjointly, an octavo volume of "Medical and chemical Investigations and Experiments on the Diabetes Melitus, or *Phthisurie Sucrée*," the last term being employed by themselves, but in our opinion without answering the purpose, to convey a more definite idea of the disease than its common appellation. The plan not long since proposed by our own ingenious countryman Dr. Rollo, and so powerfully confirmed by the experiments of Mr. Cruickshank, seems to be still novel in France. The experiments here detailed however, the theory of the disease, and the method proposed to be pursued in its cure, are in perfect unison; the last consisting in removing the spasmodic affection on which the disorder is conceived to depend, and in multiplying the principle of animalisation. We are sorry to find Dr. Rollo's name not treated in this volume with the respect to which he is entitled. For the rest, the account contains a full history of the diabetes, but irregular in manner, and in matter not always comprehensible.

Among the medical practitioners of Germany, we still perceive something of the same controversy between the Brunonians and the Anti-

Anti-Brunonians, which we noticed in our last year's retrospect. On the part of the former have appeared not less than two Materia Medicas, one by M. Loos of Erlang, and the other by Dr. Frank of Vienna: of these, the latter is by far the best calculated to support the theory of excitation, though the writer is an indiscriminate encomiast, and not perfectly correct in the distribution of his classes. The medical journals, which, like those upon theology, are almost innumerable, have entered into the contest, and a great number of the academical theses are devoted to the same subject. Dr. Meyer, Dr. Hartmann, and Dr. Schorndorfer, appear to be the chief supporters of the theory, in conjunction with Dr. Frank; while the "Medicinisches Archiv von Wien und Oesterrich," "Medical Archives of Vienna and Austria," for several years published under the superintendence of Dr. Ferro, a physician of considerable talents and reputation, still adheres to the old school. We perceive that the Bruno-mania is by no means confined, however, to Germany. In our last retrospect we pointed out its inroads into Spain, and we have now to notice its progress into Italy, and the publication at Florence, by signor Luigi Emiliani, M.D. of an octavo volume, entitled "Analisi delle Propositioni fundamentali della Teoria Medica de Brown." It is not, however, a book that merits an analysis for the meridian of our own metropolis. As new journals, we have to introduce the "Archiv für die Thierische Chemie," "Archives of animal Chemistry," published by Dr. Horkel, at Halle, of which the first three numbers are the whole that have yet reached us; and which, contrary to the archives of Crell and Scherer, that include both pharmacy and mineralogy, is to be confined to animal chemistry exclusively; and the "Archiv für die Pharmacie und Aerztliche Naturkunde," "Archives of Pharmacy and medical Philosophy," which may tend, in some degree, to apply the deficiencies of the former. This last is edited by MM. Schaut and Piepembring conjointly, of Cassel; and the first five numbers are the whole we have hitherto met with. Many of the articles inserted in it, and especially on chemistry, are highly valuable. M. Osiander, of Göttenburg, has published two volumes octavo, entitled "Principles of the Art of Midwifry." It contains many judicious remarks, but is by far too free in recommending the use of instruments, and not allowing Nature to perform those evolutions to which she is often competent by her own powers, and still more frequently when merely assisted by the fingers. M. Tittman, of Dresden, has completed his "System der Wundarzneykunst," "System of Surgery," consisting of the course of chirurgical lectures he lately read at the college in this city; and M. Richter, of Göttingen, has published the sixth volume of his "Aufangsgründe Wundarzneykunst," Elements of Surgery," constituting, in every respect, a companion worthy of the volumes which have preceded it.

In Italy, independently of M. Emiliani's "Analysis," which we have just glanced at, we cannot avoid noticing the "Institutioni di Medicina forense," "Institutions of forensic Medicine," by M. Tortosa of Vicenza; which is an able publication upon this branch of medical science: and, as forensic or judicial medicine, the study of it which enables us to give a clear and perspicuous account of diseases

and their consequences in courts of justice, is by no means so much attended to in our own country as in many parts of the continent, the work before us is entitled to attention: it extends to two volumes octavo. We have also met with a clear and judicious account of the epidemic that prevailed at Genoa during its siege in 1799 and 1800, under the modest title of "Storia della Febbreepidemica di Genova." It is written by M. Giovanni Rason, and published in one volume octavo at Milan. It was a typhous fever, and not essentially different from that which has lately made such fatal ravages at Gibraltar and in various parts of Spain, and which is said to have been imported from Malaga. The Genoese epidemic, however, does not appear to have possessed so quick a contagion as the Malagese; nor was it so certain of mortality. We rejoice to perceive that a posthumous work of Spallanzani, on the subject of respiration, has been communicated to the public through the medium of his friend M. Sennebier. It was left in manuscript in the Italian tongue; and the only extant publication from it is in French, entitled, "Mémoires sur la Réspiration." It was printed at Geneva in the current year (1803), and has already found an introduction into our own country. The volume consists of three memoirs; of which the first treats of the respiration of snails, whether with or without shells: the second, on that of the aquatic testacea, as the viviparous snail, the helix vivipara of Linnæus, and the duck and swan muscle, the mytilus anatinus, and cygneus: the third presents reflexions and new experiments on the crustacea hitherto examined, as well as on other animals of different orders. This volume does not comprise the whole of the manuscript which was left behind him by this ingenious zoölogist on his decease: an additional volume may therefore be expected daily, though the work will at last be imperfect, as the abbé did not live to complete the entire plan which he had projected.

The medical publications which have chiefly excited an attention from the Dutch press are, a new journal entitled, "Geneeskundig Magazin," "Magazine of Medicine," by MM. Van Stripian Luiscius; C. G. Ontyd; M. J. Macquelin; and J. Van Heekeren. We have hitherto received of this journal only the first four numbers; and, independently of the very respectable names specified in the title, we meet with others in the body of the work, who have been occasional contributors, of at least equal celebrity; such as Vanden Bosch, Van Geuns, and Runk. We are hence induced to augur well of this new undertaking. The Amsterdam medical society has published the seventh volume of its proceedings; in which we observe several important cases that we are sorry we cannot find room to detail. M. Bake, in an octavo volume, entitled, "De Staatkundige Handhaving, &c.," "Cases of the State for the Life and Health of the Inhabitants," has republished three very valuable discourses of Van Geuns, pronounced in 1777 and 1778, on his dismission from the rectory; to which he has subjoined various observations of his own, relative to the advantages of a medical police. And we perceive an octavo volume of "Medical Ordinances," "Geneeskundiga Berordeningen," published by the executive power of the Batavian Republic: in the course of which the chief thing worthy of observation

tion is a recommendation to the faculty, and to the public, to persevere in the use of variolous inoculation, till the effects of the vaccine are more completely established. This we are the more surprised at, because it is the only continental publication we have met with that seems indifferent to the propagation of the cow-pox; and because it does not yet appear, that either in Holland or in any other country, the doubts have been so openly entertained upon the efficacy of the practice which have of late been started among ourselves; or any instances of the anomalous return of the small-pox after cow-pox, which are stated to have occurred in different parts of England, and which, most indubitably, have occurred in two or three instances in the metropolis.

We were sorry to learn that the *Acta Medicorum Suecicorum*, "Acts of the Swedish Physicians," had declined. These were succeeded by several journals of a date nearly as short; of which the best was entitled *Vetenskaps handlingar fær læ-kare.* This too, we believe, has ceased; but it has given rise to a young phœnix, which, we trust, will attain an honourable longevity; we mean M. Hedin's "Vetenskaps Journal, &c.," "Scientific Journal of Medicine and Surgery;" of which one volume and about half the second are now before the public, and are well entitled to encouragement.

The American States have no medical publication to boast of possessing any very prominent merit. The cow-pox has excited many tracts; but of little importance among ourselves. Drs. Currie and Cathrall have endeavoured, by the advance of facts, to establish the importation and contagious nature of the yellow fever; and Mr. Sabatier has been very laudably employed in drawing up an *un*professional volume of "Hints towards promoting the Health and Cleanliness of the city of New York." Dr. Mace, in a theoretic performance, not devoid of ingenuity, entitled, "The proximate Cause of Disease," has passed in review before him the different theories of Townsend, Reich, Darwin, Rush, Wilson, and Brown; to the last of whom his own inclination obviously points. Quincey's "Medical Lexicon" has undergone a new and very considerably improved edition; and professor Barton has published a revisal of his "Collections for an Essay towards a Materia Medica of the United States." It was at first a valuable work, and is now rendered considerably more so by several judicious additions.

That we may not have to turn back again to this quarter of the globe in the course of the present chapter, we shall here remark that Mr. Hare in his "Memoir on the Supply and Application of the Blow-Pipe," has announced a very valuable improvement in this important instrument; by which, instead of using the mouth or foot, he employs a machine that impels the air by the pressure of a column of water; and is hence denominated, though not with strict propriety, the hydrostatic blow-pipe. We can only glance at the invention, without plates. In topography, geography, and agriculture, the United States have also been enriched with several respectable publications. Such are Mr. Sibbald's "Notes and Observations on the Pine-lands of Georgia;" written for the patriotic purpose of encouraging, in this district, an increased growth of cotton: Mr.

Hall's "Brief History of the Mississippi Territory," which appears to be in a highly progressive state of improvement: "Communications on different Subjects, addressed to the Bahama Agricultural Society;" in the course of which, it should seem that the exertions of this very laudable association have been attended with the best effects imaginable upon the subjects of rural economy, and a judicious recommendation and naturalisation of many valuable exotics: and a work by Mr. Thomas Moore, entitled, "The great Error of American Agriculture exposed, and Hints for Improvement suggested;" the whole of which is worthy of attention, but too complicated in its view to allow us to enter upon it in a detailed form.

We now return to the Old World. M. Comparetti of Padua, in his "Dinamica Animale degli Insetti," "Animal Dynamics of Insects," has offered a valuable work to the entomologist, so far as relates to the anatomic and microscopic descriptions of the external senses and viscera of these diminutive animals: and has corrected many of the assertions of Reaumur and the authors of the Encyclopædia Methodica, who have copied from him. M. Daudin has published at Paris a "Natural History of Tree Frogs, Frogs, and Toads, embellished with 38 Plates, representing 54 Species, painted from Nature." This is the most ample work upon the subject of the bactracian family, of which we are at present in possession: it is founded upon the prior observations of La Cépède, and especially of La Treille, to the former of whom it is dedicated. It offers much, however, that is new, and is written in a close compacted style, with a terseness and brevity of expression that forms a considerable contrast to the diction of our author's patron. While upon the subject of natural history, we ought not to forbear to notice that M. La Cépède himself has published the fifth volume of his "Natural History of Fishes;" by which this valuable and important work is at length brought to a conclusion. We have still to object, however, to the meretricious ornaments of the language in which it is composed, as well as to an occasional indulgence in unfounded conjectures. We perceive but little of the literature of Germany appropriated to the branch of natural history; the numerous journals upon this subject appear to be continued with their different degrees of merit: independently of which we have chiefly to notice M. Blumenbach's "Delineation of Objects of Natural History," and "Outlines of a general Natural History, arranged according to the Three Kingdoms;" in neither of which, however, do we trace any thing that needs to detain us. In the branch of chemistry, Galvanism appears considerably to have taken the lead; it is by far the most conspicuous article in the literary archives and magazines, and has been selected, as an individual subject, by MM. Augustin, Grapengissen, Jacobi, and Wolke. In its medical application, it seems to have been of chief utility to the deafly-dumb: and the case upon this subject, published by M. Sprenger, is well worth attention.

In the vegetable kingdom, the works that have chiefly attracted our attention are, "Les Liliacées," "Liliaceous Plants," by M. Redouté, painter to the national museum of natural history; a truly mag-

magnificent and princely work, of which the author is the sole proprietor. It is published in large folio numbers; the price of each two guineas. About six numbers are already completed; and we rejoice to find that the author has not been destitute of public encouragement. The plates consist of coloured drawings; and, we believe, are unrivalled in excellence. Dr. Savi of Pisa has published a "Treatise on the Trees of Tuscany;" which will be found a useful publication to his own countrymen: it is divided into three parts, of which the first enumerates the indigenous trees; the second, those which have been already successfully transplanted in the Tuscan territories; and the third, those which from their nature might most easily be induced to submit to transplantation. M. Mabel of Bassano has compiled a useful "Theory of the Art of Gardening." It is however, as the writer confesses, principally drawn up from Hirschfeld; and consequently partakes of his excellencies and defects. Mr. Wildenow has published at Berlin a third edition of his "Grundiss der Kreuter Kunde, &c.," "Elements of Botany." It has received many important additions, and especially in the terminology and physiology.

M. Rozin has published at Paris an "Essay on the Study of Mineralogy, with particular Reference to the Soil of France, and especially to that of Belgium." These countries have hitherto been treated with too much contempt by mineralogists, as affording nothing to repay their researches. It is a chief object with M. Rozin to prove the contrary; and he has tolerably well succeeded, especially with respect to the Low Countries. His inclination in point of arrangement is to the system of M. Haüy. M. Brochaut, on the contrary, has published an "Elementary Treatise on Mineralogy;" in the course of which he has adopted the principles of professor Werner, whose theory is by far the most fashionable on the continent. This treatise extends to two volumes octavo, and is the best and clearest elementary publication on the subject which has yet reached us. Upon the same subject, M. Hanbuisson has brought forwards at Paris his "New Theory of the Formation of Veins;" which is professedly a version from the German of M. Werner, but admirably executed; and is a rich treasure to those mineralogists who are not familiar with the German tongue.

As treatises upon natural history in general, we may mention M. Tilesin's "Annals of Natural History," "Jahrbuch der Naturgeschichte," published at Leipsic; which includes most of the new discoveries in this branch of science: and the "Lehrbuch der Naturgeschichte," "Elements of Natural History," published anonymously at Potsdam; in which a new classification is attempted; the extreme simplicity of which, renders it inadequate to its object.

M. Schmerdin's "Geognosy explained on Chemical Principles," is a book well entitled to the attention of the natural historian. Geognosy is a term lately introduced into the Wernerian system for geology; but, in our opinion, without any sufficient motive for such an innovation. For the same reason we meet with "*Geognostic* Observations made during Tours in Germany and Italy," by M. de Buch. These *geologic* observations are printed at Berlin, and evince an accurate eye, and solid judgement.

From the new term in the title, it is obvious that they are founded on the Wernerian system.

On the subject of natural philosophy, we are happy to announce M. Haüy's "Traité Elémentaire de Physique;" which we shall soon hope to see in our own tongue. It is the most systematic abstract we have yet beheld upon this comprehensive branch of human science, and it extends to the latest discoveries; of course the history of Galvanism is not omitted. The author's immediate object was the instruction of the National Lyceum. We do not find, however, the subject of meteoric stones introduced into it; though, perhaps, M. Haüy has purposely omitted it, on account of the little we are yet acquainted with the laws and origin of these extraordinary phænomena. Upon this topic we must not forget to notice M. Izarn's "Pierres tombées du Ciel," "Stones fallen from the Heavens," a work which not only notices the chief places in which they have fallen, but almost every theory which has been advanced upon this recluse subject: the author himself conceives them to be formed of different gasses in the superior regions of the atmosphere. Mr. Hassenfratz has published at Paris a very useful elementary work, entitled, "Cours de Physique Céleste," which he lately read at the polytechnic school; and which, in its present form, is intended as a *gradus* to two profounder works of M. La Place; his "Exposition of the System of the World," and his "Celestial Mechanics:" the latter of which we noticed in our retrospect for last year.

In mathematics, the only book we have received from the continent entitled to particular notice is M. Carnot's "Geometry of Position:" the term is strange, and not perfectly correct; and the phraseology is far too redundant for the subject on which the author writes. But the work abounds with just remarks and interesting discussions, and by no means detracts from the exalted fame which M. Carnot has already acquired in this abstruse line.

M. Mentelle has at length completed his very voluminous and extensive "Mathematical, Physical, and Political Geography, of every Part of the World." It was originally delivered in fascicules, and now occupies *fifteen* volumes octavo; it is printed at Paris, and is accompanied by an atlas in folio, introduced by a preliminary discourse. It is a work of great labour and interest: but we would rather have had it divided into several works upon the different subjects of which it treats. M. Volney has published, in two volumes octavo, a "View of the Climate and Soil of North America." His *view* consists of a variety of detached sketches, rather than of one comprehensive survey; but it is elegantly and pleasantly written. It comprises a course of observations made in the years 1795, 1796, and 1797. M. De Jurberg of Stockholm has brought forth the first volume of his "Ulfoerleg Geographie foerfatted, &c." "Complete Geography: with a Supplement and Chart of the West Indies." The author is already well known as an excellent geographer and chartist: and if the present work, when complete, be possessed of the merit contained in the part before us, it cannot fail of success. We have been most pleased with the statistic observations with which it may be said indeed to overflow.

We have also to notice from the same country (Sweden) the volume

lume of "Memoirs of the Military Academy," for the year 1800. This volume we have just received, and it constitutes but the second which the academy has hitherto published. It contains two memoirs of count Rumford on the force of gun-powder: but the most important article is on the sword exercise of the Swedish army, by the chevalier Doebeln.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

THE late stupendous revolution in France still continues to occupy the historians of that country. They seem yet to be hunting after causes for so marvellous an event, as though every one that has hitherto been brought forwards was inadequate to the birth of such a catastrophe. Among the publications upon this subject which have chiefly excited our attention, we may enumerate M. Soulavie's "History of the Civil War in France," in three volumes 8vo., commencing with the formation of the States-general in 1789, and reaching down to the 18th Brumaire (year 8th) 1799. "Essays, Introductory to a History of the French Revolution, by a Member of the Parliament of Paris," in one volume 8vo; in which the anonymous author maintains, that few or no great men were produced by the revolution; the character of Bonaparte, of whose exploits a glowing picture is presented, not having been formed till after its completion; and "Historical Essays on the Causes and Effects of the French Revolution, by M. Beaulieu." These Essays are the most voluminous work on the subject which has yet occurred to us. They have been published in separate volumes, and are now just concluded, making six octavos in the whole, and bringing down the events of the variable government of France to the close of 1798. The author is often unnecessarily diffuse, and extremely deficient in arrangement and method; but he has collected together a considerable portion of valuable information, and has appreciated the chief characters of the political drama with judgement, ability, and impartiality.

Upon the subject of the French colonies, we have received an extensive and useful work in M. Malouet's "Collection of Memoirs," occupying five volumes octavo. The memoirs consist of an official correspondence relative to the administration of the colonies in general, but particularly of French and Dutch Guiana, and the island of St. Domingo. M. Malouet, from his late situation as minister of the colonies and of the navy, and more especially from his having been an eye-witness to the earlier part of the transactions which he describes, may be regarded as an authentic historian, and his opinions must be entitled to respect even by those who differ from him in system. He is a favourer of the slave-trade; but admits, that, in every place, and especially in St. Domingo, it re-

quired regulations which never have been, and we are afraid will not soon be, carried into effect. He is also for allowing advantages to slaves, by which they may eventually be enabled to purchase their own freedom. In St. Domingo they have not waited for this slow process: they have been precipitated into a state of independence; and differing, as we do, from the present author, in the tardy steps he advises, we cannot be blind to the greater mischief which has resulted, and must, in every instance, result from a hasty and general suppression of the yoke. The line of propriety seems to lie between the two schemes. M. Malouet represents the late colonisation of French Guiana as the worst in the world; and he has not unduly depreciated it. That part of Guiana, on the contrary, which appertains to the Dutch, was, in his estimation, at the time of his visiting it, the best regulated, and the happiest of any colony he had ever beheld. The "Voyage à la Louisiane," noticed in our last year's review, as an anonymous production, has since been acknowledged by M. Baudry des Lozieres, who has added a second volume, or, as he entitles it, a "Second *Voyage*" to the general work. We can no more, however, discover a *voyage* in this second volume, than we were able to do in the first: it is a book filled up with such reports, anecdotes, and remarks, as almost any man might amass together, if he were determined to write on the subject, who had never quitted London or Paris; and which most men, in such situations, would have composed in a more methodic and intelligible manner. Yet M. Baudry tells us, that the vast demand for his first volume was the sole motive for his publishing this second; and he threatens the world—perhaps from the same resources, the books in his library—with new tours or travels through Italy.

"Histoire des Swisses ou Helvetiens, &c.;" "History of the Swiss or Helvetians from the most remote Period to the present Time, by H. P. Mallet, Professor in the Universities at Upsal, Cassel, & four volumes 8vo. Geneva. This is an able, entertaining, and instructive work: the author had nearly finished it when Switzerland was free; and the ardour with which he describes the patriotic exertions of the ancient heroes of this celebrated country, shows us that his heart is not insensible to the charms of liberty. Towards the close of the history, however, we perceive his pen restrained; he composes with timidity and reserve: he still appears to be warmed with the same enthusiastic fire; but he labours to stifle its flames, as they flow from his heart. The fear of Bonaparte is evidently before his eyes. Yet the work has great merit, and M. Mallet has proved himself an able historian.

"Tableau de la Grand Bretagne, &c.;" "Picture of Great Britain, Ireland, and the Possessions of the English in the four Quarters of the Globe;" four volumes 8vo. Paris. The author of this work, which bears an anonymous title-page, is M. Baert. He represents himself to have been a resident in Great Britain for two or three years, and to have travelled several thousands of miles over it; and he certainly writes in many places, as though he had been not only an eye-witness, but an attentive spectator, of the scenes he describes. It is, however, a multifarious

multifarious publication, political, statistic, and commercial, as well as geographic. Hence the fourth volume unfolds the subjects of the bank of England, coin, population, character, customs, and manners; together with the state of literature and science. To a foreigner, the work will be found useful; an Englishman cannot avoid discovering a variety of little errors that deteriorate its value.

M. Catteau, in his "Tableau des Etats Danois;" "Picture of the Danish States," in three volumes 8vo, has exhibited much good sense and vigilance. His pen flows rather too cursorily and superficially upon some subjects, concerning which we wish for more information, and especially of that sort which is communicated in these volumes; but had he written more, his work might have been rendered too bulky for his own purpose; since so authentic, so judicious, so excellent is he in whatever he has advanced, that we could not suffer the excision of a single page. We wish much to see this publication translated into our own tongue.

"Histoire du Bas-Empire," &c. "History of the Lower Empire, from the Reign of Constantine to the Capture of Constantinople, in 1453, by J. C. Royou,", four volumes 8vo. Paris. This is an able abridgement of Le Bean's more voluminous work, which extended to not less than twenty-five volumes upon its conclusion by another hand: the period it comprises, is precisely that which our own Gibbon has selected to found his immortality upon. Yet a comparison of M. Royou wirh the latter, will by no means be disadvantageous to him. We do not mean that he exhibits the same brilliancy of style or curiosity of philosophic reflexion; but he has advanced a much larger body of facts: and in point of critical history, is hence more precise and instructive.

"Voyage en Islande, &c." "Travels in Iceland, &c. translated from the Danish, by W. de la Peyronie," five volumes 8vo. The travels here rendered into French, were undertaken by the express order of his Danish majesty, and contain many curious and important observations on the manners and customs of the inhabitants, the lakes, rivers, glaciers, hot-springs, and volcanoes of the country; together with its stones, fossils, petrifactions, and animals; to which is added a good atlas. The author seems to have observed with judgement, and to have delineated the various appearances with fidelity.

"Voyage en Italie," "Travels in Italy," by F. J. L. Meyer, LL. D." This is a sentimental work; yet much real science, and a spirit of close and curious observation are blended with the pathos at which it perpetually aims. We have hung over it with delight, often with rapture, and we finished it with much regret.

"Briefe über Italien in den Jahren," &c., "Letters on Italy, in the Years 1798, 1799," though published anonymously, are agreeably written, and seem to be in general sufficiently authentic. We may pay the same compliment to M. Drysen's "Bemerkungen auf einen Reise," &c., "Observations during a Tour through Holland and a Part of France." But we have been considerably more pleased with the "Bruchstücke einen Reise durch Frankreich," "Fragments of Travels in France," of M. Arndt; who writes with sweet unaffected simplicity, and thus

thus secures our confidence as considerably by his manner, as he is entitled to do by his well-known abilities as a philosopher, and unimpeachable veracity as a moralist. M. Georgi is continuing his "Beschreibung, des Russischen Reichs," "Description of the Russian Empire;" and M. Storch his "Historic and Statistic Picture" of the same country. "Du Droit natural, civil, et politique," &c., "Dialogues on natural, civil, and political Law, by E. Lusac, LL. D. late Advocate in the Courts of Holland and West Friesland," 3 vols. 8vo. Amsterdam. The writer of these Dialogues is now no more: they were however announced to the world by a prospectus, and prepared for publication, prior to his decease. His editors flatter themselves that they have been conferring a favour upon the public by complying with the author's intention. To us, however, it has not been a *favour*, but a drudgery; for the work is intolerably tautologic, inelegant, and tedious: yet to those who are not rendered drowsy by such soporifics, it will appear abundant in moral, political, and commercial facts and reasonings.

"Traité d'Economie Politique, ou simple Exposition," &c., "Treatise on Political Economy, or a simple Explanation of the Manner in which Wealth is acquired, distributed, and amassed," 2 vols. 8vo. by J. Baptiste Say. The author has formed his entire theory on the basis of Adam Smith, and, like many other ungracious scholars of the present day, endeavours to depreciate his master in order to acquire for himself the character of an original writer with the world. "The work of Smith," says he, "is a *confused* assemblage of the soundest principles of political economy, supported by perspicuous examples, and of the most curious notions of statistics, interspersed with instructive reflexions: yet it is not a complete treatise of either: his book is a chaos of just ideas, hustled pell-mell without positive information." If such be the master, what are we to expect from the pupil?—the very book we have received.

"Principes d'Economie Politique," "Principles of Political Economy, by N. F. Canard, late Professor of Mathematics at the Central School of Moulins. Paris, 8vo." This volume is an answer to the following prize question proposed by the National Institute: "Is it true that in an agricultural country taxes of every description fall ultimately on the proprietors of land?" and M. Canard was the successful candidate on the occasion. We here also meet with a work largely indebted to Dr. Smith, but which, with more audacity than the former, does not even allude to his name, though several chapters of it are almost literally translated from the Wealth of Nations. Smith, however, is not the only author who has been consulted upon this occasion: we give M. Canard ample credit for diligent inquiry among the best writers of most European countries; but he has not a happy power of discrimination: there is little curious selection, and the wheat is not sifted as is ought to be from the chaff.

On the subject of general jurisprudence, Germany has furnished us with several important publications: of these the chief are a new "Magazin für die Philosophie und Geschichte des Rechts," "Magazine for the Philosophy and

and History of Jurisprudence," by M. Grottman, a young but able lawyer of Giessen, and a strenuous reformer of the penal laws by a preference of prevention to punishment, in opposition to his friend professor Feuerbach at Kiel, a friend to the old system. The "Beyträge zur Berichligung und Erweiterung der positiven Rechtswissenschaften," "Contributions towards the Improvement of positive Law, by Professor Hufeland, of Jena," a periodical work of considerable credit, and of which the fourth number appeared at the Leipsic fair for Easter last; and the "Allgemeines Deutsches Gesetzbuch," &c. "General German Code of Laws, founded on the unchangeable Materials of the Common Law, by Professor Reitemeyer, of Frankfort on the Oder;" the principles of which we are afraid are rather to be admired, than to be expected to be introduced into practice.

We have also to notice that M. Von Martens, of Göttingen, has added a valuable supplement to his "Recueil des principaux Traités," "Collection of principal Treaties;" and has also published a collection of the "Gesetze und Vesordnungen," &c. "Laws and Edicts of the different States of Europe, relative to Trade, Navigation, and Insurances, since the Middle of the 17th Century;" a book which, upon so oscillating a subject, possesses all the value which may be supposed to appertain to it.

In America, Mr. Martin, of Newborn, in North Carolina, has translated into English M. Pothier's very excellent "Treatise on Obligations considered in a moral and legal View." Mr. Sullivan, the attorney-general of Massachusetts, has published "The History of Land Tithes" in that province; a very valuable work, but chiefly of local importance. The "Treatise of the Law relative to Merchant-Ships and Seamen," by Mr. Abbott, the present speaker of our own house of commons, has deservedly obtained an edition in the United States; and it is rendered of more topical value by a notice of the difference subsisting between our own laws upon this subject and those of the American commonwealth.

Upon the important branch of commerce, we ought also to mention a publication of the late M. Sieveking, of Hamburg. It has been edited by Von Eggers, of Copenhagen, and is entitled "Materialien zu einem voll-ständigen und Systematischen Wechselrecht, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Hamburg," "Materials towards a complete System of the Law of Bills of Exchange, with a particular Reference to the Custom of Hamburg." It is a well-known treatise, and founded upon admitted principles.

Nor can we consent to close this chapter without noticing M. Simonde's treatise "De la Richesse Commerciale," "On Commercial Wealth, or the Principles of Political Economy applied to the Legislation of Commerce," published in the course of the present year, in two volumes octavo, at Geneva; which under the three heads of capital, price, and monopoly, traces the obvious course by which a great state may repair its dilapidated fortunes, revive its ancient splendour, and ultimately realise those inestimable and flattering advantages which belong to the situation of a prominent and well-regulated power.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

WE entered, in our last retrospect, into a brief account of the origin of the French national institute, and its comparative merits in reference to the Royal Academy by which it was preceded. The last volumes of the labours of the three classes into which it is divided are numbered *four*, and we perceive no reason for varying in any essential degree from the epitomised character we have already offered of it, in consequence of any papers presented to us in this latest proof of its abilities which has yet reached us.

In the mathematical department, the articles which have best pleased us are "Researches concerning the Integration of Equations of partial Differences, and the Vibrations of Surfaces, by M. Biot;" and a "Memoir on the theoretical and practical Explanation of the Trigonometrical Chart of Maignon, by M. Levesque."

In the class of moral and political sciences, we have been most pleased with an article by M. Gosselin, on the geographical knowledge possessed by the ancients respecting the Persian Gulf; and with various Geographical Researches of M. Buache, concerning the islands of Juan de Lisbon, and of Dina and Marsaveen.

In the division of literature and polite arts, M. La Porte du Theil, and M. Camus, stand the most conspicuous. We are sorry to perceive that the journals of the present moment communicate to us the death of this latter philosopher. He has been one of the ablest pillars of the Institute from its foundation.

"Annales de Museum Nationale d'Histoire Naturelle," "Annals of the National Museum of Natural History." We know not whether this society be incorporated under the patronage of the French government; but its labours, whether it be or not, cannot fail of attracting the attention of the world of letters, if prosecuted with the ability which has thus far been evinced, and flowing from the well-known pens of those who have already contributed: for, among others, we meet with the names of Haüy, Faujas de St. Fond, Fourcroy, Brognart, Desfontaines, Jussien, La Cépède, Cuvier, and Vanspaendonck. The conjunctive observations of a society thus select are entitled to the utmost attention: it has already published the first five numbers of its labours, and we rejoice to find that these are likely to follow with less delay than the publications of literary associations in general.

"The Italian Society of Sciences" at Modena has published its ninth volume, composed almost exclusively of physical memoirs. It opens with an elegant tribute to the memory of Spallanzani. M. Pini communicates a geologic tour through the south of Italy; M. Zeviani an account of two cases of dropsy cured by a fall; M. Baronio inquiries on the reproduction of animals of cold blood;

blood; M. Bondioli a paper on local and northern auroræ; M. Fontana on the resistance of canals to the force of waters. There are also other respectable articles which we cannot stay to notice. Upon the whole, the collection is scientific and valuable.

At Florence a new literary society has lately instituted itself under the title of "The Italian Academy;" and it has just published the first volume of its labours, consisting of three detached fascicles. The academy consists of eighty members, residing in different parts of Italy; of whom half are ordinary, and half corresponding; to whom, moreover, are added a vast number of honorary and free associates. The editor is the abate Giacomo Socchetti, secretary and professor at Siena. The object of the academy seems to be wide and comprehensive; but the papers yet communicated are not possessed of any very high degree of merit.

The Swedish academy of Sciences, in the prosecution of its "Kongl Vetenscaps," "New Memoirs," has closed its volumes for 1801, ranking as vols. xxii. xxiii. xxiv. xxv. and xxvi. Each volume is a *trimetre*, or three-monthly fascicle. We cannot enter into a detail of their contents—many of the articles are important in subject, and valuable in execution. The king of Sweden has lately presented to the academy the curious cabinet of natural history which has hitherto been preserved in the castle of Droteningholm, and contains, among the celebrated collections of Hasselquist, a large Egyptian mummy, in fine preservation.

In the branch of biography we perceive nothing that needs to detain us with any very minute account. M. Kutscher, of Sleswick, in his "Reisen und Merkwurdige Schikssale," has given us a statement of the travels and remarkable events in the life of Martin Luther, with an abstract of the history of the Reformation to the peace of Westphalia; and from the Leipsic press we have received a "Leben des Desiderius Erasmus," "Life of Erasmus;" which, however, is little more than a separate republication of the life of this learned man that appeared some time ago in the seventh volume of a collection, entitled "The Biography of celebrated Reformers."

"Mémoirs de Candide," "Memoirs of Candide, respecting the Liberty of the Press, universal Peace, the Foundations of social Order, and other *Trifles*; by Dr. Emanuel Ralph." This is a translation from a German work, which, in its original dress, found an entrance into this country on its first publication. Candide is represented as paying a visit to Paris, to ascertain not only the exact and actual state of the city, but to define the quantum of increase which the late series of revolutions has produced to the Parisians and to Frenchmen at large, in the articles of general literature and taste, civil liberty, and domestic happiness. There is some arch satire and well-applied classical learning in these fictitious memoirs; but there is more dullness and crudity of materials.

"Musée des Monumens Français," &c., "Museum of French Monuments, by Alexander Lenoir, Founder and Director of the Museum." It forms a subject of regret, in more than one paper in the Memoirs of the National Institute,

stitute, that the French populace, in the phrensy of the earlier parts of their revolution, and their total abhorrence of all religion whatever, should have been suffered, with sacrilegious hands, to have entered into every church throughout the republic, and almost emptied it of its most precious tombs, sculptures, pictures, and other monuments. The national assembly, however, soon became sensible of their own madness, and a decree was immediately passed to prohibit such sacrilegious spoliation for the future, and to collect together, under a committee of antiquaries, such valuable spoils as could yet be rescued from the hands of the multitude, and to deposit them in the convent of the Little Augustins. M. Lenoir, the author of the present very valuable work, was appointed, on this occasion, to the charge of the depôt; and he here gives us an account of what he was able, in conjunction with his associates, to recover and preserve: in consequence of which the book before us is a complete historic and chronologic description of the monuments in marble, bronze, and bas-relief, which were collected at the museum; and it is still farther enriched by a variety of beautiful, and we have no doubt accurate, etchings.

"Le Musée Français," &c.,—"The French Museum, by S. C. Croze-Magnan;" published by Robillard-Neronville, and Laurent. This is indeed a superb and princely work. It is printed in imperial folio, and the price of each number is, proofs 5*l.* sterling, common impressions 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* It is designed to contain a complete exhibition of the pictures, statues, and bas-relievos which compose the national collection: with an explanation of the different subjects and discourses on painting, sculpture, and engraving. Each of the numbers yet published (we have seen but three, and these are imported by De Boffe) contains four pages only of the dissertation on ancient painting, forming M. Croze-Magnan's opening discourse. We can only speak of it when completed. It is impossible to do otherwise than wish success to so bold and so valuable an undertaking.

The zodiacs lately discovered by the French literati in Egypt have excited as much inquiry on the continent as in our own country, and the conclusions drawn from them have been as different. We can only find room to notice three; of these one has appeared in Italy, being a dissertation of the abate Domenico Testa, read at an extraordinary meeting of the Academy of the Roman Catholic Religion, July 5, 1802, at Rome; which is a most able performance; and more satisfactorily, and upon far firmer premises, than we have yet seen, asserts, that neither of the zodiacs can have been constructed earlier than about the epoch of Hipparchus, and consequently about a century and half anterior to the Christian æra: the two others are from Germany; one from the pen of M. Gussman, "Ueber die alten Tierkreise in Egyptin," in which the author—but we think with less success than the abate Testa—combats the assertion of Dupin, that these zodiacs were invented upwards of fifteen thousand years before the birth of Christ; and the other, an infidel and anonymous publication, entitled "Unumstæsslicher Bewis dass die Erde, &c.:" "Evident Proofs that the Earth is three Times more ancient

ancient than it is usually supposed: with a Description and Figure of the two ancient Zodiacs discovered by the French in the Temple of Isis, at Tentyra in Upper Egypt;" in which we perceive more audacity of asseveration, but not a whit more of conjecture, than Dupin has already advanced; and which has been advantageously opposed, not only by the two preceding treatises, but by others of different nations.

"Oupnek hat (id est Secretum Tegendum)," "Upanishad, or the Mystery to be concealed; a Work, peculiarly rare in India, containing the ancient and secret, or theologic and philosophic Doctrine, taken from the four sacred Books of the Indians," by Anquetil Duperron, vol. i. 4to. The Sanscrit Upanishads are selections from the Vedas, performed at different times, and by different hands. The *excerpt* before us was translated into Persian in the reign, and by the express order of Dara Shecuh, and it is from this Persian translation that M. Duperron has rendered it into Latin. So far as he has yet proceeded, he has executed his task with fidelity; but as he professes to be well acquainted with the Sanscrit itself, and speaks of publishing a dictionary of this language, it would have been a far more acceptable present if he had immediately interpreted it from the original, since many doubts are entertained of the accuracy of the Persian rendering.

"L'Alphabet Raisonné, &c.," "The Alphabet illustrated, or an Explanation of the Mechanism of our alphabetic Characters, by the Abbé Moussaud." We have never seen real abilities more unfortunately applied: the abbé possesses more fancy than judgement, and more mystery than either.

"Reflexions sur la Divorce," "Reflexions on Divorce," by madame Necker. This is a flowing work, illustrated by a superabundance of Greek and Roman examples, in opposition to the late facility afforded in France of obtaining divorces. The mischiefs which the absurd permission were found to introduce, soon gave birth to a better regulation, and spares us the trouble of entering into a more detailed account of madame Necker's declamation.

We rejoice to be able to announce that a new edition is on the point of being completed at the Leipsic press, of all the works of the venerable and sublimely inspired Klopstock: we are already in possession of the first six volumes, and impatiently wait for the remainder. We also perceive with pleasure an edition published at Berlin of the miscellaneous works "Œuvres Mêlés" of count Tilly. It comprises one volume only in octavo, and offers a judicious selection.

"Les Fêmmes, leur Conditione, et leur Influence," "Women, their Influence and Condition in Society." This agreeable work of M. de Segur we at present merely announce in its order, since we have already noticed an English version of it.

From the fertile muse of the abbé Delille, we have received a new and beautiful didactic poem, in four cantos, entitled, "Le Malheur et la Pitie," "Distress and Compassion." As usual, it abounds with elegant versification, commonplace subjects, and a vast variety of passages borrowed from English poets, whom this ingenious writer *reads* with animation, though he is incapable of *conversing* in their language.

M. Rosini

M. Rosini, of Florence, continues to publish his "Parnassus of living Italians;" of which we have now received sixteen volumes: the names of Pignotti, nevertheless, and several others of the best contributors, are *living* no longer. This indefatigable scholar has not confined himself, however, to the drudgery of editing alone; for he has also brought forwards a very respectable volume of odes composed by himself. Of these, several are more than respectable—they are singularly excellent and happy: we particularly allude to his Odes "on the Decline of Poetry," and "on Peace." M. Savelli has given a new and admirable version, in three volumes 8vo, of the odes, satires, and epistles of Horace. It has obtained all the success to which it is entitled.

In Germany, we also perceive that a version of the same poet has made its appearance from the press at Lubeck, but of far less estimation. Ossian has, in this country, been rendered by a variety of rival translators; of these the chief are Eschenburg in prose, and Schlegel in verse. M. Iffland has presented the nineteenth volume of his dramatic works, and M. Huttenberg the third of his theatrical effusions.

America has produced nothing in the class of poetry that is worth noticing. Mr. Kinnon has indeed published a volume of "Descriptive Poems;" but we cannot speak very favourably of his abilities: a second edition, we perceive, has been demanded of Mr. Linn's "Powers of Genius."

In France, the best novels or romances which have occurred to us, are "Heliogabale, &c.," "Heliogabalus, designed to be a Sketch of the dissolute Manners of Rome under the Emperors." "Marguerite de Strafford," a romance, founded on various anecdotes respecting the reign of our own Charles II., and others relative to the revolution in England; and "Charles et Marie," "Charles and Mary," in the modern novel style of our own country, and confined to its boundaries; simple in its plot, and equally simple and touching in its narration. It is from the pen of the author of Adele de Senange.

Merely to recapitulate the novels of Germany, within the limits to which we are restrained, is impossible: not less than *three hundred*, and chiefly from unknown authors, having made their appearance at the Leipsic fair for Easter. Of those most esteemed, we may mention two of M. Huber's, entitled "Die Verwandten," "The Relations;" and "Erzählungen," "Tales;" and a romance from the veteran pen of M. Hermes, of Breslaw, denominated "Verheimlichung und Eil," "Mystery and Haste."

FINIS.

S. HAMILTON, Printer, Shoe Lane, Fleet Street.